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THE

WORKS

OF

NATHANIEL LARDNER, D.D.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

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A PLAN

OF THE

TIMES AND PLACES

OF WRITING THE FOUR GOSPELS, THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES, THE SEVEN CATHOLIC EPISTLES, AND THE REVELATION.

GOSPELS, &c.	PLACES.		A.D.
St. Matthew's.	Judea, or near it.	about	64
St. Mark's.	Rome.	——	64
St. Luke's.	Greece.	about 63 or	64
St. John's.	Ephesus.	about	68
The Acts of the Apostles.	Greece.	about 63 or	64
EPISTLES.			
To the Romans.	Corinth.	about February	58
1 Corinthians.	Ephesus.	beginning of	56
2 Corinthians.	Macedonia.	about October	57
Galatians.	Corinth or Ephesus.	near the end of or the beginning of	52 53
Ephesians.	Rome.	about April	61
Philippians.	Rome.	before the end of	62
Colossians.	Rome.	before the end of	62
1 Thessalonians.	Corinth.		52
2 Thessalonians.	Corinth.		52
1 Timothy.	Macedonia.		56
2 Timothy.	Rome.	about May	61
Titus.	Macedonia, or near it.	before the end of	56
Philemon.	Rome.	before the end of	62
Hebrews.	Rome, or Italy.	in the spring of	63
Epistle of St. James.	Judea.	61, or beginning of	62
Two epistles of St. Peter	Rome.		64
St. John's first epistle.	Ephesus.	about	80
His second and third epistles.	Ephesus.	between 80 and	90
Epistle of St. Jude.	Unknown.	64 or	65
The Revelation of St. John.	Patmos, or Ephesus.	95 or	96

A TABLE OF ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES, IN THE ORDER OF TIME, WITH THE PLACES WHERE, AND THE TIMES WHEN, THEY WERE WRITTEN.

EPISTLES.	PLACES.		A.D.
1 Thessalonians.	Corinth.		52
2 Thessalonians.	Corinth.		52
Galatians.	Corinth, or Ephesus.	near the end of or the beginning of	52 53
1 Corinthians.	Ephesus.	the beginning of	56
1 Timothy.	Macedonia.		56
Titus.	Macedonia, or near it.	before the end of	56

EPISTLES.	PLACES.		A.D.
2 Corinthians.	Macedonia.	about October	57
Romans.	Corinth.	about February	58
Ephesians.	Rome.	about April	61
2 Timothy.	Rome.	about May	61
Philippians.	Rome.	before the end of	62
Colossians.	Rome.	before the end of	62
Philemon.	Rome.	before the end of	62
Hebrews.	Rome, or Italy.	in the spring of	63

THE

CREDIBILITY

OF THE

GOSPEL HISTORY,

OR,

THE PRINCIPAL FACTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT CONFIRMED BY PASSAGES OF ANCIENT AUTHORS WHO WERE CONTEMPORARY WITH OUR SAVIOUR, OR HIS APOSTLES, OR LIVED NEAR THEIR TIME.

PART II.

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= ' C7>: 3>' =>7>' ?=,@' =>7' 7, , D@' @ ' 7>' 7,>: ' > < >7 >A)' 3 @>K<> ' =>' ,@' > '
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;<@'3,5, >' ,@'7>AA,A, <@' >77<, <@'7> @$
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5>3 'C,> @' C7, 3,C,@'>4 < ,
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$. 7<A> ,<@ 3> > 7 >@ , =,@ C > @ O <7 " 7A?@ ,5, A => 3,73< @ 3>@ :, N
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1 => 7>,@ B 3 >A =,@ 3=,7,A, 3 @,@ , D :@ C > @ 3> > 7 , D 7> 7B > >5> @ : => A A => > >@ > $ = @> : => > 7> B> < : => D @C> @ => 3 @ A O => >5> , $
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. 7<A> ,<@ , => C7>: 3> >: 7> 3, >A) >5>7 => >@@ , ,@ C 7 ,3< 7 > , >A 9> A,<@ => , > : #,C 3= => => 7 , > D> <, > 7 => @ > =, D@ 33<7 , => => 7 < K<>@ , >A 7, , D@ : . 7<A> ,<@$
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$ =>@>ʻ =, D@ʻ A>@>75>ʻ <7ʻ ,3>$ʻ $ 2=7 @ @ ʻ @ʻ >ʻ @ ʻ , ʻ =,@ʻ 3= C >7 ʻ 7>3>,5>A ʻ ʻ =7>>ʻ :ʻ =>ʻ 3 = ,3ʻ >C,@ >@ʻ ʻ = ʻ :ʻ ; >@ N =>ʻ :,7@ ʻ :ʻ . > >7 N =>ʻ :,7@ ʻ :ʻ ; = $ < ʻ =,@ʻ 7, >7 ʻ = <D=ʻ ʻ :7,> A ʻ A ʻ A ,7>7ʻ :ʻ $ 2=7 @ @ ʻ K< >@ʻ =>ʻ @>3 A ʻ >C,@ >ʻ :ʻ . > >7 N =>ʻ ʻ >C,@ >ʻ :ʻ ; <A> N A ʻ =>ʻ =,7A ʻ :ʻ ; = ʻ A ʻ =>7>: 7> ʻ C7 ʻ 7>3>,5>A ʻ ʻ =>ʻ @>5> ʻ 3 = ,3 >C,@ >@$ =,@ʻ @=> @ʻ = ʻ =>7>ʻ >7>ʻ => ʻ A,::>7> ʻ @> , > @ʻ < ʻ @ >ʻ B@ʻ :ʻ @37,C <7>$ (> ʻ @>> ʻ ʻ = 5>ʻ >> ʻ , A< D>A ʻ ʻ , >7 ʻ :ʻ *<AD, Dʻ : 7ʻ => @> 5>@ʻ ʻ A ʻ => ʻ A> >7 , >A ʻ @ =>ʻ >5,A> 3>ʻ CC> 7>A ʻ ʻ => $ A ʻ , ʻ , ʻ 3=,>: ʻ : 7ʻ =>ʻ @ B>ʻ :ʻ =>@>ʻ K< , @ʻ = ʻ !ʻ = 5>ʻ A>ʻ ʻ A,@ , 3 ʻ 7 ,3 >ʻ :ʻ . A,<@$

F$ => =>7ʻ =>ʻ 7>3>,5>A ʻ =>ʻ B ʻ :ʻ =>ʻ >5> , ʻ A >@ʻ ʻ CC> 7$

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2 ʻ 2 6 6 & ! ! "

' N

ʻ :ʻ . C ,@ʻ , ʻ D C ʻ : <7,@=>A ʻ 33 7A, Dʻ ʻ 2 5> ʻ < ʻ / G N ʻ 33 7A, Dʻ ʻ T (, ʻ , ʻ =>ʻ >D, , Dʻ :ʻ =>ʻ :,: =ʻ 3> <7 $ʻ # <ʻ . , ʻ @ @ʻ U =,@ʻ 0 , >ʻ ,@ʻ ʻ >4 3 ʻ B $ʻ 0 ʻ >ʻ 3 ʻ @ ʻ ,@ ʻ = ʻ =>ʻ ,5>A ʻ : >7ʻ 9 7>D 7 ʻ [, [> ʻ A ʻ >: 7>ʻ =>ʻ 7>,D ʻ :ʻ ;<@ , , $O

E$ >ʻ 7 >ʻ , ʻ 9 7>>B ʻ 5>7@>ʻ ʻ C 7 =7 @>ʻ :ʻ $; = O@ʻ D @C> ʻ @ , ʻ >4 $ʻ >ʻ 5 7, <@ 7> A, D@ʻ = 5>ʻ >> ʻ @>75>A ʻ , ʻ =, $ =>ʻ C7, 3,C ʻ ,@ʻ = ʻ =>ʻ = @ʻ ʻ =>ʻ =,@ 7 ʻ :ʻ =>ʻ ʻ B> ʻ , ʻ A< >7 ʻ A ʻ 7 <D= ʻ >: 7>ʻ <7ʻ 5, <7ʻ =,3=ʻ >ʻ ʻ = 5>ʻ ʻ =>ʻ >D, , Dʻ :ʻ =>ʻ >,D= =ʻ 3= C >7ʻ :ʻ $; = O@ 9 @C> $ (7> 5>7ʻ , ʻ 3= C$ 4,4$ / ʻ =>ʻ @>> @ʻ ʻ = 5>ʻ 7> A ʻ ʻ U < ʻ U =>ʻ =,7A ʻ = <7 0ʻ =>7>ʻ >ʻ = 5>ʻ V < ʻ =>ʻ @,4 =ʻ = <7 Oʻ 3 3>7 , Dʻ =,3=ʻ ʻ >ʻ @>> ʻ (,A ʻ > D> ,<@ʻ ;$;$ > @ >, ʻ :,<@ʻ A ʻ =>7@ ʻ <C ʻ =>ʻ C 3>ʻ A ʻ A@> =>7>$

0 *< 4 ; 6 = 65 % & ʻ A ! <6 :$$$$

#, D ʻ 3 C$ $ C$ $ $ C$ $ 2=7 @ @ $ CC$ $ 4, $ &,A$ > ʻ C$ 1$ #$ > ʻ C$ F1$ > ʻ C @@, $

2 C$ /0$ C$ $ %$

T :ʻ <#">"< ʻ <#& " ʻ << " ʻ < @ =ʻ <8 65 @ʻ $ $ A"#ʻ 5 8 < ʻ <- < B ʻ << > 8 ʻ C# B$:& D -" ; 5ʻ ʻ & < 9ʻ <&<*<" ʻ #$B5 4"""%< " ʻ #, $ 3$ /0$ C$ $ 2$ #$

ʻ ʻ ʻ ʻ ! " #$ ʻ % & % ʻ ' (

6$ %ʻ ! $ 3 C$ EG ʻ C ʻ

ʻ - H%ʻ ʻ ʻ ʻ ʻ ʻ ʻ ʻ ʻ ʻ ʻ ʻ ʻ ʻ ʻ ! ʻ " ʻ # $ % ʻ ʻ & !,

$ C$ $ $

ʻ &,A$ 2 5ʻ $ " $ ʻ $,$ % 7$, $ 97$ / $ 5ʻ 4ʻ E ʻ $ 5,,$

C$ 0E ʻ J3$

@ .7 >D $ Aʻ $ ʻ $ $ ʻ J3$

R , ʻ A>@ʻ < $ 33$ $,,,$.$,,$ C$ FF

ʻ / <" F G ʻ &,& & 8 :ʻ H # " < < 5ʻ % -ʻ > I ,

! ʻ) *%) ʻ , -ʻ * . +) % ʻ $ +ʻ ?% 3

("-" " & , - . # 0" &

2 .$ 2 6 6 ! 6 $

5 9 S5 S <

!$ 0" " ; ! !$ 0" 6 @ ! ! !$ 4 #8 82 ! !&$ @ + , - D (8 : (6 8 ; : 4 "5 ( )& -" ; &$ 0" # 4 , - 4 "# 8 : (<- 8 " : 8 (8 : ((& J- ; &! $ K8 " 8 (": 2 8 : ( ) 58 " : # : 4 "#

, : , D C ,@ @C B> : V (, >4 : >7 <@ @ >, D =,@ 3 M > C 7 7) A => ,@ C 3>A +? 2 5> => > 7 / E$ @ D> U @C> B@ :=, => > 7 EF) , ,@ ,B> = => A,>A >: 7> => ,AA > : => :,: =3> <7 $. D,@ @$ > Z => 7 =, D :=, : >7 => > 7 - -$

! !$ % 3< A<@ @ @ = > + 7 > = <@ A >C,@ >@ : => >A,:,3 , : => 3=<73=) <,A @ @ @ U =7>> = <@ A >4C , , D => A,5, > @37,C <7:>@$? => 7> 7> @ , >4 5> = <@ AM < => 7> @ :=> 5>7 @= 7 A > :> :=> 3 , 3,A> 7> , D => @ > K<>@ , A , ,B> >7$ #7$ ><7 T= @ #,@@>7 , ! @,A 7> :=. > <@,< =,3= > ' A>@>75>@ > 7> A$ > 7>3 ,:,>@ A,5>7@ ,@ B>@ :> 7 >A A>7 @M A 7D<>@ = Z @ :=,@ > >7@ 7> :,3 , , <@ A > 7> 3 77>@C A> 3>) A => @>> @ = 5> C7 5>A = => A5 3>@$

! :$! @= , => :,7@ C 3> B> @ > @> >3 C @@ D>@ :! @,A 7> M A => @>75> =,@ >@ , => @37,C <7>@$

/$ U ? 3 B A @ ::\ @ @ => U A B> C=, @ C=>7M < :7>>A :@C>>3= A @<, > ,:>$! ,B> >7 = , A C7 :>@@, A B> 2=7,@ , M < , :> A 3 M 5>7@ , D7>> > 7,D= 7> @ $?

E$ =, D+] ,@ @ A> 7 9 A @ 5>) : 7 => @ B> :=,3= => >3 > A @ >A,> < A> =$ A => :,7@ A,@3,C >@ 3 >A <7 ,@> 5, <7 >7> 7 =>7@M @=> = =:,@ A,@3,C >@ @= < A ,5> D> =>7 , 7 =>7 >7$?

-$ U ! O @ A> 7 :7,> A > >3 <@> <7 " 7A : 7>@ => A>@,D :;<A @ = => @ D<, :=> 7> 3=>7 M < >3 <@> = 7> 3= = A 3 3>,5>A => A>@,D > 7 =, => 7>: 7> => = B > => @>37> , @ :=> => 7 @C B> >: 7> = A :: < <7> =, D@ @ ,: =>* >7> C7>@> $?

$ U 8 <V @>> A>7 = 2=7,@ A,A C>7@< A> => 7 , 7 => 5> :5,7 <> => => => 7A =, @ : > @C> B, D :, , =,@ A,@3 <,@>@ M 7 7 =>7 :=, D > @>$ D : L - = A ! =, B , @ 7 D> = < @= < A A>7$, => < B + => C >7@ :7>> ,) : 7 ?@ @ 5 , ,@ 33 C ,@=>A : 73> A 5, > 3> < D> > >@@ A C>7@< @, $ =>7>: 7> => @ 5 , :>5>7 ,@ , =,@ C A>7M = => = 7> 7> + 7A>A A => = 7> C< ,@=>A *<@ 7>3>,5> = => = 5> 3= @> $?

Ó .7 >D$ $ J3$
Ó $ "$ $,$ 2 :$ % 7$, $ 97$ /$ 5$ 3$ - $ $,4C E1-$ J3$ #< ., $ $,,,$ C$ $, > $ (> $ $ /1$
$ $ $ 1$
D . @ =< 3 < < C ,<@ 33<77, > , @ 3 ,! @,A 7, .> <@, >> J3$ $ --$ $ E-$
T ! @ A 7<@ .7>@ >7 , D C ,<@ .> <@ K<>7 A< , , >C,@ 7< A >A,:,3 , > >33 >@,@> < ,@37,C@,@@> 5> 7< $ % 3< A$ /$,,,$ 3$ $
&$ 4" "# B
Ó #> ! @,A 7> .> <@, > > >*<@ >C,@ ,@$ #,@@$ 45,$ C .7, , @ 9 7, D> @>@ 5>7 $ $
Ó $ $ $ C >7 @K<> >@@> :,3 , , @ 3 7=> 7,3 7> 3 @37,C @ < , ; K< 7< C7W:,@ @< , > @ 33,C>7> >D> 7> K<> @>A < @C>3, , > @@> > K<> , > ,,@ , A > K< @ = =>7> ! @,A 7<@ 7 ,@ A,3> A, A,D3,C< @$! $ $ M C$ E-E$

2 > >7< > @, :,3 , , @ @< , > >C,@ > :,3 > > @< K< > , ,,@ >D< <7 @>A >4 , , @> > ,A @37,C ! @,A 7>$! $ $ /-$ C$ EE0$
. / - % * 0 %1 23 % %4 + 2 5 22 +6 /( ) **&*(! " "# " 7 / .8 3 1 / $ 7 /% 9 /. : 2 / -%* 6) /*% / , % % (/ ; / % <) / % * %% /+ =%. /0 !& ! "$() ,5$ C$ $ R $ 7
"$,$ C$ $ Ó "$,$ C$ $
^R "$,,$ C$ $
* > /) 9/ * + / . (?) %* %@%* +, -%& /*) /% %A % 6%=$ B+) 9 /* (/1 / <* /6 / ; / & V !) PMM - - ! B7) 9 / ? &/ / + / * / C * 3 $9 (/ / /) * / / = % / # %0 A /).< 0) % /) / 9+ /) E 8/ / %

E$' ! ' ,@' >>A >@@' ' @ ' = ' ' =>' B@' :' =>' > ' >@ > ' 3 ' 7>3>,5>A ' 7>' :7>K<> ' K< >A' ' =,) !' =>7>: 7>' @>75>' ' ' :> ' =, D@$
' =>' >C,@ >' ' =>' > 7> @' ,@' : > ' K< >A', ' 2 7, ?@' 7B@ +' @' 7, > ' ' . < $
$' =>' >C,@ >' :' ; >@' @ ' ,@' : > ' K< >A' ' =, N' 3>' : >7' =,@' >7) ' U @O' @ @' O A,@3,C >' :' 2 =7,@ $?
1$' =>' @>3 A' >C,@ >' :' . > >7' ,@' K< >A' ' 2 , ?' @ > , >@$
$' 3>' ' > @ ' =>' = @' K< >A+' =>' @>3 A' >C,@ >' :' ; = N => =>7' =>' =,7A' @ ' !' 3 ' @ ' 3>7 , $
$' =>' >C,@ >' :' ; <A>' ,@' K< >A' ' =, ' ' A,5>7@' , >@$
4 $' =>' B' :' =>' >5> , ' ,@' K< >A' @' $' ; = ?@ +' @>5>7 ' , >@N' 3>' : >7' =,@' >7N O =,@' >' ,O>' <D= ' ' =>' ,@>' ' ; = ' = ' 7 >' =>' B' :' =>' >5> , ' =,3=' = @ O = A' =>' CC7 , ' :' =>' : =>7@$? . @@, ' = ' >4C7>@@, ' ' A> >' = ' =>' >5> , ' @' ' B' < ' =,3=' =>7>' >7>' A,@C< >@' 7' A,::>7> ' C, , @$
' %7 ' =>@>' K< , @' >' ' C>73>,5>' = ' 2 7, ' 7>3>,5>A' ' =>' B@' :' =>' > ' >@ > ' =,3=' >' A ' N 7' A,A' =>' 7>3>,5>' ' =>7$
4$' >' >> ' , =' =>' 7A?@C7 >7' , T' 2 7, ' >4 3 ' @' >' ' = 5>' , ' , ' $' (=> ' N >43>C ' = ' , ' @' =>' A 4 D $
$ 2 7, ' 3 > A@' ' =>' >5 D> ,@ @N < +' @C> B@' :' ; = ' @' @<C>7, 7' ' =>' 7>@) =>' ,B>M ,@>' 3 @' =, O =>' #,5, >$
$ >OO 7>3 > A@' =>' @ <A , D' :' =>' @37,C <7>@N' A' @ @' U = +:7 ' =>' = 'C7 C=> @' U' C @ >@' A' >5 D> ,@ @' >' ' > 7 ' = ' ' , ' 'C,> ' A' ' @>3<7>' ' <7@> 5>@' 7<> O C> 3>' :' , A$?
/ -$' !' : 7 >7 ' 7>:>77>A+]' ' @>5>7 ' C 3>@' :' 2 7, ' : 7' ' >4C ,3 , ' :' ' =>@@$,,$' /$$$/E$'
A' ' D A', >7C7> , @' :' >4 @' :' =>' > ' >@ > ' ' >' : < A', ' =, N' < ' !' : 7M > 7' ' B>' ' ,3>' :' => ' ' C7>@> $
' ' =,@' ,@= C' :' >4 A7, ' 7> >A' =>' 5 , @' , ' =,@' A, 3>@>' @' @=> ' @ >' =, >' D]' :7 ' 37 >@$

2 . $' 2 6 6 6 "

$

!$' "" " ; ' !!$' 0 " ' 6 @ ' !!!$' - ' + ,' - ' D (' V ; : ' 4 "5 (')&' -" ; ' !&$' @ ' + ,' $' - ' 6' 8 ; : ' 4 "5 (' -&' -" ; ' &$' . : 8 ' " ' 8 : (' ("5" " : ' ' - ' 4 "# ' & $' = 8 @ ' + ,', # 4 ', ' - ; ' 8 : (' <- 8 " : ' ' 8 (' - ; ' & $' <# "48 " : ' + ,' < ' 8 : (' ; 8 @8) ') 58 " : ' &!!!$' - ' 6", ' 8 : (' 6 : (, '# 2 ' + ,' - ' . #

!$' ' @' ,@' 3 C< >A' @' 7 ' ' , 3=N' < ' - 0 N' A>' ,@= C' % ' 2 7<@' , ' 7, ' ! ' =>' <C=7 >@, ' C7 5, 3>' , ' EG' 7' E-' N A' A,>A', ' 1F' 7' 10$

$ O $$$' ' 6:Q7 ' # >$ A 7 $', ' C,7, ' > &>7, $ $' $ $' ,$ C$' $ $' . 7$ /1-0$
R 6 ' >FP 5 (" 85 " & 6< : @ < ' <8 8' < 8' ; ' 8S "#'B "4 ' &5#* 4 ' :4 7C,*:' 7 , ,7@:' ' $ ' . > $,<$' $I
! $ /$ $ C$' E00$' $ &,A$' > ' 9 C=$, ' 4 A$' !$ -$' $,$' . $' ,$ C$' $-EG$' $' =>@ <7$' $ 5$. $,$ C$' - 0$ 2$' #>$' >3 ' %,A$' $' ' . $' ,$ C$' FF$
+' "B " - ' : 7*;@ &8"# "5' Y & " ' ,&>":' 7@' 'S"8'& *' $ #>' A 7' , ' C,7, ' > ' &>7, $ /$ $ $' ,$ C$' E11$' $'
N &<#' 4 ' ' ,7,7 6 @,' 7 ' ," S# B ' # 8 S>F " ' 7 4$' $! ' ; $ 5$' /$ G$' $' ,5$' C$' $ 2$' &,A$' > ' =>@ <7$' $' 5$' C$' $-GE$' 2$' #>' >3 ' %,A$' $' 5$' . $' ,,$' C$' $
O 85 > ' &8#' - <</ > ' 8"-<B' >-"&& 45 &6& ' &' " 8&5 >5 +G' 6 5, #S ' ' Z# # & B' 9 C=', ' 4 A$' /$ $+ ', $' . ' ,,$' C$' $ $' &,A$' > ' =>@ <7$' $' 5$' . $' ,$ C$' EG$' >P' C$' / G$' 2$' ' ,F ' ' !",D*<%) 4 ' * N f ` 6 -"B '" " , 2' 6% '

!@ 5 *:' ' <8 ' 8"B' 6&' H 8 #8'5 "# 8' <' $? # > A 7 $', ' C$' > ' &>7, $ /$ $ $' ,$ C$' /0 $' $
@ #>' A 7 $', ' C$' > ' &>7, ' /$/ -$' $' ,$ C$' F/$' P
! ' ; $ $' ,5$' C$' $ $
O ' % & 2' $' C$' 0F$' $
' 9 C=$', ' 9 > $ /$ $, $' $' ,$ C$' $
+ 0 >&82' ' #8> 5' Z5' 8 "B' 82' 8&"82' H , # > 82' 8* 2 %82' :' <=' 58&& @ <2/' "2' 5 Y "%85 22' 8, "2' 7@' 4 ' @5 @ g5f _:' 8#5 ' C@ ' 8# 85 4 & $ " " & <<<' " 5' 5' 7P g: 7 ' & & ' # 2' ' ;<7 3 ' "8& 5 8&' 2' 58 8&' 82' »» #82' <# &82' <8" #5, &' "#"5 #&8/ 8' 5 658"/#= < "K' ! ' @$' $' ,,$' C$' $ $
^' >>' 5 ,,$' C$' G $']' >>' 5 $' ,' C ' 1 \$
[' &,A$' ,7 A$' 9 >7 ' 2 5$' $' "$ % 7,3$' , $+ 97$' $' 5,,$' C$' -G ' J3$ #<' . , ' , ' $' ,5$' * > $' (> $' $' 4 $' . D,' $' E-$' $' ' $ $ $' ' ' /0 /G ' > ' C @@, $' @ $' $' E $' $' ' $ > ' , ,$

' =,3=' >' @ 'D A' C7 :': 7 >7 N 7' = ' '=>' 7>3>,5>A' =>' B' :' =>' 3 @' A' @37, >A', '
' ' $ " <B>N 7' = ' =>' 7>3>,5>A' : <7 >> ' >C,@ >@' :' =>' C @ >' . < ' <C ' =,3=' =>' 7 >'
3 > 7,>@' @ , '>4 ' @' >: 7>' > , >A$
E$ => A 7>'= @' A,D>@ >A' $. <.@' >C,@ >@' 33 7A, D' ' =>' 7A>7' :' , >' , ' =,3=' => '
$ >7>' 7, > 'N A'= @' @>75>A' ,B> ,@>' =>' C 3>@' :7 ' =,3=' => ' >7>' @> $
U !' , '@=> ? @ @' =>' U =>' 7A>7' :' =>' C @ >?@' >C,@ >@) =>' >@@>A' . <' 7 >': <7$
O >> ' >C,@ >@N <' !' A ' ' =, B' = '=>' @@,D >A' => ' = ' 7A>7' =,3=' >' '= 5>',
O <7' , >@$ =>' >C,@ >' 7, > ' ' =>' A,5, >' . <' ' =>' @' @ A@',,7@', ' 7A>7'* >5>7
U => >@@', ' ,@' =>' @' :' = @>' =,3=' >7>' @> ':7 ' @, ' (3>A , ' A' 3= ,) =>'
O >C,@ >@' :,7@' 7, > ' 7>' =>' '>C,@ >@' ' =>' =>@@ , @N >4 ' =>' '>C,@ >@' ' =>'
U 2 7, =, @) =>' :,: ='', ' 7A>7' :' , >',@' =>' :,7@' ' , = N =>' >4 ' ,@' = ' ' , <@)
U =>' >C,@ >' ' =>' @',@' =>' @>5> =$ =>' =>7' >C,@ >@' >7>' @> ':7 ' >N =>':,7@'
U :' =>@>' !' B>' ' >' = ' ' =>' 9 , @$ %7 ' >' ,B> ,@>' =>' @> ' =>' >C,@ >@' ' =>'
U .=, ,CC, @' A' = ' ' =>' C=>@, @' A' A ' =>' 2 @@, @' ', ' =,3=' @'=>' @' ' > , @'
A@ >@, <@) : 7' =,3=' 7> @ ' =>' >C,@ >' ' .=, > ' ' >'@<CC @>A' '= 5>' >> ' 7, > $
U >: 7>N : 7', ', '=>' A>@,7>@' = ' >@, <@' 7' >'7>3>,5>AN : >7 7A@'=>' 7 >' =>' >C,@ >'
O =>' > 7> @' A':7 ' >' @' =>' 3 3 <@, '@=> @N V' => ' :' ! '@ < >' <$^' =>
U @' :' '=,@' >C,@ >@',@' =>' @>3 A' ' , = $ =,@',@' =>' 7A>7' :' =>' >C,@ >@', 'C , ' :
O , >$ =>' >C,@ >' ' =>' @'= @' >> 'C 3>A':,7@' @' 3 , , D' =>' @'+:< ' A'>4 3
U 7>C7>@> , ' :' =>' 2=7,@ , 'A 3 7, >', ' ', @' 7 3=>@N < '@ >'@ ' = ', '= @' >> '@
O C 3>A' < ' :' 7>@C>3 ' ' =>' 3, ' ' =,3=', ' @'@> ' @'C7>@,A, D' 5>7' =>' = >' 7 A$?
-$ => A 7> ?@'C7>: 3>' '=,@' 2 > 7 '<C ' =>' >C,@ >' ' =>' C=>@, @' A>@>75>@' ' >'
3 7>:< '7> A$' ' =>'> A' :' = 'C7>: 3>'=>'@ @' U =>'+: 7 >7'C 7' :' =>' >C,@ >'3 , @
V] + >' A 3 7, >' :' =>' D @C> =>' >7' C 7 ' ' 7 ' A , , $? = ' ' >'@ ,A', '@ >'
> @<7>' :' @' :' $. < ?@ >C,@ >@ < ', ',@' 7>' >@C>3, ' ,:>@', ' =,@$
$! ' ' >'<C ' C=$,$ /1' / '=>'@ @' U >' ' 7D<>A':7 ' => 3>' = ' =>' C @ >'= A
O ' >'@>> ' =>' C=>@, @' => ' =>' 7 >' = '>C,@ >' ' => N <'=>' A >@' ' ' =>,7
Q 7D< > ' ' >' D A$?
1$! ' ' >' =>7>' @>75>A' = + => A 7>' @' 3, >@' =>$ >C,@ >' ' =>' C=>@, @' '
= ' , >$
$! ' =>' C7>: 3>' ' =>' >C,@ >' ' =>' 2 @@, @' =>' @ @)' >'T= 5>' >> ' :' C, , '
= ' =>' C @ >'= A' '@>> ' = @>' 2=7,@ , @' => '=>' 7 >' ' =>)' A' => '> A> 5 <7>A' '
@<CC 7' =>,7' C, , ' ' =>@>' >4C7>@@, @' 3=$,,$ /N < '=>' @ @' => ' A ' ' 7,D= ', >7C7>'
=>' 7A@' =>' > , D' :' =,3=',@' = '=>' @' ' 3 3>7 >A':7' => ' ' <' ,B> ,@>': 7'
= @>' = '= A' '@>> '=, '* =>' @ @' =>7>: 7>) U !' < A' >'@= < A'B '= ' D7> '3 3>7 '
)'!'= 5>': 7' <' A': 7' => ' :' " A,3> N A': 7' @' '@= 5>' '@>> ' ': 3>', ' =>
U: >@=$? >': 7 =>7' 7D<>@', ' ' >' 5>7 ' ,B> ' :7 ' =>'=,@ 7', ' =>' 3 @' = ' =>' C @ >'
= A' >> ' ' 2 @@>$)' @ '=>' 7D<>@' D , ', '=,@' 3 > ' 'C ' 2 $,,$ /N A' U ,5$ /G$
F] 'C ' 2 $,5$ / '=>'@ @) U >' = 5>'=> 3>', D, >A' = ' =>' C @ >'= A' @' 7, >
O ' =>' " A,3> @' A' => '= A': 7D>A'@<3=' '>C,@ >) <' =>' C @ >'A >@' '@ ' =>'>C,@ >'
, ' =>' " A,3> @' <':7 ' " A,3> '* : 7' => ' = A' 7, > ' ' =, ' <'@ >' =, D@) C7
O ' => ' = A', : 7 >A' =, ' :'@ >' =, D@' ,@@ D' =>' 2 @@, @N =, @' =>' ,B>'
Z: < @' >7>' ' >': < A' , =' => ' @) ,>7>: 7>' =>'A,7>3 @' = ' ,,@' >C,@ >'@= < A' >' ,B> ,@>
7> A' ' => $?
0$! ',@' @<7C7,@, D' ' @>75>' = '@> A + => A 7>' = @' K< >A' =>' 3 = ,3' >C,@ >@) => '
7>' 'K<, >' 5>7 B>AN => ' 7>' K< >A) < ' '=,@' K< , @' :' => ' ,D= ' >'C 3>A' '
:< ' > D =', ' ', >' 7 $! ' @?: 7 >7 '@=> ' = '^' =>7>' 7>' <':> 'K< , @' Z' =>'
3 = =3' >C,@ >@' >, =>7', ' => A 7> ' 7' 2=, @ @ $

W >>'5 $,$ C$ -1
'C j' 2j $$$$

U B>7' @ , @ 7< > @ * A' ' => ' =>' 3 5> >A' ' > ' A,5, >' A' ,@>:<' B >AD>) '
>7, D' =>' >7 :' @C>>3=' ' =,3=' => ' = A' >> ' <@>A' A' , ' =,3=' => ' = A' >> ' 7>A
U < ' >5>7 => >@@ C <7, D' < ' ' =>,7 > @' =>' C<7>' A' 7>:7>@=, D' @ 7> @ :' ,@A $
U ;<@ ' @ ,:' ' > >7 , >7 @= < A' 7, D' : 7 =' ' =,@ D<>@ @ 7,3=' A' :7 D7 ' , >', ' C , ' 3<C@
U A' D @@>@) => ' = ' =,7@ ' < A' A7, B' =>' ,K< 7 ' A' , = < '7>D 7A, D' =>' 3<C@ ' A ,7' =>'
U , >$ ' = 5>' > ' 3 >A', ' =,@ 3 @>$
U '? D7> ' =>' C >7 :' = @>', , >7 >' > ' = @ >> ' ' CC> 7 ' = @>' = ' , ' 3
0C 7>' =>' 97>>B' A' ' D,5>7@ , =' <7 :,@=>7 > ' A' C< ,3 @$ => ' , ':, A' = '
U = @>' D,5>7@ 3 < A' 'C>7@< A>' >5> ' =>,7 >,D= <7@ ' ,5>' 33 7A, D' ' =>,7 @) < '
U =>@>' 9 , > @ = 5>' C>7@< A>A' ' ' 97>>B@ A' @' < ' =>' 7, >@ :' =>' 7 7, @
U ,B> ,@>' '> 7 3>' =>' ' A' A 3 7, >' :' =>' D @C> $$$$ <7+? :,@=>7 > ' A' C< ,3 @' A'
U > B>7' = 5>' C>7@< A>A' ' > ' '> 7 3>' =>' @ :' =>' D @C> N ' ' =>' @' A
0 =>7@ @< *>3 ' ' =>,7 > C,7>' < ' 3 =, @' A' 7 , @' A' ! A, @' A' =, C, @' A'
U .>7@, @' A' 7, , @' A' 9>7 @$! A>>A ' => ' = 5>' 7 <D= ' ' , @' A' ' @ 7 @ :'
U > ' ' 7>3>,5>' =>' @ :' ' 3 3,:,>A' ') A' = ' ' ' 7 @' 7 < >7 <@ >D, @ :'
U @ A,>7@' 7 ' .>7@, ']5, > 3>N < ' ' 7> @ @ A' 7D< > @' @=> , D' => ' @>:< >@@ :
0 = @>' @) 7 @ =,@ >::>3 >A ' , = < ' ' A D>7@ A' A,::,3< ,>@$! ' ' C 3>@ =>
0@<::>7>A', *<7,>@N => ' >7>' > > ' A', C7,@ >A' A' 7 <7>A ' A' < A>7 > ' '5 7,> ' :
0@<::>7, D@' , : ,3 >A' ' => ' ' = @>' = ' 7> >A' =>,7 > >: 3 7@' =>,7 @ 5, <7@' A'
UC= @,3, @' @ =>,7 > > ,>@' A' @ A>3>, :< ' A' A>@,D , D' > N 7 # = 5>' =>' @<::>7, D@
0 7 <D= ' <C ' =>,7 : >7+@ : >7 =>,7 A> =' >> ' >' ' >4 , D<,@=' =>,7 A 3 7, >$
0 @' @ > ' @ 7 7, @' = 5>' A >' =>,7 < @' ' ,@=', N < ' => ' ' A>', '
U @=, >' < ' =>' 7,D= >7N A' =>' >5 D> ,3 ' @ 7>' @ , ' , ' : 73>$$$$ >, =>7 02 ,<@' 7 2 <
0A,<@' = 5>' >> ' >' ' ,@=' >' @ :' :,@=>7 > ' A' C< ,3 @' A' ' > B>7) ' 7
0 > ' >7 ' =>,7 @<33>@@ 7N = <D=' =>' C< ' ' A> =' ' :' =>' C7, 3,C ' :' = @>' D,5>7@' . > >7
0 A' . < $ >' B, >A' =>' D,5>7@' < ' =>' 3 < A' ' ,@=' =>,7 @) 7 > ' # , , ' 7
0 ' :' =>' @<33>>A, D' > C>7 7@' :' >$ < '' =>' 7>' =>' : >7@' :' ;>@<@' A' :' =,@
0 C @ >@' >7>' C>7@>3< >A' =>' 7>' => ' , 37> @>A' , ' =>' = >' 7 A' = @ >> ' :, >A' , =
0 => $? >7>' => A 7> ' C7 3>>A@ ' , @ 3>', ' ' C>7@>3< , ' :' =>' 2=7,@ , @ ' =>' . >7M
@, @ N =,3=' =>' 7>C7>@> @ @ >43>>A, D' 37<> $ >' : >7 7A@ @>75>@ =>' D7> ' >7 , @
=,3=' =>' 2=7,@ , ' A 3 7, >' = A' A>', ' =>' >7@ :' = @>' . >7@, @ = '> 7 3>A', N AN
,B> ,@>' = ', ' = A' 3,5, ,[>A' =>7 C> C >$ U . > C >' ' = ' <D<@ <@' A' ' =>' C >7 :' =>'
U ' > C,7>N 3 < A' ', A<3>' 7>3>,5>' =>,7 @' 5> >7 >' =>' 7, , D@ :' . > >7 ' A$
U . < ' A' ; = ' A' (=> ' A' " <B>' A' (7B' @, :' => '= A' >> '@> ' A :7 ' => 5> $?
' 7, >@ => A 7> ' >: 7>' =>' ,AA >' :' =>' :,: =' 3> <7 $ < '!' ', ' A D>7 :'>43>>AM
, D', ' ' >4 7 3 @ :7 ' @ ' D7>> >' ' 7, >7N !' =>7>: 7>' : 7 > 7 ' ' AA' ' =, D' : 7 =>7 *$
= <D=' <3=' 7>' : @ ' =>' ,B>' C<7C @>$
1 ' >' =, D' >' 3 ' C>73>,5>' :7 ' => A 7> N = T =>' => => ' C> C >' >7>' ::> A>A' '
=>' D7> ' 7>@C>3 ' => ' @=> ' ' =>' 7 7@$ => A 7> '*<@ ,:,>@' ,) =>' @ @' =>' 97>>B@ = A'
, >' 7> @ ' ' B>' >43>C , @' :' = ' B, A$ 7+0 A,A' 2=7,@ , @' 7, D' @ 37,:,3>@' ' =>+
7 7@N => ' ' = <7>A' => ' @ >43> > ' > ' = ' = A' : , =:< ' @>75>A' 9 A ' A' = A'
,A' A ' =>,7 ,5>@' : 7 =>' 7< =$
$ >'? ,B> ,@>', @,@ @ ' =>' 3> > 7, ' :' =>' 7 7@' @$ ' 7D< > ', ' J5 <7 :' =>' C7, M
3,C >@ =,3=' => ' C7 :>@@>A$ =>' > 7 ' =>' @ @' :' ' 7,< C= ' 3 K<>7 7@ ,@ @'
@ $ A ' B @ =>7>' # 7,<@' A' 6>74>@' A' >4 A>7 ' >7>' <7 ,>A 7' 3 ' '
@=> ' =>' @>C< 3=7>@ :' <D<@ <@' A' =>' > C>7 7@ = '= 5>' @<33>>A>A' =, $ < '!+ =>' @_
:' =>' 5,3 7, <@ 7 7@ 7>' > ' B ' A' : > ' :7>K <> >A' N A' D ,:,3> ' > C >@ 7>'
<, ' ' => ' , =' =>' >7, @ :'=> => ' > C >@ ' A' 0 9 A' = @ 7 <D= '=,@ A> A' > $ =>'
7 7@' , ' =>' 7 ' :' <7 A>, ,>@$
' => A 7> ' ' < ' =>' @37,C <7>@ = 5>' D,5> ' 'A,7>3 , @' : 7 C , D' @<3=' 7>@C>3 ' ' 7 7@$$
A' , ' @= < A' >' 3 @,A>7>A' = ' ' =,@ , >' >77 7 = A' >> ' ,4>A' , =' 7< =' N A' @<C>7@ ,

X 4 ' 5 & (' , , ' F D ' * $ @ * /, ' & 8" > @ B * 4 &"%8
M 4 ' , ' F ' /' 4 ' , ' F ' 9 XWP - !6 !6T= %)$ & ' ' YW8Z!' ?' &9) $* .
' ')' /.)2 ' 8)2') ? *(')' % . =) & # ' 6%,)$ ", % " 45 97 >3$ ::$, ' 7 "*D$',5$ C$ J /$
;' &! /%)')*(W O - !) N!=' OX ! - &!P' ' -' 4 ', ' F ' 9$' ! $ >7 $ $ C$ 1MM' ' $$$$$$
" ' ' ', ' ,'M' - / ' 9 " ! $ >7 $ D$ C$ ' G1 ' $ D ' =
' 4 ' C$ ' * ' ' N 4 ' C$;1$! $ C$ $

("-"V & , - . # 0" &

, , =7> ,D, 7 A,A => 7 7@ : => C7, , ,5> , >@ A>@,7> @<3= = <7@ > D,5> => ń : >C 3>A , =>7 => = A>, ,>@$ => = A C7 >@ >A D , @ ,A 7 A ,A A =>,7 5>@ 7 =>7 = D,5>7> ,D, <@ 7@=,C < 9 A A =,@ 2=7,@ $

2 . $ 2 6 6 6 ! ! $

; 2 ! $

!$ 0" 6 @ 8: ("; !!$ 0" 4 : & !!!$ 0" -" & !&$: 6-8 8:2 82 - 6 &$ @ +, - 6 8 ; : 4 "5 (-& -"; &!$. : 8 " 8: ("5" " : , - 4 "#] 8: (; 8 @ $ # 4 , - ; & ! !$ 4) 58 " : B 8: (-" 6 " / # ": 4"# 8: (:4-8 " 8) : 8@ : : "4 , ! : (4 :4 :": 2 " 828": V6- ; - 6

" ! " < = 7 ^ : (@ ,3 ! @ , < , @ , > 5> B@ 2 :>7> 3>@ , < >7 : => ! 3 7 , : 2=7,@ D , @ >@ 7,<@ , @>5> B@ AA7>@@>A " > => A> 3 : >7 7A@ ,@= C : > = @> A>@,7> => > >7> 3 C @>A 7>3B >A =,@ @ 7B A 7, > < => > 7 - G ,@ C 3>A 2 5> => > 7 E >3 <@> => 3 C< >@ =, = 5> => >D< 7, >$ $ @ D>0O @C> B@ :=, => > 7 EH => , > : => 7,@> : > ,C> D, ,@ , 9 < : =,3= 2 @@, ,@ @ ,A > => C 7> $
! ! $ 2 5> O => ,@ @ ,A = 5> >> : 3 =, 7,D, 7 => @$, > @ @ O =>7> 7> A,::,3< ,>@ < =,@ 3 < 7 N < => @ C7 > C, , ,@ = => @ : => O " >@@>7 3 =, C7 5, 3> : =7 3> =>7> => ,D= > 7 < -1G 7 - G$? 5> @ 3,> 7, >7 @ 9> A<@ T = = @ C 3>A 2 @@, , =,@ 2 D<> A D,5> 33 < :=,@ 7B@ 3 @ =, 3 =, N @ A >@ O 7, => ,<@ ,B> ,@> 5>7 >4C7>@@ $ < . D, A =>7 > 7 >A > = 5> 3 > 7>A <C =,@ A,::,3< N => 7D<> :7 @ > >4C7>@@, @ , =,@ 7B@ = => @ ,5> : = ,@ 3 >A . 7 5> 3> , %7 3>$ => C, , :=,@ >, D 3 =, @>> @ = 5> 7,@> :7 =,@= 5, D >> @ > =, > , => A>@>7 : 3> > 7 3=> ,@ 7 3, ,@ , D C N A = 5, D @ 7, > 33 < :3 :>7> 3>@ , = 3 < 7 N A > 7 >A > ! @<CC @> A D> >7 ^ @@> = =,@ 33 < $ < # < . , @ , =>@,M >@$ A @, 3> =, =>7 D7>> > 7, >7 ^ 5>7 > > @C> B@ :=, @ U ,5> : =7 3> NO >3 <@> C>7= C@ => = A @>75>A = = @ >> @ ,A . D, 7 => < = 7@ 7>:>77>A =, $! A>>A => =>7 C, , = @ C7>5 , >A 5>7 <3=N A => 3 , > : =>@> 2 M :>7> 3>@ , > C7, >A >A, , @ ,@ O2 , >@ . 7< , 3 =,3 >7> 3 7 ,< = <D= , ,@ C , :7 => 7B , @> : = = @> B@ 7 : =>7@ A > , D C $ (7>M 5>7 => , > : =,@ 7B , 9> A,<@ , @ V 2 :>7> 3>@ => A , = D C , (B@$! ,D= = 5> >> AA>A @ ! CC7>=> A => 7 @>75 , @ 7> , D =,@ C , = => 9 7>>B@ >7> 7, > => > : = A>@>7 3, ,@N > > @ , ,@ @ 7, > , & >@,<@?@ >A, , : 37 >@ =,3= 7A ,D= > > @, <7 >A , 3 =, @ > = >7> 3K< , >A , = => D> D7 C= : D C N A => < A > 3 7> >@@ : >A = => 7@$

O &,A$ 2 5$ $ "$ $,$ C$ /G$ #< . , $, $ $,,,$ C$ 7 , > $ (> $ $ 4,5$
O #> % 9%4 %& (! @ , < ,@ % ! % # . 7< > 7> 3=> , @> 3> , @>< 3, , #> 2=7,@ , ! 3 7 , > A5>7@<@ >@ 7,< $ C$, $ . . $ $ 5,,$
 A >4 7> < 7 D <@ " > > <7 ,@ >C,@3 C @37,C@, A5>7@<@ >@ 7,< A> ! 3 7 , > # , , , 7 @ >C > $ 9> A$ #> &$!$ 3 C$ $ &,A$ > 2 @@, $, . 7$, 7$ A> ! 3 $ 2=7,@ ,$ $ #$ 7M $ $
 ; >@ 2 @@, <@ D> >7> 3 = >4 <7,3J 2=>7@ >@ 7,< A<@ => ,@ 3<@ >@ $ ' ,@<C$
N !## ! & . 6
 2 @@, <@ , > 3 = 2 @ , C ; ; > D < ,@<C7 >C,@3 C #, 3 <@ 7A, <@ C<A (@@, , .7>@ >7 3 A,

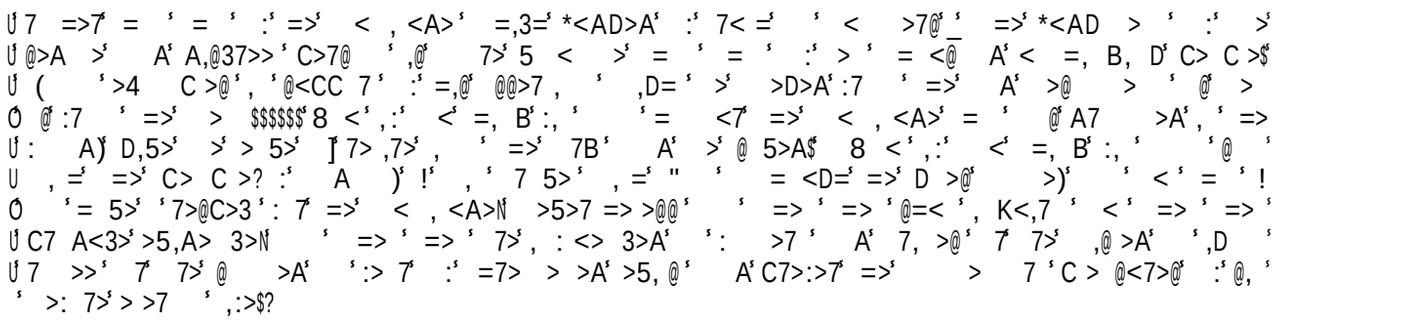
A< @ >7, ,A >@ 5,7 7< > < ,>7 < 9> A$ #> &$ $/$ 3 C$ $
; >@ 2 @@, <@ , > 3 = J 3$ #> 37$ 3$ 3 C$ $ O $ G $ $ $$$ E $
B $ @ D$ $ EC$ $ $
 $ $ $! >7> 3 =, > @><, >7> 3 =,3 @,, > < 3 7 5>7@, @37, > A< >@@> U , >7> 3=> ,3 ?= 3 >@ < , 5>7@, > . <4-7>3 > >D, <7 >7> U 3=> ,3 = 3 >@ . D, $ G $ $ EE$ V &,A$ % 7$, $ 9 7$ $ 5,,$ C$ 11 / 11E$ J (7$ >7 , =,@ ,@ : => . C>@ & $,$ C$ -0H$ V #,D>@@, > , 2 , >@ 3< . 7, <@ , D C ,,@$ 9>7 $ & *8 4 P # 76*.< * , 7,* #8 : 7 7 > &%) -$ 0 % %.6 * 37$! , $ 3$ E $ C$ E E$ %$

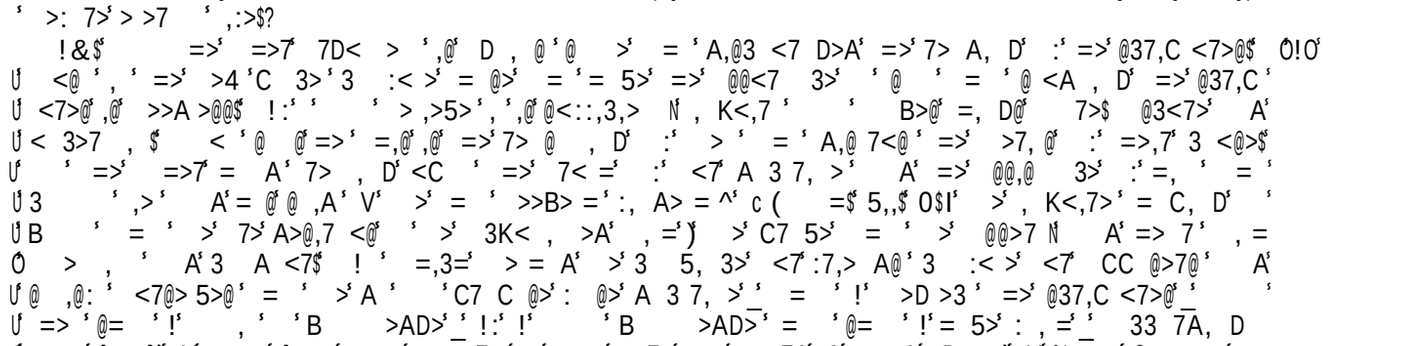
>@,A>@' , Ø =>':,7@'3 , C >7 :'=>':,7@'2 :>7> 3>' A', ' =>' , >' :' = '3= C >7 =>' A>@ 7',@ '3 >A' 3= ,' 7 3= ,@' =,3='3 'A> >' 3 =, $ =,@', :'A< ' > A>A' ',D='=>' , A<3>A' > 7 >A' > ' ' =, B' :' 3> >' 7 3, ,' 7 3, ,@', ' D C ' =>7>' =>': =>7@ @C B> ' :' 3>7 , 'A > Ñ A' => ' => ' >>A>A' ' '= 5>'D >' ' 3 =, ', 'K<>@' :'2 @@, ?@ ,5>' 3 < 7 $!'= 5>'@ >A' =<@ D'<C ' =,@' >3 <@>' ,@ B>@ A', 33<7 3,>@ 7>' '3 'Ñ A'!', =, B', ' ' >' :'@ >'<@>' '3 77>3' => ' => ' =>7>',@' ': ,7 CC 7 < , $!!!$ 2 @@, ' > >7>A' > 7 ', ' ' @ ,3 3 <7@>' :' ,:>$ >' @' => ' < D': 7@ >' =, >', ' ' @ >7 ' ' > = >=> 'Ñ : >7 7A@'=>' A'=,@' :7,> A' 9>7 ' A>' '5,@, ' ' =>' B@', ' D C $! ' =>' > 7 G- ' => ' >7>' '2 @ , C >' =>7>'Ø2 @@, ' @' 7A , >A' A> > ' ' $ 2=7 @ @ $! ' G ' 7 G1'=>'3 >' ' >' A' @' 7A , >A' C7>@ >7 ' . C>'! 3> ' @', '@>> @$! ' =>' > 7 /G' 7 @ ' : >7' @' @ >' =, B' 7 @' =>7@'@>5>7 ' > 7@' >: 7>'=>'3 >', '9 < ' A'@> >A' ' (7@>, >@' =>7>' =>' >7>3 >A' ' @ >7,>@' >': 7 > ' =>7 : 7 > $ =>'Ú > 7 :'=,@' A> ='@ < 3>7 , $ >5>7'2 5>' '@ @ ' =>'A,>A', ' 0', '=>' =' > 7 :'=,@' D>)' @ D>Ø' < ' 1G$!&$! '= @ >> ' K<>@ , >A' => =>7 2 @@, ' 7 >', ' 97>>B' 7 " , $, > ' @ @ Ø = ' =>'! @, <, @' A' 2 :>7> 3>@' =,3=' >7>'3 C @>A' : 7 =>' @ B>' :' =>' B@', ' Ú 9 < ' :' =,3='C>7= C@' =>7>' @' ' > ' = ' < A>7@ A' 97>>B' >7>' 3>7 , ' 7, > ', Ø " , $!:' =>7>: 7>' 'A < ' >' A , >A'3 3>7 , D' ' :'=,@' 7B@', '3 ' '7> >' Ø=,@' B@' :' =>'! 3 7 , Ñ , ' =,3=' ,> 7O =>'> A' =>' AA7>@@3 =' =, @> :' ' =>'C> C >' :' Ú 2 @ , C >$? >5>7 => >@@' !' =, B', '5> 'C , ' = 'Ť => ' @ ' >7>' 7, > ', ' " , $ &$ 2 @@, 'K< >@' ' + =>': <7'D @C> @' =>' 3 @' :' =>' C @ >@' A' =>7' B@' :' =>' > ' >@ > ' =,3=' = A' >> ' ' D' < ,5>7@ '7>3>,5>A' '3 = ,3' 2=7,@ , @Ñ =, ' ,B> ,@>' =>' '>C,@ >' ' =>' > 7> @' @' . < ?@Ñ =>'Ú>C,@ >' :' ; @Ñ =>' @>3 A' >C,@ >' :' . > >7Ñ =>'Ú>C,@ >' :' ; <A>Ñ A'Ż =>' >5> , ') => 3>' >' '3 3 <A>' = '=>'7>3>,5>A' ' =>'@ >' B@' :' =>' > ' >@ > ' =,3=' >' '7>3>,5>Ñ' =,3=',@' 7 = ' :' @>75 , $ 2 @@, ' = '= A' >> ', ' . >@ , >' A' D C ' A' '2 @ , C >' @' > ' @', ' =>' >@ >7 ' C ,+' :' =>'> C,7>'A,A' ': '=>'C>3< , 7 C, , @' :' ' :' = @>'C 3>@Ñ < '=>'7>3>,5>A' ' = @>' B@' :' =>' > ' >@ > ' =,3=' CC> 7>A' '= 5>' >> '7>3>,5>A'<C 'D A'D7 < A@' ' '2=7,@ , @$ & "' 9> >7 ' , >@' :' B@' :'@37,C <7>' A' 7B@' :'7>@C>3': 7 => ' 7>'@<3=' @' =>@>$! '=,@' B@' D , @' >@ 7,<@'=>'C7 5>@' = '=>' @@>7 @' '] A,5, >' >@ , ,>@' ':7 'Ý =>' C7 C=> @' A' C @ >@Ñ :7 ' =>'? 7A@' :'C7 C=> @' C @ >@' A'>5 D> ,@ @$ A'=>' =, B@' = ' = @>' >@ , ,>@' 7>' @< :,3,> ' ' @ ,@: ' ') >5>7 => >@@' = 5, D' > A> 5 <7>A' ' C7 5>'=,@' A 3 7, >' ' =>' < = 7, ' :'@37,C <7>' =>'7>:>7@' >@ 7,<@'? ' =>'27>>A' :' =>'3=<73=$:' , 3=' =>7>' =>' = A' >> ' >A<3 >AÑ A' K< >@' @ '? A,5>7@' >33 >@, @ ,3 ' 7, >7@Ñ C 7M ,3< 7 ' , 7 ' 7 @>' ;>7 ' <:, < ' <D<@ , >' = @,<@' A'?; = ' ,@= C' :'2 M @ , C >' 7 $ 2=7 @ @ $

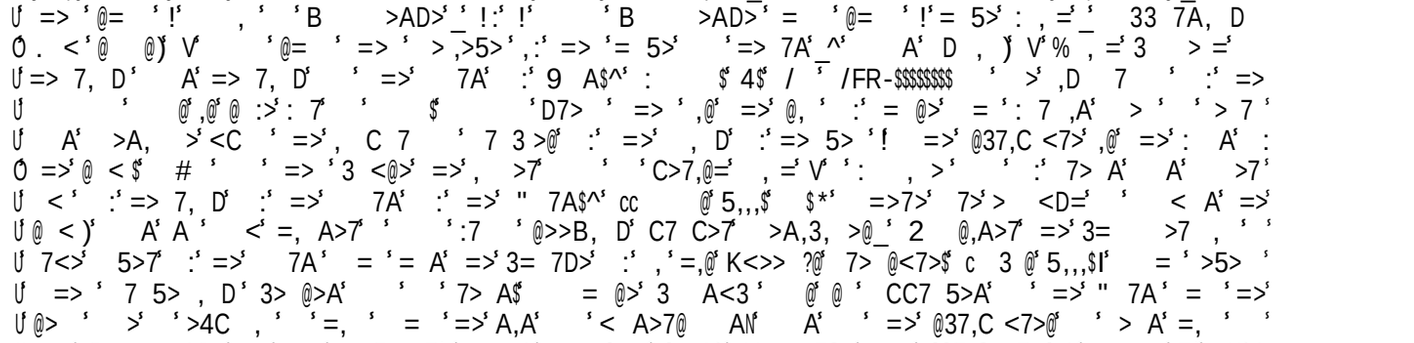
Ø 2 C<' C7, <7 $ Ú #>' = , , >' 3= ,' >' C7 C @, Ú ,@ (@,@$? 2< ' ,'>7> ' 3= ,'< ', 3= 7< ' C7 ,@@, ', . 7>@' >' ,< ' @ 3 7< ' 7 <7 C>7:>3 ' , ' J3' 2 , $ $, ,7<7 ' > ' A,@3,C ,' : 3 < K<>' C7 >@< A C <@' >', ' ' > ,@@ >' > 7, >' ; >' >C,@3 C ', ' , ,@ >7,< ' @ 37< ' K<>' P@' # > $$$' #>'! 3 7,,$ '5,,$ >$ - /$ @< ', $ +'. D,' $ --$ $ /O$ >>' @ ' , > $ 2 @@,>' 7$ / $ 37, >7>' 7 <@ >@ ? ' ' E $,,' $ 0' > ,@ @< >'GF ' ' ,'@<C7 $ +' $ $ $ $ G ' ,'@<C7 $ Ø &,A$ #>'! 3 7 $ /$ 5,$ 3$ -$?R &,A$! @ , <$ '5,$ 3$ /G$ #>'! 3 $ 2=7$ '5'3$ '>' C @@, $, $$$$'>::,3, <7 @>3< A< ' C @ < ' Ú ' : 3 7> '@>A' Ú*<A,3>@' >D,@$? c; 3$,5$ $I' 2 , $ '3$ $ &,A$'2 ' '1$ 3$ $'>' , ,$ ' >3< A< ' C @ ,' K >'@> > , $ Ú 'K< 'K<,@K<>' + 7,< ' @ 3>7A < ' A,3 ' @< A,A>7 Ñ <' ,A' K< A' <3 7, >' >@ , , 7 ' @ 37 ' * ' CC7 5, <@' >, ' :,A>'C7 >' @> ,@' > C 7,@ 7 7> <@$! $ /$ 5,,$ 3$ E -$:$! @ $ /$ 5$ 3$ /-$ Ø ' <@' K< K<>' C @ 7< '>5,A> ,<@ A,3,)' D> @' K<,' '@>75 5>7< '@<< 'C7, 3,C <7 '@>A'A>7>,,K<>7< 'A ,3, ' , '@<< ' J3' c;<A'5>7$ $I' 2 ' ' $ 3$ $ 5 4$! ($

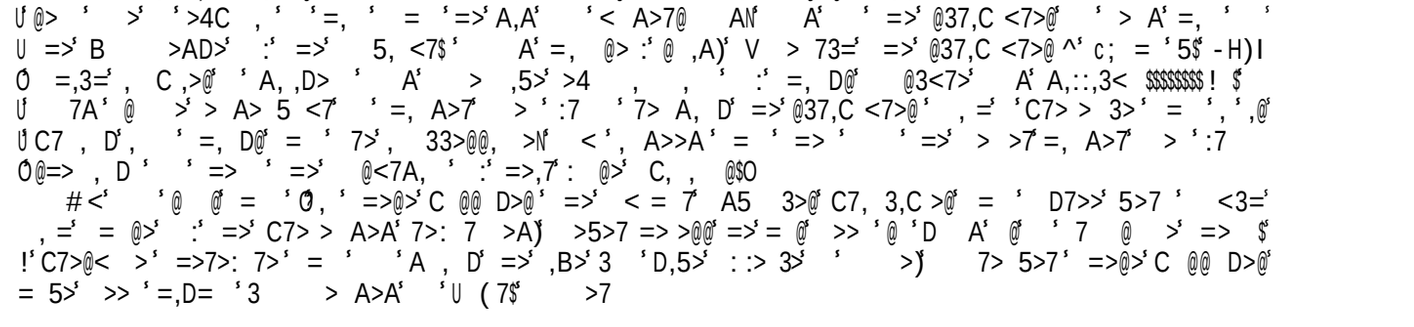
]' ' , ' C 3 C@,Ñ Ú D ' K< @ ' 7D< ' >' 3 @ ,D ? c2 C$,,,$ $I' 2 $ $ 3' $' &,A$'>'! @ $ /$ $ ' $ /$ 5$ 3$ $ 2 $ EE$ 3$ $ >' , ,$]' < 3', >7, ' >' 2=7,@ < ' #><7 ' >' (7, ' 7> ' #>,'A,5, ,@' >@ , <@ CC7 > <@$ #>'! 3$ 2=7$ /$,,$ 3$ $ Ť2 <,A' ,@' <' < 3' = >7> ,3>' <::,3,< >' = >3 >@ , , ' :,A>',_$$$' $ ' ,K<,A' A=<2' AA> A< ' > Ø ' K<,A'5>'C @' C7 C=> @'5>'C @' C @ @' AA,' C >@' '! $ $,,, $ 3$ $, ' : 7D ' K<, ' @<C>7, 7, <@ 7,@ # , < ' ;>@< ' 2=7,@ C ' 'C7 C=> ,3,@ < ' K<>' C @ ,3,@'@>A'>, '>5 D>=3,@ K<>' D> ,3,@ >@ , , ,@'3< ', '3 >' K<>', ' >77 '>@@> ' #>< 'C7 5, <@$$$' $ ',5$ 3$ $>'C @@, $!D, <7' K<, ' >D ,' #>< ' = >7> ,3 ' < A>'* ' '7> 7' 3< 3 ,@ @<C>7, 7, <@ @37,C ,@ A,5, 7< ' >@ , , 5< ' <3 7, ' >' 7>@C A, <@Ñ < 3' A' :,A> ' , 3=> ,+@ ,' ,7 < ' > K<>'5><, <@$ "$ 5,$ 3$ -$ ' >A' > C<@ A> ' >@ ':, > ' , 7 ', '< ,5>7@>' C>7, ' , C >7>'@,' C <3 7< ' :3, > '@ 3 7< '5,7 7< ' K<>', <@' 7,< ' @ 3>7A < ' A,3 ' @< A,A>7 Ñ <' ,A' K< A' <3 7, >' >@ , , 7 ' @ 37 ' * ' CC7 5, <@' >, ' :,A>'C7 >' @> ,@' > C 7,@ 7 7> <@$! $ /$ 5,,$ 3$ E Ø ; >@' 2 @ , C , 7< ' ,@ , < ' A>3<@$$' 2$-G$

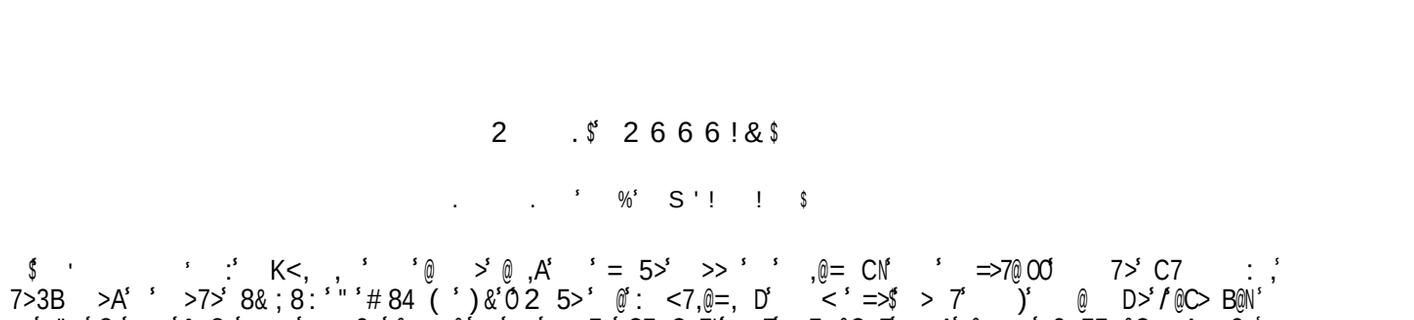
(")" " &‘ ,‘ - ‘ . # ‘ 0 " &

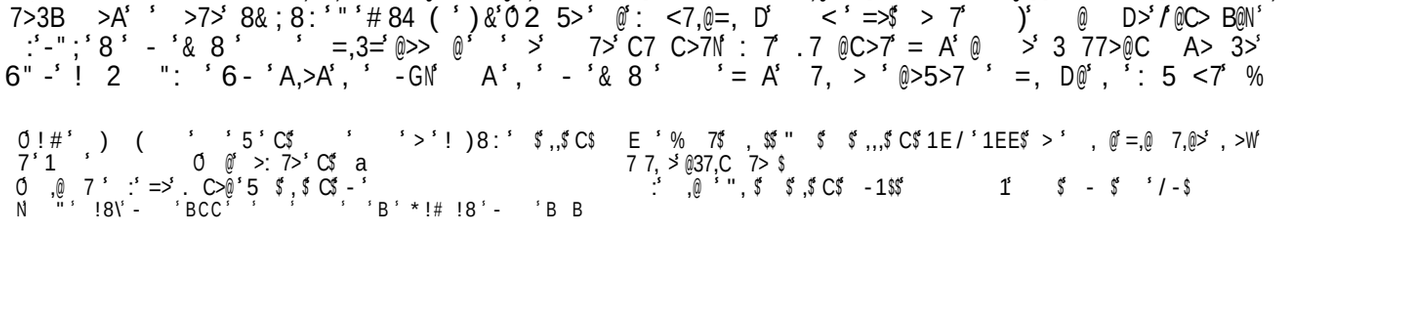












Ú 7 =>7‘ = ‘ = ‘ :‘ =>‘ < , <A>‘ =,3=‘ *<AD>A‘ :‘ 7< =‘ ‘ < >7@‘_ =>‘ *<AD > ‘ :‘ >‘
Ú @>A >‘ A‘ A,@37>>‘ C>7@ ‘ ,@‘ 7>‘ 5 < >‘ = ‘ = ‘ :‘ > ‘ = <@ A‘ < =, B, D‘ C> C >$‘
Ú (‘ >4 C >@‘ , ‘ @<CC 7‘ :‘ =,@‘ @@>7 , ‘ ,D= ‘ >‘ >D>A‘ :7 ‘ =>‘ A‘ >@ > ‘ @‘ >
Ó @‘ :7 ‘ =>‘ > $$$$$$‘ 8 <‘ ,:‘ <‘ =, B‘ :, ‘ ‘ = <7‘ =>‘ < , <A>‘ = ‘ @‘ A7 >A‘ , ‘ =>
Ú : A)‘ D,5>‘ >‘ > 5>‘]‘ 7> ,7>‘ , ‘ =>‘ 7B‘ A‘ >‘ @ 5>A$‘ 8 <‘ ,:‘ <‘ =, B‘ :, ‘ ‘ @ ‘
U , =‘ =>‘ C> C >? :‘ A)‘ !‘ , ‘ 7 5>‘ , =‘ " ‘ = <D=‘ =>‘ D >@‘ >)‘ ‘ < ‘ = ‘ !
Ó ‘ = 5>‘ ‘ 7>@C>3‘ : 7‘ =>‘ < , <A>N‘ >5>7 => >@@‘ ‘ => ‘ => ‘ @=< ‘ , K<,7 ‘ < ‘ => ‘ => ‘
Ú C7 A<3>‘ >5,A> 3>N‘ ‘ => ‘ => ‘ 7>‘ , : <> 3>A‘ ‘ : >7 ‘ A‘ 7, >@‘ 7‘ 7>‘ ,@ >A‘ ‘ ,D ‘
Ú 7 >>‘ 7‘ 7>‘ @ >A‘ ‘ :> 7‘ :‘ =7> > >A‘ >5, @‘ A‘ C7>:>7‘ =>‘ > 7 ‘ C > @<7>@‘ :‘ @, ‘
‘ >: 7>‘ > >7 ‘ ,:>$?
!&$‘ =>‘ =>7‘ 7D< > ‘ ,@‘ D , @‘ @ >‘ = ‘ A,@3 <7 D>A‘ =>‘ 7> A, D‘ :‘ =>‘ @37,C <7>@$‘ Ó!O‘
Ú <@ ‘ , ‘ =>‘ >4 ‘ C 3>‘ 3 :< >‘ = @>‘ = ‘ = 5>‘ =>‘ @@<7 3>‘ ‘ @ ‘ = ‘ @ <A , D‘ =>‘ @37,C ‘
Ú <7>@‘ ,@‘ >>A >@@$‘ !:‘ ‘ ‘ > ,>5>‘ , ‘ ,@‘ @<::,3,> N‘ , K<,7 ‘ ‘ B>@‘ =, D@‘ 7>$ @3<7>‘ A‘
Ú < 3>7 , $‘ < ‘ @ @‘ =>‘ =,@‘ ,@‘ =>‘ 7> @ , D‘ :‘ > ‘ = ‘ A,@ 7<@ ‘ =>‘ >7, @‘ :‘ =>,7‘ 3 <@>$‘
Ú ‘ =>‘ =>7‘ = A‘ 7> , D‘ <C ‘ =>‘ 7< =‘ :‘ <7‘ A 3 7, >‘ A‘ =>‘ @@,@ 3>‘ :‘ =, ‘ = ‘
Ú 3 ‘ ,>‘ A‘ = @‘ @ ,A‘ V‘ >‘ = ‘ >>B> =‘ :, A> = ^‘ c (=$‘ 5,,$‘ 0$I‘ >‘ , K<,7>‘ = C, D‘ ‘
Ú B ‘ = ‘ >‘ 7>‘ A>@,7 <@‘ ‘ >‘ 3K< , >A‘ , =‘)‘ >‘ C7 5>‘ = ‘ >‘ @@>7 N‘ A‘ => 7‘ , =
Ó > , ‘ A‘ 3 A <7$‘ ! ‘ =,3=‘ > = A‘ >‘ 3 5, 3>‘ <7‘ :7,> A@‘ 3 :< >‘ <7‘ CC @>7@‘ A‘
Ú @ ,@: ‘ <7@> 5>@‘ = ‘ >‘ A ‘ ‘ C7 C @>‘ : @>‘ A 3 7, >‘_‘ = ‘ !‘ >D >3 ‘ =>‘ @37,C <7>@‘_‘ ‘
Ú => ‘ @= ‘ !‘ , ‘ ‘ B >AD>‘_‘ !:‘ !‘ ‘ B >AD>‘ = ‘ @= ‘ !‘ = 5>‘ : , =‘_‘ 33 7A, D
Ó . <‘ @ @)‘ V‘ ‘ @= ‘ => ‘ > ,>5>‘ ,:‘ => ‘ = 5>‘ ‘ => 7A‘_^‘ A‘ D ,)‘ V‘ % , =‘ 3 > =‘
Ú => 7, D‘ A‘ => 7, D‘ ‘ =>‘ 7A‘ :‘ 9 A$^‘ : $‘ 4$‘ / ‘ /FR-$$$$$$$$ ‘ >‘ ,D 7 ‘ :‘ =>
Ú ‘ @‘ ,@‘ @ :>‘ : 7‘ ‘ $‘ ‘ D7> ‘ => ‘ ,@‘ =>‘ @, ‘ :‘ = @>‘ = ‘ : 7 ,A‘ > ‘ ‘ > 7 ‘
Ú A‘ >A, >‘ <C ‘ =>‘ , C 7 ‘ 7 3 >@‘ :‘ =>‘ , D‘ :‘ => 5> ‘ !‘ =>‘ @37,C <7>‘ ,@‘ =>‘ : A‘ :
Ó =>‘ @ < $‘ # ‘ ‘ => ‘ 3 <@>‘ =>‘ , >7‘ ‘ ‘ C>7,@=‘ , =‘ V‘ ‘ : , >‘ ‘ :‘ 7> A‘ A‘ >7‘
Ú < ‘ :‘ => 7, D‘ :‘ =>‘ 7A‘ :‘ =>‘ " 7A$^‘ cc @‘ 5,,,$‘ $*‘ =>7>‘ 7>‘ > <D=‘ ‘ < A‘ =>‘
Ú @ <)‘ A‘ A ‘ <‘ =, A>7‘ ‘ ‘ :7 ‘ @>>B, D‘ C7 C>7‘ >A,3, >@_‘ 2 @,A>7‘ =>‘ 3= >7 , ‘ ‘
Ú 7<>‘ 5>7‘ :‘ =>‘ 7A‘ = ‘ = A‘ =>‘ 3= 7D>‘ :‘ , ‘ =,@‘ K<>> ?@‘ 7> @<7>$‘ c 3 @‘ 5,,,$I‘ = ‘ >5> ‘
Ú => ‘ 7 5> , D‘ 3> @>A‘ ‘ ‘ 7> A$‘ = @>‘ 3 A<3 ‘ @‘ @ ‘ CC7 5>A‘ ‘ =>‘ " 7A‘ = ‘ =>‘
Ú @> ‘ >‘ ‘ >4C , ‘ ‘ =, ‘ = ‘ =>‘ A,A‘ ‘ < A>7@ AN‘ A‘ ‘ =>‘ @37,C <7>@‘ ‘ > A‘ =, ‘ ‘
U =>‘ B >AD>‘ :‘ =>‘ 5, <7$‘ A‘ =, @> :‘ @ ,A)‘ V > 73=‘ =>‘ @37,C <7>@ ^‘ c; = ‘ 5$‘ -H)I
Ó =,3=‘ , C ,>@‘ ‘ A, ,D> ‘ A‘ > ,5>‘ >4 , , ‘ :‘ =, D@‘ @3<7>‘ A‘ A,::,3< $$$$$$$$! $‘
Ú 7A‘ @ >‘ > A> 5 <7‘ ‘ =, A>7‘ > ‘ :7 ‘ 7> A, D‘ =>‘ @37,C <7>@‘ , =‘ ‘ C7> > 3>‘ = ‘ , ‘ ,@‘
Ú C7 , D‘ , ‘ =, D@‘ = ‘ 7>‘ , 33>@@, >N‘ < ‘ , A>>A‘ = ‘ => ‘ ‘ =>‘ > >7‘ =, A>7‘ > ‘ :7
Ó @=> , D ‘ ‘ => ‘ =>‘ @<7A, ‘ :‘ =>,7‘ : @>‘ C, , @$O
#<‘ ‘ @ @‘ = ‘ Ó, ‘ =>@>‘ C @@ D>@‘ =>‘ < = 7‘ A5 3>@‘ C7, 3,C >@‘ = ‘ D7>>‘ 5>7 ‘ <3=‘
, =‘ = @>‘ :‘ =>‘ C7> > A>A‘ 7>: 7 >A)‘ >5>7 => >@@‘ =>‘ = @‘ >> ‘ @ ‘ D A‘ @‘ ‘ 7 @ >‘ => $‘
!‘ C7>@< >‘ =>7>: 7>‘ = ‘ ‘ A , D‘ =>‘ ,B>‘ 3 ‘ D,5>‘ : :> 3>‘ ‘ >)‘ 7> 5>7‘ =>@>‘ C @@ D>@‘
= 5>‘ >> ‘ =,D= ‘ 3 > A>A‘ ‘ U (7$‘ >7

2 . $‘ 2 6 6 6 ! & $

. . ‘ %‘ S ' ! ! $

$ ' ‘ :‘ K<, , ‘ ‘ @ >‘ @ ,A‘ ‘ = 5>‘ >> ‘ ‘ ,@= CN‘ ‘ =>7@ OO‘ 7>‘ C7 : ,‘
7>3B >A‘ ‘ >7>‘ 8& ; 8 : ‘ " ‘ # 84 (‘) &‘ Ó 2 5>‘ @‘ : <7,@=, D‘ < ‘ =>$‘ > 7‘)‘ @ D>‘ /‘ @C> B@N‘
:‘ -" ; ‘ 8 ‘ - ‘ & 8 ‘ ‘ =,3=‘ @>> @‘ ‘ >‘ 7>‘ C7 C>7N‘ : 7‘ . 7 @C>7‘ = A‘ @ >‘ 3 77>@C A> 3>‘
6" -‘ ! 2 ": ‘ 6 - ‘ A,>A‘ , ‘ -GN‘ A‘ , ‘ - ‘ & 8 ‘ ‘ = A‘ 7, > ‘ @>5>7 ‘ =, D@‘ , ‘ : 5 <7‘ %

Ó ! # ‘) (‘ ‘ 5 ‘ C$‘ ‘ ‘ > ‘ !) 8 : ‘ $‘ ,,$‘ C$ E ‘ % 7$‘ , $$‘ " $‘ $‘ ,,,$‘ C$‘ 1E / ‘ 1EE$‘ > ‘ , @‘ =,@ 7,@>‘ , >W‘
7‘ 1 ‘ Ó @‘ >: 7>‘ C$‘ a 7 7, >‘ @37,C 7> $
Ó ,@ 7 ‘ :‘ =>‘ . C>@‘ 5 $‘ , $‘ C$‘ - ‘ :‘ ,@ ‘ " , $‘ $‘ ,$‘ C$‘ -1$$‘ 1‘ $‘ - $‘ ‘ / - $
N " ‘ !8\‘ - ‘ BCC‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ B ‘ * !# !8 ‘ - ‘ B B

I '4 ',' 4 ") (' ' # ' ,'! + " 8":

=>$ <D<@ , , ' A 3 7, >$ >',@ @<CC @>A' '= 5>' ,5>A'< ,' : >7' =>' > 7' G* < ' =>' >4 3 ' $, >' :'=,@' A> =',@' 'B $

E$!' C 3>' > 'Ó =>' 3= C >7' :' 9> A,<@' 3 3>7 , D' =, N' = ' 3 > A@' .7 @C>7+@' > 7 , D' A'@ >' 7' >7' :' 7, , D' = <D='=>' A,@ ,B>@' =,@' A 3 7, >$

' =>7>' 7>' @>5>7 ' =, D@' @37, >A' ' .7 @C>7' =,3='7>' '7>3>,5>A' ' ' @' D> <, >$' !' , > A' , ' =,@' 3= C >7' ' B> >4 7 3 @' < ' :' = @>' 7B@' =,3='7>' D> >7 ' >A' :N' A' , ' =>' : , D' ' B>' ,3>' :'@ >' =>7@' = @>' D> <, > >@@',@' 3 >@ >A$

$' .7 @C>7' K< >@' ' ='=>' D @C> @' A' 3 @' A' =>7' B@' :' =>' > ' >@ > ' < ,5>7@ ' 7>3>,5>AN' < ' ,B> ,@>'Ó =>' >C,@ >' ' =>' > 7> @' =>'Ú>C,@ >' :' ; >@' =>' @>3 *,A' :' .> >7' A'Ó =>' >5> , $

1' O ' >4C7>@@ ' 7>*>3 @' ' =>' B' :' > @' 7' =>' =>C=>7A' @' :' ' < = 7, $

$' >'ÓK< >@' =>' >C,@ >' ' =>' C=>@, @' , =' = ', >$

F$ .7 @C>7' = @' ' :, >' C @@ D>' 3 3>7 , D' D A' 7B@' =,3='!' 7 @37, >'Œ, ' =>' 7D, $' >' '@<@C>3 ' = '=,@' >4C7>@@, @' 7>C7>@> ' => ' ' >' :'D7> >7' 5 <>' = '=>' , > A>A$

2 . $' 2 6 6 6 &$

& ' 2 ! #' ' . . ' % S'! ! N

!$' 6 ') @'+,' -'48 ":2' ,' -'. :" ' !!$' ! :'=#" ' ' ; "8 ' ! $' D,' -' ("5": ' # ;" '8:('# ("4" : ' ' !'6 @' :" (' 'K"8' : ;#8"58

' " ' ' B>'@ >'>4 7 3 @' < ' :' = @>' 7, , D@' =,3='= 5>' >> ' @37, >A' ' .7 @C>7N' < ' 7>' '3>7 , 'B ' ' >'=,@$

!$' >',@' ' 7B' , ' ' B@'> , >A'Ó :' =>' 2 , D' :' =>' 9> , >@' S<>@ >' = @' A,@@>7 , ' '@=> ' = ', ',@' '.7 @C>7?@' <' "> ?@$ => ,' A'Ó. D,'@ , ' =, B',' ' >' .7 @C>7?@$ #<' ., '^'= @' 3 7>:< '3 @,A>7>A' =>' 7D< > @' ' ='@,A>@' , = <'A> >7 , , D' =>'K<>@ , N' <' @ > = ', 3 , , D' 'S<>@ > ?@' C, , $' , > '^ ,B> ,@>' >,D=@ =>

Ó .7 @C>7' = ' K<, ,3 >'7>D ,@'@>7 >'@ = @ 3<@' >' @@>7 , , <@ >75 @<@' < ' 3 C @<,@@>' A,3, <7$ 4' K<, <@'>D '3=7 ,3 ', ,<@ , >'C7@>, '>D,'3 , > , ' ' C7, ,' = , @' 3 A, , >' *<4 ' A,5, 7< ' @37,C <7 7< ' :,A> ' <@K<>' A' , < ' & > , , ,' <D<@ ,'>'3 C ,5, > ' 7 ,@ >' '9> @>7,3 ' & A 7 ' 7>D>':>3 $ ">D,'> ' , 7< ' A5>7@<@ C<@3< ' @< 'C>7@ ' 2 @@, ,' K<>'>33 >@, ' #>,' @ < 7, ' C7 ', >', : ' 3,5 $ S< >' > , '527>' 2 @@, ,'> ' .7 @C>7,' A>' D7 ,@ > ' , >7 ' 7 , 7, '@> > , >':<> ' 7< ', ' ,K<, <@ @, ,' 3 7 7, ', 5> ,< <7$ C,@ '>'K< K<>' . CO' "> ,@ A5>7@<@ < 3=> ' A>'5 @' 2=7,@ ,'! 3 7 , >' A'A,5>7@ @A Ó>' ',C@ 'A,3 >'A,3< <7$ 9> A'A>'8 '!$ 3 C$ 0 $

ÐR ' @,' , ' '< ,K<>' > ' :,A> ' @, >'K< ' > 'C 3>7> ' C >@ ' >' K<T' >@'5,7 < < ' ,< ':< A > < $ c > 7$ 4,$ F' .7 ' <D<@ , $ >@C @, ' A' 43$ 9> <> $ 43$ 0$ C$ CC> A$ CC$ <D<@ , $ > >A$ $ 4$ > ' , ,$+

T' A$' C$' A' <:, $ A>' 97 ' > $ ", $ 7 , 7, $ 3 C$!\ ' > ' C @@, $! ' > A$ CC$

? ' K< ' K<,@ @<C>7 <@ >@ ' >',' @>75<@ AA,3 <@ >@ $ W7' . > $,,$,C$I' , $' 3 7$ 2 $, ' CC$, ,A$ ' > ' 5>7 < ' C7 C=> ,3< ' <3>7 >' 3 C 7 @ C @ <@ . > 7<@$ /' > ' <@ ? , K<, ' ' 3>7 , 7> ' C7 C=> ,3< ' @>7 > ? J 3$ ' .> $,$!C$I' 4C$, ' .@$ / / 0$ ='',C$ C$, $ . .$ $ 5,,,$' C$ C$ $

Ó ', ' C 3 C@,' >@' ,@ '5 4' 7 7< $ c C >$ 5,$ /G$;' 4C @$.@$ / / 0$, ,A$ C$ /00$ $ '= > ', A,3, <7)' U > >' K< A' >@' >', <@ 33,C, '3 7 ' < $? c C 3$,,,$! ! $I' ! ' .@$ / - $, ' C$ /1/$ 2$

' . @' , <A' < > ' < ,<@ <3 7, ,@ >@ , ,< ' K< A' A,@C< , ' A>' , > 'C @ 7,@ , @>7<, $$ $$' 2 7$ 2 $ 3 C$ / -$ $ E$, Ŕ CC' < ' @<C7

' #>' C=>@, 7< ' > , ' :,A>' K<,A' @> , ' <A, <@' J>' 2 7$ 2 $ 3 C$ ' $ 1G$

ÐR " >4' 2=7,@ ,' C>7:>3 , '3 7, ,@ >@ ' K< #><@ C7 4, <@K<>' A, ,D, <7' > ' C>7' K< 'A,3, <7' 3 A, 7"' >D,@)' þ #, , >' ,@' ? A> , ' @ 7 ' @,3< ' > ' @ A, , , <@ A> , 7, <@ @ 7 @ ? > >' > , ' >4@C>3 ' C7 ,@@, > $ #>,' K<,' A '>*<@' >4@>K<, <7$ >3' :7<@ 7 ' @C>7 ' C 73> A< 'C>33 ,@@<,@' K<,' ,D @3,' ,> ,@$ ", $ > > $ $ $, ' CC$ < ,' @<C7 $ ' ' J :$ 4C @$.@$ / -G$ &$ $ < ,' @<C7 $

Ż #>& 3 , >' ,< '9> ,< $ ", 7,'A $ C ! > ,$ ($ CC$ $,$ >A, $ S<>@ $!$<DA$ S $

V' #,@@$ E$ C$ ">' $ CC' $,,$ ' &,A$. D,' $ $ $ $ >' @>K)$ > ' /$ $ / -$

T' , $ $ $,,,$.$,,' C' /G -$ #>' !? < ><7' A>@ ;,57>@' A>' ' & 3 , 'A>@ 9> , @' >' A>' !? C, 7>' ' #> > 7, A>$

] ' .7 @C>7' 7$ /E$ (> ' $ 45=

E- (")" " & , - . # O" &

7> @ @ = @,A>@ , = < A>3 7, D : 7 >, =>7N A , =>7 C 3>V@ @ => A >@ =, B S<>@ > ?@ 7D< > @ > 3 3 <@,5>$ $ @ D>@ @ => @ > : => 7B C , @=> @ , > .7 @C>7?@N < => A >@ @ = @> , ,@$ % 7 C 7 ! =, B => < = 7 > >7>3B >A < B A <@$

/$ =,@ 7, >7 = A , =,@ 3 C,>@U => >7 C 7 : => @,4 >> = 3= C >7 : $ (7B?@ D @C> $ $ $ E$ > K< >@ Z => >C,@ > => C=>@, @ , = , >$ => >C,@ > => K< >A @>5>7 , >@$ $ > K< >@ => >C,@ > : $; >@$ 1 => @ 7> 7B > =, D, =>@> B@ ,@ = T => < = 7 K< >@ => >C,@ >@ : $. > >7 @ 7, > 9 > , > 2=7,@ , @$ $ > K< >@# = => >C,@ >@ : . > >7 A => :,7@ >C,@ > : ; = 5>7 : > N => @ K< >@U => >C,@ > : ; <A> A => B : => >5> , $!! =>7>,@ > >7 =>5,7D, #> > 7, @ @37, >A @ > , >@ 7 @> : (, N =>7 , >@ .7 @C>7 : K<, , $ S<>@ > 03 > A@ = , @ 7, > => < = 7 : =>2 , D : =>9 > , >@N = =>@ @ @ . C> "> $. D,V =,=B@, @ 7, > .7 @C>7$ 2 5> @ V,@ , , D , =,@ >C,@ > A => B@ : =>2 , D : =>9> , >@ >7> 7, > .7 @C>7$ #< . , 0 @ = => >7> = 7, > > A =>@ C>7@ J =,3= , A>>A ,@ =>D> >7 C, , = <D= 7> D7>>A = => < = 7 ,@$ >7> ?@>> @ > > 7>:>7> 3> => >C,@ > => > 7> @$ => ? >C,@ > : ; >@ ,@ =>7> K< >A A = => >C,@ >@ : . > >7$! >>A @ =, D : => :,7@ >C,@ > : ; = k 7 =>7 D> >7 7>3>,5>A B@ =,3= 7>=>7> : > K< >A$!!!$ =>7 7B : 7 >7 @37, >A . 7 @C>7 < ? D> >7 @<CC @>A > 7, > :7,3 ,@ > , >A Z :#,5, > . 7 ,@>@ A . 7>A,3 , @ , =7>> 7 :,5> C 7 @$!: => < = 7?@ > @ . 7 @C>7 => <@ >=> : K<, , < > =>7 : = > , , :7,3 N A => > 3 > C 7 7 7, >7$ /$ >7> 7> K< , @ < : @ => B@ :@37,C <7>N C 7 ,3< 7 => >C,@ > => > 7> @ => >C,@ > : ; >@ = => >C,@ >@ : . > >7 A => >5> , =,3= ,@ K< >A 5>7 7D> J ! >>A B> C 7 ,3< 7 7>:>7> 3>@$ E$ =,@ < = 7 K< >@ V => >7 C 7 : => @,4 >> = 3= C >7 : $ (7B?@ D @C>= > K< >@ => O>C,@ > => C=>@, @ , = , >$

@>7 > , @ K<? , &C7 <5> ,><4 : , >@@> A>@ 3 *>3 <7>@ A>@ < 7>@ K<> @ ,A, > A>@ @,> >@$ $ "> . C>$ 7 $ $ $ 45$ #>& 3 , 9> ,< , >7 K<;5< D > .7 @C>7 AA, 3, <7 > >@@> *<A,3 A< 3>7 ,@@, >A 3> @ <@ , .7 @C>7 A,5>7@<@ < K<> A> <D<@ , @, > ,< $ $ 8 / $ >3< A< (73< 5>7 >,@A> C @ ,@ , A,3, <7 Z > , 7 > < ,5>7@< $ .7 >A,3 >5 D>,< < ,5>7@ > 37> <7 > ?, 73$ c (73$ 45,$ /1 /G$I #>& 3 $ $ 9> " $ 3$ $ &,A > 3 C$ -$ C$ "> $ CC$ "<DA$ /FGG$ A C=>@, @ K< K<> @37, > @$$$ /$ $ 3$ E-$ &,A$ > 3$ E $ > , ,$ O < 3< , , , 5,@@, ,@ ,@ A,> <@ 3 ' <@ >@ ,@ U :, , K<> 3 @ , <, =>7>A> < ,5>7@ 7< ? c > 7$,$ $I /$ $ 3$ D$ &,A$> /$ $ 3$ $ "$ /$ 3 C$ E $ @ ,3 >@ K< A @ 3 <@ .> 7<@ C @ <@ @37, > @ @<, > :< <7, > C 7,@ D> , <@ , J & @ < > D> <@ > >3 < 7>M D >@ 3>7A ,< D> @ @ 3 J3$.> $,,$ P $I !$,$ 3$ / &,A$ > 3$ /1$! > ,A> , @>3< A >C,@ ,A>:,A>,C>73>C , K<,M <7$ U , .> 7<@ @>75<@ > C @ <@ ;>@< 2=7,@ , =,@ K<, O 3 >K< > ,@ A>C @< :,A> $? .> $,$ /$I /$,$ 3 E-$ < 7>5,@@, > C > K< ,@ @, <7 =< @, > D7 , A,3 ;<A$,@ C @ <@ K<,A D 5> ,D 7 , , C>7, 5> A 3 7, @ C,> , J , < > ? , K<, U K< > :3 K<> K<,A> ,D 7 @C=> N K<@>3< K<> < > @>7 > , @ K<? , &C7 <5> ,><4 : , >@@> A>@ 3 *>3 <7>@ A>@ < 7>@ K<> @ ,A, > A>@ @,> >@$ $ "> . C>$ 7 $ $ $ 45$ #>& 3 , 9> ,< , >7 K<;5< D > .7 @C>7 AA, 3, <7 > >@@> *<A,3 A< 3>7 ,@@, >A 3> @ <@ , .7 @C>7 A,5>7@<@ < K<> A> <D<@ , @, > ,< $ $ 8 / $ >3< A< (73< 5>7 >,@A> C @ ,@ , A,3, <7 Z > , 7 > < ,5>7@< $ .7 >A,3 >5 D>,< < ,5>7@ > 37> <7 > ?, 73$ c (73$ 45,$ /1 /G$I #>& 3 $ $ 9> " $ 3$ $ &,A > 3 C$ -$ C$ "> $ CC$ "<DA$ /FGG$ A C=>@, @ K< K<> @37, > @$$$ /$ $ 3$ E-$ &,A$ > 3$ E $ > , ,$ O < 3< , , , 5,@@, ,@ ,@ A,> <@ 3 ' <@ >@ ,@ U :, , K<> 3 @ , <, =>7>A> < ,5>7@ 7< ? c > 7$,$ $I /$ $ 3$ D$ &,A$> /$ $ 3$ $ "$ /$ 3 C$ E $ @ ,3 >@ K< A @ 3 <@ .> 7<@ C @ <@ @37, > @ @<, > :< <7, > C 7,@ D> , <@ , J & @ < > D> <@ > >3 < 7>M D >@ 3>7A ,< D> @ @ 3 J3$.> $,,$ P $I !$,$ 3$ / &,A$ > 3$ /1$! > ,A> , @>3< A >C,@ ,A>:,A>,C>73>C , K<,M <7$ U , .> 7<@ @>75<@ > C @ <@ ;>@< 2=7,@ , =,@ K<, O 3 >K< > ,@ A>C @< :,A> $? .> $,$ /$I /$,$ 3 E-$ < 7>5,@@, > C > K< ,@ @, <7 =< @, > D7 , A,3 ;<A$,@ C @ <@ K<,A D 5> ,D 7 , , C>7, 5> A 3 7, @ C,> , J , < > ? , K<, U K< > :3 K<> K<,A> ,D 7 @C=> N K<@>3< K<> < > / <7 , >7 5> < 7< , , 7< , =,@ 3 77< C< <7$O c ; <A$ 5>7$ /G$I " ,$ 3$ M &,A$ /$,,$ 3$ / /$ &,A$ #,@@$,5$ C$ CC$ $ "> $ $,,$ V $ / -$ $ 0 QR V ,@ $ ", $ $,$ C$ - $ i " ,@<C7 > V C$ E /$ O < K< A 5,7 @ 37 ,@@, <@ (3 3= @>A>3 # , > 5 7,@ @ 7, C7@>:>7> @ : 7 , :<>7, , & 3 =< , ,@ K<, > @ 3>7A , > , > > 7>D $ c > $ 5,*$ -$I C$ A #> > 7$ 3 C$ 5$ C /$ C$ $ "> $ CC$ &,A$, $ 3 C$ D$ C$ -$ > 3$ E $ C$ 0$ >A 3 7 = 3 C>7,3< < K<,A > <@ .> 7<@ , C7, , >C,@ C7 >A,3> <A, <@ $$$! > , >C,@ , @>3< A $$ $ 3$ $ C$ &,A$ 2 5$, $ .7 @C>7 $ $ "$ $,$ C$ - $. D, $ -$ @ D$ - $ / $ #< . , $ $ .7 @C>7$ $,,,$.$,$ C$ /0H$,, > $ $ .7 @C>7 : $ /E$ $ 45,$ P #>C7 ,@@, , <@ > C7 @A,3 , , <@ #>,$. 7 $,,$ S<, <@ A*< D< <7 A, ,A,< > C 7,@ A C<*<@ :, > , C > A @< 5,@, >@ $$ A> ,3=7,@ > A>D 7,B 7>D K<>@ 3 M 7< $ C$, $ . .$ $ 5,,,$ C$ /$ $$1 E $ > C$ .7 @C>7, C>7 C$ / $ $ 1G$. 7,@$ $: V %,7 = >3 >5 D> ,@ @> A,3> >,C@ , (7C ,D + < > 37>A> >@ = >3 @< @>K<> <7$! , > > A > / , >*,3,> * , D<,@ K<> <7 5,@$? c (73$ 45,$ $I #>.7 ,@@$ > .7 >A,3 $. 7 $ -$ .7 - /$ &,A$ > 3 C$ -G$ < ,3, <7 5>7$ / $ 4C > @ K<,CC> =< 3 3< , >C,@ A C=>@, W , $! ,A$. 7 , 3$ /$ &,A$, $ 3 C$ $

$ 3>O =>@>3 A >C,@ > :. > >7 ,@K< >A @ 7, > ' =>9> , >2=7,@ , @$
1$ > ,3> K< >@ ' ; = ' ,,,$ ' , ' =,@ >7)O >3 <@> @ 2=7,@ ' ,A A ' =,@ ,:>
U: 7 <@ > @ ' <D= ' ' A ' <7 ,5>@ : 7 =>' 7> =7> $? ! > , ' =,@ >3 <@> :' <7
D ,@=' 7 @ , ' :' =>: 7 >7 C 7 :' =,@ 5>7@> ' =,3=' ,@ < @<CC 7 >A ' ' D A < = 7, N$
V >7> ' C>73>,5> > =>5> :' 9 A >3 <@>=> ,A A ' =,@ ,:>: 7 <@N^ @ ' <7 7 @ , $
>5>7 ' !' C7>@< > ' , ' >>A@ ' ' > @<CC @>A ' = ' =,@ < = 7 = A => > :' 2=7,@ ' , '
=,@ 5>7@>$ N C7 ' =>7> A ' @ , ' @ ' 7 >5> ' ' 97>>B 3 C,>@) U >7> ' C>73>,5>
U > => 5> c =,3=' <D= ' ' >, ' <@*I >3 <@>=> c > , D 2=7,@ ' 7 => ' :' 9 A ' =>
O >3>A> ' > , >A 5>7$ ' ,A A ' =,@ ,:>: 7 <@N A f 7 @ ' > <D= ' ' ' A
O < ' ,5>@ : 7 =>' 7> =7> $?
$ =,@ 7, >7 K< >@ O =>:,: =' 3= C >7 :' $; = ?@ :,7@ ' >C,@ >' , = < ' =>=> 5> '
, >@@>@$
!&$ =>7>' ,@ @ , ' =>7 7B ' >' &, ' 2 > C ,5 ' , ' =7>>' B@ ' =,3=' @ : 7M
>7 ' @37, >A ' . 7 @C>7 ' A U ,@ ' D> >7 ' = <D= ' ' ' >' = ,@N < ' 7 =>7 ' 7B :'
;< , ' . >7,<@ ' @<CC @>A ' = 5>' >> ' C7>@ >7 ' =>' 3, ' :' 7 >@ , ' 9 < ' < ' =>'
> 7 HO$
$ =,@ 7B A >@ ' < A , =' >4 @ :' @37,C <7CN = <D=' =>' 3 @ :' =>' C @ >@ 7>'
=>7>' @>5>7 ' , >@ 7D> ' K< >A ' A @ ' =>' >C,@ >' :' ; >@$
7 ' =,@ 7, >7 B>@ ' > >' 3 C , ' :' =>' 3 >7D ' :' =,@ , >N = ' => '@ <D= '
7,3=>@ ' = <7 ' C >7 ' A < = 7, N < ' >D >3 >A' =>' A< ,>@ :' =>,7 :< 3 , ' A' =>' 3 7>' :'
=>' C> C >' =,3=' = A >> ' 3 , >A' ' =>,7 3= 7D>$

2 . $' 2 6 6 6 & ! $

& ! 2 ! ' ' "! ! ! $

' 0 " ' @ ' 48 (' 8' = ; " ' ' ; 6 ; " " ; ' 8 : (' -" ' " ; ' ' ' - ' ," ' 8 : (' 4 : ('
4-8# ' ,' -8 ' 6 @ ' ' ; 8 @ ' # :' - ' 6 ' 4-8# ' ' - ' -" (' 4-8# ' ,' -8 '
; ; " ' ' - ' ; 8 :": 2' ,'" ' <8 ; ": (' 8 : (' (' ' ; 8 @ ' # :' " ' ' @ '
,' - ' 6' 8 ; : ' 4 "5 (')&' -" ; ' 4 ' #8 82 ' ; 8 @ ' # :' : ' ,' - '
#8 82 ' , ' - 6": 2' - ' 8 - " & ,' 4 "# ' 8 ' - ' ' ,',8" -

' 2 <@ (' ' ') ' !" #!$ %&' (),&' , ' *& !#' &)' +' & , !' ' #!-
,' #!$! *&' . * / #' ' + 0 #! /&' 1 & # 2& ,' ' 3 4 ! , ' + ' *& 4# * , /
0#, *' #5#, !' ' *&% +#!& ! 6& ,&' + #' ' *& &, /'' #' , ' , ' ! 1' &! , &$' ' 1#' 1 , &!' , ! *&

]' >@ <7 > ' .> 7<@ C @ <@ , ' >C,@ =' A 9> >@$ U #><@
U' > , \' , ' U D> ,@ C>33 , <@ 'C>C>73, $? c .> $, ,$ $I'
#, ,A$ > C$ 3 C$ $I
O >@ <7 > ' ; >@ C @ <@ ' A,3> @') ,3< ' 2=7,@ <@ C7 '
,@ , ' @< , ' C @<, ' @,3 > ' @ A> > <@ C7 ' :7 7, <@
, @ C >7>$ #>' .7 $.$ -$ 3 C$ - $ &,A$ > ' . 7 ' $
3 C$ -O$
O #,3, '> ' ; >@ C @ <@) U ,, '@< 'K< >' >@ , ,< '
U A,3<) C,7, <@' @ D<,@' > ' K< $? '@>K<, <7) @,' >@ ,M
,< ' = , < ' 33>C>7, <@' >@ , ,< ' #>,' *<@ >@ $
.7 $.$ -$ 3 C$ E1$
#>' &, ' 3 > C ' , 7,' 7>@$ C$, $ . .$ $ 5,,,'
C$ 1E$+_$ 0-$ > ' C$ $ .7 @C>7,' GCC$ C$ 1 / $$$' 0-$. 7,@$ $
T &,A$ 2 5$ $ " ' .0 $ #>' .7 @C>7 ' C$ - $ A>' ;< $. '
>7, ' C$ ' $ #<' ., ' , $ $,,$.$ $ $ .7 @C>7 ' C$! $
> ' ;< $. >7>$+, $ C EF-$ J3$ > $ $ .7 @C>7 ' 7 $ $
$ 47,$
, >A' @ C7 >@ , <@ A> >3 , ' A< ' , ' = 3 5, ' 3 A '
@ 7 ' > ' = 7>@ , K<,7, <@) ' < ' >, 7>@' @>A' < ' A, '
, 7>@' >3 < ' @ 3 , 7>@ ' @>A' < ' =`;,, 7 , 7>@ @, ,<@ >@> >7,@$
:>@ , <@$ >3 ' D7>D>7 ' # , , ' K<, ,@ C @3> A<@ ' <> '
A<@K<>' 3 ,@@<@ ' >@ ' @>A' @ 7 @ 5 <C >@ ' A , , > R'
A,5, , @ ' > ' 3 > >7 ' A,7 > ' 3 7 , >7 3 D, <@$. @ 7>@
A,3,' 5 < <@ ' >3' > ' >@@>' 3 > A, <@$ + ::,3,,' @ 7,'
5, <@ 7> ' CC> , <@ A,D , > $ # >' &, $ 2 > C"'
/$,$ 3$ E / $, $
@ &,A$ 2 5$ $ "$.$,$. D,' $ - $ $! $$$' $ '
@ D$ $ - $ $ $$$' /E$;$ @ D$,@ ' A>' !? D ,@>
!$ $ 3=$ $ $ $ # <' ., ' , $ $', $.$ $ C$ $, ,> $
(> $ $ 45$
' &, 3> ,<@ ' , >' 9 <@ ' C<A' @ >,,< ' ",7, > @,)'
, @< >' C7>@ >7 ' 5,7 , ' @37,C <7,@ @ 2 ,@ A 3 <@ ' > ' , , '
>33 >@, @ ,3 7< ' A D < ' @ <::,3,> >7 , @ 7<3 <@ ' 3 C @<, '
A >5, A ' =@>7> ,3 7< ' 3 >D, ' , ,A ' @ ,@> C>7 ' @>7 @'
5 ,A,@@, ' A,@C< , > ' K< ' @3 @TY , >' @< ' ,7'
< 5, ' U .>7>D7, ' A5>7@<@ = >7> ,3 @$? 2<*<@ C>7,@' K<, '
@>3< A,' , 7,' 4, ', ' @3=>A< ,@' C > ' ' K<,:> @A ' :<, $+$
' C>7A,A, ' 7>3 C, < >'>*<@ C <3,@ @>7 , <@ @> @<' C7,@ , T'
3 C>D, ' > ' < ', ', , 7 ' >A,A, $ (7, <7' => A @, '> '
B , , 7>D< , <J$ 9>< A$ 3 C$ $

& ! ! ! $' : >7' =,@' A,@3<@@, ' :' =>' :,7@ ' =7>>' 3= C >7@' :' &, 3> ' , ' ' = ' >' ,@@' ' >>75>' 7,>: ' =>' B@' :' =>' > ' >@ > ' 7>3>,5>A' 7' K< >A' ' =, $
$!' A ' ' 7>3 >3 ' , ' =, ' ' K< , ' :' =>' >C,@ >' ' =>' > 7> @' 7' 7>:>7> 3>' ' , ' *
=,3=' ' 37> >' ' @<@C,3, ' => =>7' , ' @' 7>3>,5>A' ' =, $
=>7 ,@>' !' @= < A' >' C ' ' =, B' = ' =>' 7>3>,5>A' ' =>' B@' :' =>' > ' >@ > '
=,3=' >' ' 7>3>,5>') : 7' =>' = @' K< >A' =>' @>3 A' >C,@ >0' :' $; = N A' =>' B' :' =>'
>5> , ',@' K< >A' 7' 7>:>77>A' ' , ' ' C @@ D>' :' $ 7 @>' K< >A ' =, $! ' @>> @' @ '
' >' 7>:>77>A' ' , ' @ >' 7A@' :' =,@' Í $
! 6 $' !' @= ' ' B>' @ >' @> >3 ' C @@ D>@$
$ &, 3> ' A>@37, >@0O' =>' 37<> ' :'@ >' 7, ' C>7@>3< , ' NV>, =>7' , ' =>' 7>,D ' :' 2 @ '
,<@ ' 7' & > @$
f$ &, 3> ' @@<7>@' <@' = ' =>7> ,3@' 7>3>,5>A' =>' @ 7,,>' @37,C <7>@' = ' >7>' 7>3>,5>A' '
3 = ,3@$
U >7> +C>7= C@' @ >' >' ' @ ' ') # ' =>7> ,3@' => ' K< >' =>' A,5, >' @37,C <7>' _ 8>@' 5>7 '
U <3=$ => ' = 5>' =>' C=7 @>@' :'@37,C <7>' 3 , < ', ' =>,7' < =@) => ' K< >' >5>7 ' C 7
U :' @37,C <7>) =>' ' N? =>' B@' :' =>' , D@N =>' . @ @' N =>' C @ >@N =>' D @C> @' '
/U =>' C7 C=> @$ => ' 7>' C>7C> < ' 3, , D' @37,C <7>N' A' => ' 3 =>' ' =>,7' D< D>', '
Q >4C7>@@, @' :' @37,C <7>N , ' C< ,3' A' C7,5 >' N , ' =>,7' @>7 @' A', ' =>,7' B@N' ' =>,7
Q> >7 , > @' A', ' =>,7' B@$' " ' , ' =>' 7, , D@' :' . < ' :' @ ' ! @3, , ,:'
P' < ,<@' ; 5, , ' A' =>7' > ' :' = ' @ 7)' <' , ' @3 73> ' @>>' ' C D>' =,3=' ,@'
O 7A>A' , =' C @@ D>@' :' @37,C <7>$ => ' @ ' =, D' : 7' =,3=' => ' = 5>' ' ' >4 ' :' @37,C
Q <7>' ,:' <' , ' B>', ' , ' =>,7' @> @>) : 7' =,3=' 7> @ ' => ' 7>' ' >' =>' 7>' A7> A>A' A

T G ,K<,@ ? , K< ' U 5> , ' A' 5A@' > ' = 3' A 3 5+ ; '
+' A:>7 $?$ $$' S<,A' < ' U , > ? , K<, ' U 7>3,C>7>' : ' ' , '
O A < ' >3' + 5> ? ¯ ' A,4>7, ,@$ S<,' > , ' A,3, ' , ' U 5> ?
U 3 < ,3 '$ C>7, <@' >*<@ ,D ,@$? cE' ; $ /G' / / $I' 2 '
*4 C , $ 3 C$ - -$ C$ -1 $' >A, $ <[$, C$
O &,A$ 2 $ 3 C$ \Z C$ -EG ' -E / $ <[$
T (D < ' = 3' ,D, <7' > 7< A> ' > 7< ' >4>,CC < '
C >K<>' A,5 < ' > '5>7,@ K<, <@K<>' 3 = ,3,@, A>:>@@@,' >A, '
, >' 7>3 > A< ' K<,' , ' A< ' @>C > C ,3,@ 3 A> 7,'
@>C > '@ > ,' C,7, :,@ <3>' 7 A, >@' 3 7,@@,7 ' C @ >7,@ 7 '
' C7 > @ 7 7< ' J3$ 2 $ 3 C$ 0$ C$ -EE$ <[$
' $$$' A,@ <7 ,' 3 >7,3, ' 5>7 >7 ,' ">5, @>' 3 ,' , ' >4, ,< '
@ 3>7A >@' CC > '@ 3 ,@' >7D @ < '3 73>7>@' > N K< 7< '
C 7@ 4, ' , >7A,3 ,@' <7 , <@' C7 7<@,' K<>' >4 77>@' , >7'
A>@>7 ' @C> < 3 @' :>7 @' @ 4 ' <A, >' : >' @, , :%>3 , ' 3 '
7, , ' > >: 3 ,' @< $ 2 $ 3 C$ F$ C0 -EG$ <[$
+' ,>' : 7 @@>' ,K<,@ , >77 D> $ ' > ' =@> > ,3, A,5, T'
@37,C <7 >' >@ , ,,@' < <7' ' ' < <7' C >' > ' 5>=> > >7'
K<,A> $ ' 5,A> @' > @ 5¯ 7>' C>7' @, D< ' K< >K >' @ 3 >'
2" ' 5 < , ' C>7' (@,@' C>7 < ' , 7 @' C>7' . @ @' C>7'
C @ @' C>7' >5 D> , ' C>7' C7 C > @$,5>' > , ' C A' @<>@'
@,5>' ,> @' @,:>' C7,5 , ' @,5>' C< ,3>' @,5>' @>7 , <@' @,5>'
, ' ;, 7,@' @,5>' , ' 3 5,5,,@' @,5>' , ' C >,@' , ,,' < K< ' C> >'
A>' @< ' C7 :>,+< ' K< A' ' > , ' @37,C <7 >'5>7 ,@ A< 7 >'
3 > <7$ ">D>' . < ,' 7 @ > ,' C<@3< ' .7,@3 , ,' < '
,, ' ; 5, , ,' 7> ,K< 7< K<>' C>@ ,<)' 3>7 @ , :., , '
>4> C ' 3 D>7,> ' N C7 C>' < , ,,' C D, ' K< >'
' 5,' ' &> >7,@' >@ > ,@> > ,,@ :<3 ' > ' 3 7 '
@, $ >A' ' D,@ 3 5> A,' > ' C>7 , >@3> A,' @< ' K< '
33 ,<@ @< ' A,5, @ >D,@ < 7 3< ,@ , $$$ $' ! A>' A> ,K<>'
> ' 5 7' 3) ? > A, >' 5 ,@ ' C@><A C7 C=> ,@ '
U K<,' 5> ,< ' A' 5 @ , ' 5>@ , <' 5,< ' , <@ < > ' @< ' <C,'
+' 5 7 3>@$? S<,A' >@' 5>@ , <@ 5,< ' ,@,' C7 C=> 7 ' > '
C @ 7< ' C7 K<, _$$$' S<,' @< ' <C,' 7 C 3>@' ,@,' @> @<@
= >7>*,3 7< ' :>7' > ' 7 ,A' _' $$' K<,$$ > >' <C 7< ' :>7 3, '
A>C < ' <C, ' @C>3,> ' > ' @>@>' A,5, >' >D,@' @> > ,,@'
5> < ' K<, <@A ' 5> >7, <@' 5 5< N < ' K<< ' K<,@K<>' '
7< ' , ,> ' C7 @> @>7, +' >K< K< ' 3< > @' A> ,< '
C>7 , ,>@3 $ 2 C$ ' # 1, ' <[$ j $$$' 7D ' @>3< A< '
C @ ,' . < ,' D,@ >7,< ' K< ,>@3<7 K<>' 5>' C@><A C @ ,'
5>' C@><A C7 C=> >' 5>' C@><A A 3 7>@ A,5, >' >D,@' @> > '
, @ C7 :>7< ' K<, <@ >' , >7C7> ,@ >77 7>@ @< @ A@ 7<>7>'
3 > <7' ' A< ,< ' >@ ' K<, ' <3 7,@ @<,' 3 ,A ' 3=,

> ' +@>3 > <7' K< >' , >' K< ' C7 :>3 ' 3 , ,@3>7>O'
<7' ,@,' @3,7>' , ' < ' >@@>' A' : > A< ' : 3, , '
7> ' 5, $' K< ' < ' < ,' >: 7,,' >77 7,@ @< , A<3, <7' :7 < '
A< > , ' , ' A,5, 7< ' 5>7 < ' C7 > ><A <7' <3 7, @$ >A'
A,3>' ,K<,@') ' A>' C7 <7' K<, ' @ 37 >' >D,@' >4> C ,@ A, '
<@ < ,+@ > ' ¯ ? ">D ' >5 D> , ' , ' K<, <@ @37, , <7>' U < 3'
U @@< @, ' , ,< ¯ ' A, <@ ? ,A' >@ ' # , < ' 5 7> ' >' '
U @ <, ' , ,< ' @<C>7' C, ' > C ,$?$$$' S<,A' =,>' : 3,>' ,@> ,@
= , , <@' K<' ,C@< ' # , < ' *>@ ,@@37,C 7 7< ' >@ ,M
,,@' CC> ,5, ' ' U ?, K<, ' U = ,<@' #>,' >@' , >' >' A> 7R'
@< $? S< 7>' _ U 37,C < ' >@' > , ? , K<B$ (D C>7>'
,@ A 3 7, ' 3,' ,@ ,<@ > A> A ' K<>' 7> , > A $>@ ') < '
' >5 D> ,3 >' <3 7, ,@>4> C ' K< A ' ,K< @ C @ '
,3 ' @> ' C7 C=> ,3 ' 5>7 ' C7 :>77>' 3 7 ' 3 = ,3 ' :,A>7=
5,A>7,7 <@' A, < ' C>7' > @ K<,' ,,,, >' A< , > <@$ '
@,3< < 3' 3 C< ' 3 C, , ' , ' < 3' K< K<>' > 7 ' > 7,@ '
K<< <7' > 7 ' @3, ,3> ' A, ' > 7,@ 2=7,@ ' C>7:,A,'
:,A> , <@' @ 37, >D,' 7> ,D, @,@' = 77> ,3,' C @ 7> ' 3 = ,3,@$ >A'
K<,A' A> ' A, < ¯ U , U , K<, ' U:', ,<@ #>,' >@' , >' A=
U A> 7@ $? 3' >@) @,' , ,<@' >@@>' 5,@ #>, ' > ' = >7>'
A, > ' 7>D ,' 33> >@ ,@ 33,C>7>' , >' >' A> 7@ ' ' ,A' >@ ' >4'
,@ ,<@ >' @,, , ,@ >33 >@,T ' K, T' > , ' > C < ' #>,' C< <7'
A 3 7, *' >' 7 A, , >' A> , >$ 3' @,' K ,@ , >77 D> ' K<> C, '
= >7> ,3 7<7 ' @, , ' C>7@< A> >) ' A>' C7 @ ' < A>'
A 3>@' K< A' >33 >@,@>' 3 = ,3 >' < ,5>7@ > ' > ' ,K ¯ :,A> '
A, , >7>' A> > ' _ @ , ' , >') U 37,C < ' >@ ' > , $? ' 3 '
, < ' , >' >@ , , ' 7 , >' >4> C ' , >' <3 7, >@ C 7 '
A>' ">D>' A>' . @ ,@' A>' C @ ,@' A>' C7 C=> ,@ N K<, <@ 5 '
> ' ' 7>' , >7C7> ,@' >4' 73>' 3 = ,3 , ' = 7>@> @ 7 ' +
=7< ' , :> ,4' , C7T3,C, > <7$ 2 C$ -F ' <[$ C$ -10 '
$ >A' A,3, ' ,K<,@') @,' A,5, ,@ > K<,,@' @> > ,,@' C7 ,@ '
@,,@ , <@' > ' A, <@' > ' A,$@3,C<,' >*<@ < <7' K< 7< ' ,
@< ' C@><A C @ ,' ,,' C@><A C7 C=> >' C@><A D,@ 7, ' > '
7 >@' >4' ' = @7> ,3, $ K<,A' : 3,> ' 3 = ,3,' = , >@' > '
7,@ >33 >@, >' :, ,,' _ S< ' A ' , ' @37,C <7,@' @ 3 ,@ 5>7, > '
' :> @, >' A @3>7 > ' ' _ 3' @3, ,3>' D C>7>' 3<7 < ' K< A'
! ' C7, 3,C, ' 2 , 7,,' ,@ ,<@ @ 3 @ > ' A 3 @ 5,7 @ ,@
7 A,A,@@>' @37,C@, <@') < ' A,5, < ' 3 ,,> '@>3< A< ' < ,5>7 '
@ ,@ >33 >@, >' 7 A, , >@' > ' *<4 ' 3 = ,3,' A D ,@ 7>D< @
, >7C7> > <7') , ' K< ', > ' 3 = ,3 ' >' C @ ,3 ' >33 >@,,' @>'
K< <7 >3>@@>' >@ ' < ,5>7@, > Y ,K<, > ' 3 @> @, > + _ $
2 C$ -0$ <[$ C$ -GG$

=> ' 3 3<7 ' A' 3 @> $' Ó A' !' < A' = C>' = ' =>' 7D>' 3 >3 , @' =,3=' = 5>' >> ' A>' $ ' <@ ' 3 , , D' @ ' < >7 <@' >@ , ,>@' ' =>' @37,*C <7>@' ' >' :'<@>' ': 7 ,: '@>7, <@ >7,' D , @ ' , ' 3 :,A> ' @@>7 , @' ' =>' 3 7 7 ') : 7' => >5>7' => ' 7>' A5 3>A' => <@ ' >' 33 C ,>A' , =' 3 :,A> 3>' @' =>' ' ' :' B, D' => A' D , @ ' 7> @ ' @37,C <7>' A' =:>' D> >7 ' @> @>' :' =>' @ ' > 7 ' 2=7,@ , @$' +

&, 3> ,<@' A >@' , >' >@@' = ' @ ' = ' 7D< > @' :7 ' @37,C <7>' 7>'=>7> ,3 ' A'@ ,3 :)' =,3=' !' C7>@< >' >5>7 ' 7> A>7' :' =,@' 7B' ,@' >' ' @ ' <C ' D A' D7 < A@' ,@' ' 5>' ' A :' @C> B, D' < B ', ' =>' > 7 ' D>@' :' 2=7,@ , , ' >4 ' @<33>>A, D' = @>' :' =>' C @ >@N' ,=' =,3=' =>' @37,C <7>@' >7>' ' @ ,D= >A' A' A,@C 7 D>A' < ' =,D= '7>@C>3 >A' A' > 7 >@ '7> ' >, ,>A' ' =>' > , ' :' $' (7> 5>7 ' &, 3> ,<@' @>> @' '= 5>' : 7D > ' = ' <7' 5, <7' =, @> :'7>C> >A' ' =>' > C , @' :' ' , =' >4 @' :'@37,C <7>' A' +, =' 7> @ @' :7 ' => 3>' @ , D)' V' ! ' ,@' 7, > $^' A ' Ú D , ? V' ! ' ,@' 7, >)' : 7' , ' ,@' 7, > $^' >>' (=> +' ,5$' A' "<B>' ,5$' $$$$ $

2 . $' 9 6 6 6 & ! ! $

' 2 ! ' ' ! .' %' " 8 $

/$' ,<3 ,<@ ?' ,@= C' :' " @' , ' 9 < ' : <7,@=>A' < ' =>' > 7' - $ ' >' =, D@' = 5>' >> ' @37, >A' ' =, ' =,3=' 7>' ' >A' ' >' =,@$' =>' D> >7 ' 7>3>,5>A' 7>+' =>@>') , ? 7 @' A' . =7 @>@' :' 37,C <7>' 7' ' B' :' C,7, < ' % 7 @N' #,: :,3< ' S<>@ , @' < ' :' =>' A' A' > ' >@ > ' , =' ' , >7C7> , ' :' > 7> ' >@' N ' >C,@ >' 3 3>7 , D' =>' 2 > C ' :' =>' 7 A' A' >3< 7' . =, @ C= N =>7' >C,@ >' , ' . 7 ,@>' :' , <A>' 7' :' =>' #>@>7 $' !' @= ' K< >' ' =>7' >@,A>' =>@>$' +

$' @' <3=>7,<@',@', ' 9> A,<@' !' C 3>' ' C 7 ' :'=,@' 3= C >7 ' > $

$' =>O' A,: :,3< ' K<>@ , @' :' =>' > ' >@ > ' 7>' B> ' < ' :' =>' D @C> @' :' (=> ' (7B' "<B>' ; = N =>' >C,@ >' ' =>' @N' =>' :,7@' A' @>3 A' ' =>' 2 7, =, @N' =>' >C,@ >' ' =>' C=>@, @N' ' =>' 2 @@, @' N' =>' :,7@' A' @>3 A' ' , = ' N' =>' >C,@ >' ' =>' > 7> @' N' =>' 3 @' :' =>' C @ >@' N' =>' >C,@ >' :' ; >@' N' =>' :,7@' >C,@ >' :' ; = N' A' =>' >5> , ') < ' :' > 3=' B' , ' =>' 7A>7' =>7>' >A$

$' = <D=' ' K<>@ , @' 7>' =>7>' B> ' < ' :' =>7' B@' :' =>' > ' >@ > ' ' A < :' 3 ' >' A>' < ' <3=>7,<@' 7>3>,5>A' ' =>' : <7 >> ' >C,@ >@' :' $' . < ' A' $' . > >7?@' ' #" ' A' =>' ' >7' >C,@ >@' :' $' ; = ' A' =>' >C,@ >' :' $' ; <A>O' =>' @>3 A' >C,@ >' :' . > >7' ,@' K< >A+ ' =, ' 7>' = ' 3>$

1$' (?, ' @ @' , = < ' =>@, , ' = ' T <3=>7,<@' = A' , ' =,@' 3 C,>@' :' $' ; = ?@' :,7@' >C,@ >' =>' => 5> ' , >@@>@$' < ' , ' ' C, , ' = ' ,@' : 7' :7 ' >, D' 3>7 , N , A>>A' =>' >4 ' ,@

?' <:, @' = ' @' > ' 3K< , >A' , =' =>' 3,> ' 2=7,@ , ' 7, >7@' =' 9 7>>B@' A' " , @' = 5, D' C< ' A ' ' 3 D<>' :' ,>' B@' :' =>' A' A' > ' >@ > ' =>' @ >' =,3=' 7>' ' 7>3>,5>A' ' <@' AA@') Ú =>@>' 7>' =>' Ú 5 < >@' =,3=' =>' : =>7@ = 5>' , 3 <A>A' , ' =>' 3 ' A' Ú < ' :' =,3=' => ' < A' = 5>' <@ C7 5>' =>' A 3 7, >@' :' <7' Ú : , =$? >>$ >: 7>'& $',,$ C$ 1F-$

?' &,A$ 2 5$' $ "$ $',$ C$ E-' E $' % 7,3' A' 9> A$ 3 C$' -N #<' . , $' $', $.$',,$ C$, $' , > $' $' 45$

+' %A7 < >' @><' .=7 @>@' 37,C <7@>' >< % 7 < 7< ' C,7, ' < ,<7 ' ", >7$! @ 7<3 , >@' A' ,< ' A>' S<@>@ , , <@' &> >7,@' >' 5,' >@ > ,$ C,@ ' C 7@> > ,3 ' A' & >7, ' < ' 3 D < ' A>' 2 > <' (< A,'>' >3< 7,@' .=, @ C=, >$' #>$' " <A>' 7> ,' @>< A>' &, ' , 7, $ C$' , $' . .$' "<DA$' $' 5,$' C$0 E E $$$$ $

<3=>7,<@' "<DA< > @,@' >33 >@, >' C7>@ >7' @37,C@,' A' & >7, < ' C7 C, K<< ' @<< ' +' A>' 2 > <' (< A,'>' >3<

Ú 7,@' .=, @ C=,@>' >C,@ '< ? @3= @ ,3 ' @>7 >' > ' 7 , ,$' #,@@>7<, ' > , 7 ' A' C>7@ ' :, , 7< ' ' > ' &>7 ,, ' C @ > ' >C,@3 C 7< ' Ú @3 7 ' K< >K<' 3 7< ' Ú 3 C, < ' 37,C <7 7< $?$ $$' , K<' 7 ' >33 >@, @ ,3,@' K< ' @,,3,@' @ <A,,@' >3>@@ 7, $ (7, <7' @< ' & > , , ' > ' (7 , ' .7,<3,C, <@$' 9> A$' #>' &$' !$ 3 C$' -$

+' C$' , $' . .$' $ 5,$' C$ 0] $$$' 1-$

' ,3' .> 7<@' , ' >C,@) Ú ' ' 5>7 ' = 3' ' > ' 5 @' Ú 3 7,@@, ,' K<, ' < , @' A,>@' C<A' #><' @,3<' , ,>' ,$?' .> $' =,$' $;' % 7 $' C,7, $' 3 C$' $' C ' 2?$' #$' &,A N' > ' 3 C$' 1$' C$' 0-E$' $

Ó ; ' > , ' @< ' < ' 2=7 @ ,' - ' ' <3=>7, ' " <DA< ' > @,' 3, ' > 7 ' 7>C>7, ,,@' Ú , $' % 7 < 7< ' C 7, @! ' Ú > ,D> , >$? 3 C$' 4,$' - ' $' ' @ >' ,7< ' = A' >4@ , ,@@>' ,C@ * ', ' ,,@@37,C ,@' . 7< ' 33,A> ,< ' J 3$' . 7 >D $' $' H-O$' $ ‡ +

!

2 . ' 2 6 6 6 & ! ! ! $

2, 2 ! " ! ' ' # ' " ! ' $

' * ' ' C 7 ,3< 7 33 < ' :' 2 ,<<@' 7 + ' , ' A' =>' 7B@ @37, >A' ' =, ,* !' 7>:>7 ' V@>5>7 ' ' =>' ,@' , 7, => ,<@' N A' !' < A' = 5>' 7 @37, >A' =,@ 7 ,3 >' < ' = ' , ' ,@' :< ' :' : < @' A' =>7>: 7>' ' ' >' 7> ,>A' <C ' , ' ' =, D$ % 7,3,<@ @ @' = ' 7, => ' ,<@ @>> @ ' = 5>' 3 : < A>A' =7>>' :' = ' >' J >A< ,<@ =>' C > ' = ' ,5>A' , ' =>' :,: =' 3> <7 N A' ' =>7@' :' >7 D>@$ =>7>, ' =>' : @ O " > ' = ' =>' S< >@ N = @>' 33 < ' :' >A< ,<@ ,@ @ ' C 7 ,3< 7 ' 3 > A>A' ' >$! ',@ 3 '@ ,A ' = ' >A< ,<@ ' @ ' 3 N = ' ,@ ' ' ,5>' :' !7> A J < ' ' =>7>' ,@ ' C7 :' :', ', ' 3,> ' < = 7@$ $, > \' : >7 = 5, D' >,D=>A' = ' = @ >> ' @ ,A' ' =>7@ ' 3 3 <A>@ ' = ' >A< ,<@ 7 >' > >> ' E1' A' 1G)' !' @= ' =>7>: 7>' C 3>' =, ' , =' 2 5>' ' - $ -$! ' ,@ C7 >' = ' >A< ,<@ @ ' C7>@ >7 ' @ =>' ,@ 3 >A' ' T !@,A 7>' :' >5, >N A' ' ' ,@= C ' @ @ >' = 5>' @<CC @>A$ $ =>' ' ' C,>3>@' 7,D= ' @37, >A' ' =, ' A' @ , '>4 ' 7>', , >A O ' . @3= ' . > ' A' ' . @3= ' 7B J 7 ' ' . @3= ' 7B ' , 5>7@>N' A' ' . @3= ' 7B ' , ' C7 @>$ =>' : 7 >7 ,@ @ > , >@ A,5,A>A' , 'U : <7 ' =>7 , >@ , : 5>' B@$ =>' :,7@ ' B' >4=, , @ =>' @ ' 7> 7B >' =, D@ , ' =>' A' >@ > N =>' =7>>' 7 : <7 : , D ' 3 , ' =>' =,@ 7 ' :' <7 " 7A ' B> ' :7 ' =>' : <7 D @C> @ $ A' , ',@ D> >7 ' >A' = ' =>' C > ' = @' ' , ', ' ' D A' A> ' :' > >D 3>$ =>' . @3= ' 7B ' , U :,5>' B@ ' 7>C7>@> @ ' , ' C7 @>' =>' @ >' =, D@' =,3=' = A' >> ' >: 7>' 3> > 7 >A' , ' > 7>' ' =>' @ >' < = 7$ 1 ' =>' ' 7B@ :' =,@ , D> , <@ C7>@ >7 > 7 >@ , ' ' =>' : <7 >5 D> ,@ @ ' A' =>,7 D @C> @N 6 - ' >@ ' , =' =>,7 @ @ ' =>' C 7 ,3< 7 ' > , @ ^ ' =>' 2 3 <@, ' :' =,@ :,7@ ' B$ $! ' A ' ' @>75>' , ' =, ' =>' A 4 D ' ' =>' > A' :' =>' " 7A?@ . 7 >7 ' =,3= >' ' = 5>' , ' $ (=> J , ' ,@ C7 >' = ' , ' @ 5 , D' , ' =,@ < = 7?@ 3 $ >' = @ =>' AA7>@@ ' , ' CC> , ' ' =>' >D, , D ' A' =>' : , D' C> , , @' J A]' =>' A,@ , 3 ' C 7 C=7 D> =' ' , ' > 3=' :'=,@ 7B@ ' = ' , ' > 7>' A' = ' , ' C7 @>' N < ' =>7>' ,@ ' ,3>' B> ' , ' >, =>7 ' :' ' A 4 D ' ' =>' > A$

V]&,A$. $ " $ #,@@$ A>' 37$ 3$ $,,$ C$ -E0 ' -EH ' - - G ' J3$ 2 5$$ $,$ $,$ # <' . , ' , $ 3$ $,,$.$,,$ C$ F1$, ' $ >7 $ (> $ $ 4,,$ % 7,3$, $ ' $ $ /$,5$ 3$,,$ C$ -G ' -GF ' ' , $ 4 ' A' !@,A$,@C$ 3$ F ' > ' A' 7, => ' > C$; E$ >>' ,B> ,@>' >A< ,<@ ' , ' >?@ #,3 , 7 $ # >' >7$ 3$ 3 C$ / E$ T &,A> <7 7, => ,<@ ' , ' < ,< ' 3 :< A>7>' 7>@ >A< , @' C > @>3< ' K<, ' 3 7< ' > ' >C,@3 C< ' K ,' $ 2$ ' > ' <3 7> ' , > < ' 2 >3 > 7< ' , ' >C,@ @ . < ,' K<,' 3> < ' C @ ' ,@ 5,4, $ % :$ A' 7, =$ 3 C$ / E$ CO ' , $ 3$ ' ' >A< ,<@ C > ' :<, ' 3 :<@ O < <@ ,A' 5> >7< ' A,4, $ >3> , 7>@ * *<',<' A> <@,' 7>@ , '< < ' >A< , @ 3 :<A> ' 3< ' 3' C > ' @>3< ' K<, ' : 7> > '3< ' >C,@3 C ' K<,' ' FE / ' > ' 3< ' @ 374 @37,C <7 >' , >7C7> > '@> ' 2 >3 > M 7< ' <3 7> ' K<,' 3> < ' C @ ' ,@ 5,5> ' 3 ,@ > >7>' 33> @<>7< $ >3 A' 7> ' : 3,< ' K< >' ' @@>7,<@ C 7 *, '>4' 7, => , ' J3$ " $ A>' 37$ >$ $ ' $ C$ - - G$

O >>' >: 7>' " 2' ,T >' '*' A' >A< ,<@ ' , ' >? + #,3 , ' >' 0 + >>' >A< ,<@ ' , ' =,@ (> $ ' $ 4,,$ CO /E$ A' >0 O # >' 37$ 3$ 3 C$ F ' 2 7 > ' . @3= >J C<@ . @3= >$ U C$, $ . .$ (4$ $ ' C$ G ' J3$! ' >A, $ 9> 7, $ $ (DA> $ /FG O C$, $ . .$, $ C$ FE ' J3$ V' 2=7 @ >' : 5>' 5K ,@$$$ 3' (=@><@ D> @ = , > ' D> >7 , >7 ' , C > $ (73<@ < ' = ' :7>K<, ' 5 4' C>7' A>@>7 ' > ,@$;<7 ' @ 3>7A ,@ "<3 @ > >' 7>'*<5> 3,$ (7>' 5 @ K<, >' 5>7 ' C> , ' @ 7 ' ; >@ S< < 7' =,' C7 3>7>@ ' < ' >' 5 3>' 3 > >@$ > C>7 ' @> ' ,A> ' < ' @C 7D< <7 ' , ' 7 > $,3' > ' C @ ,3,' @> C>7' A< A> <@ = 7,@ %< D> ' C>4 ' < >7 ' > @>@ , , <@ > ' 7 @$! $ C ' E$ #$ # ' 2 :$ C$ F $ 9$ $ ^ &,A$, ' C$ $ > ' C$ 0 / $ 0E $

$ ' C ‘ $ 2 7 $ 5 , $ ‘ b ‘ = > ‘ @ @ ‘ = ‘ V ‘ V ‘ = > ‘ : , 7 @ ‘ A ‘ :‘ = > ‘ >>B ^ ‘ > @ ‘ = > ‘ " 7A ? @ ‘ A $
4 $ > $ ‘ 4 , $ ‘ - F $ ‘ V ‘ = > ‘ A > 7 > A ‘ < ‘ , ‘ @ = > > C @ B , @ ‘ A ‘ D @ B , @ $ ^ ‘ >A< , < @ ‘ ? <@ ‘
, 5 > ‘ = A ‘ , ‘ =, @ ‘ 3 C ‘ = ‘ 7A ‘ ‘ =, 3 = ‘ > ‘ = 5 > ‘ 7 > A > 7 > A ‘ U @ = > > C @ B , @ N ? =, 3 = ‘ = > ‘ @ ‘
> 4 C , @ ‘ A ‘ @ @ ‘ , ‘ @ , D , : , > @ ‘ U D @ B , @ $? $
=, @ ‘ C @ @ D > ‘ :‘ < 7 U < = 7 ‘ 7 < D = ‘ ‘ ‘ , A ‘ = > ‘ @ > 7 5 , ‘ :‘ = ‘ > 4 3 > ‘ 3 , ? , , 3 ‘
" < A C = ‘ <@ > 7 ‘ , ‘ = > ‘ C 7 > : 3 > ‘ ‘ =, @ ‘ > A , , ‘ :‘ (, ? @ ‘ > ‘ > @ > N ‘ = ‘ U U D @ B , @ ? , @ ‘
@ 3 = , ‘ 7 ‘ 7 D , ‘ , > 7 C 7 > , ‘ :‘ = > ‘ = > 7 ‘ , , ‘ =, 3 = ‘ = @ ‘ >> ‘ 7 < D = ‘ , ‘ = > ‘ > 4 N
A ‘ = > ‘ @ @ ‘ = ‘ =, @ , @ ‘ D 7 >> > ‘ ‘ > @ 3 =, < @ ‘ = ‘ , : 7 @ ‘ = ‘ = > ‘ ? 7A ‘ U > > ? , @ ‘ < @ > A ‘ : 7 ‘
= > ‘ @ B , @ ‘ :‘ D @ ‘ A ‘ ‘ : < 7 ‘ > A ‘ , @ $
Q ‘ <@ > 7) , ‘ = ‘ =, @ ‘ @ > 7 5 , ‘ ‘ , @ ‘ ‘ ‘ 3 *>3 < 7 > ‘ = < D = ‘ 5 > , ‘ , D > , < @ ‘ A ‘
C 7 > $ ‘ < ‘ = > 7 > ‘ , @ ‘ ‘ 3 , > ‘ < = 7 ‘ = ‘ = A ‘ =, @ ‘ 7 > A , D) ‘ A ‘ , ‘ , @ ‘ : < A ‘ , ‘ @ > ‘ = > 7 ‘
< = 7 @ N ‘ C 7 , 3 < 7 ‘ , ‘ = > ‘ 2 > 7 ‘ < C ‘ $. < ? @ > C , @ > @ ‘ @ 37 , > A ‘ ‘ @ > ‘ U ‘ . 7 , ‘
@ , < @ ‘ , @ = C ‘ :‘ A 7 < > < ‘ , ‘ :7 , 3 ‘ < ‘ = > ‘ > 7 ‘ 11G) ‘ < ‘ ‘ = > 7 @ + ‘ = ‘ 2 , > 7 ‘ , @ ‘
@ 37 , > A ‘ ‘ > , D , < @ ‘ ‘ 0C7 > @ > 7 ‘ , ‘ = > ‘ , =‘ 3 > < 7 $ = ‘ > 5 > 7 ‘ > ‘ ‘ * < > ‘ :‘ =, @ ‘ !‘
7 @ 37 , > ‘ =, ‘ 7D > ‘ ‘ > $ = > ‘ > 4 ‘ :‘ =, @ ‘ 5 > @ > + , ‘ < 7 ‘ C 7 > @ > ‘ > A , , @ ‘ :‘ : , @ , < @ ‘ , @ ‘
= > ‘ @ > ‘ @ , ‘ < 7 ‘ 3 C , > @ ‘ A :‘ = > ‘ > ‘ > @ >) ‘ < ‘ =, 3 > ‘ < @ ‘ , A < 3 > ‘ < @ ‘ ‘ =, B ‘ =
= > ‘ 7 > A ‘ < ‘ > ‘ 7A ‘ = > ‘ @ > ‘ =, 3 = ‘ , @ ‘ 7 > A > 7 > A ‘ ‘ < @ ‘ U @ = >, > C @ B , @ $?
‘ . 7 , @ , < @ ‘ !‘ AA ‘ >3 < > , < @) ‘ : 7 ‘ = <D = ‘ , ‘ =, ‘ @ ‘ = > ‘ T > 4 ‘ , @ D , 5 > ‘ @ ‘ , ‘ < 7 ‘ 3 C , > @ N ‘
> ‘ =, @ ‘ 3 > ‘ C , ‘ @ = > @ ‘ = ‘ # = > ‘ 7 > A ‘ ‘ = > ‘ :, 7 @ ‘ :‘ = > @ > ‘ 7A @ $
!‘ @ = ‘ ‘ C < ‘ > ‘ ‘ 5 > ‘ @ > 7 5 , ‘ :‘ * !7 $ > @ >, $ U
!‘ = 5 > ‘ ‘ ‘ C 7 > @ > ‘ ‘ =>7 3 , > ‘ 7 , > 7 @ ‘ ‘ > D > ‘ , ‘ : 5 < 7 ‘ :‘ =, @ ‘ 7 > A , D ‘ N ‘ < ‘
C > 7 = C @ ‘ @ > ‘ 7 > ‘ @ > 7 5 > A ‘ = > 7 > : > 7 $? /
>5>7 ‘ > ‘ 7 > ‘ A ‘ ‘ ; > 7 7 ‘ = ‘ ‘ , ‘ , @ ‘ , > ‘ ‘ 3]&>7, D ‘ A > ‘ :‘ D @ B , ‘ @ ‘ 3 > A ‘ ‘
U > >) ? , ‘ @ ‘ 7 > ‘ = > ‘ @ @ ‘ ‘ = > ‘ B @ ‘ , ‘ D * $; = ‘ 2 @@, ‘ , B > , @ > ‘ A > @ 37 , , D ‘ = > ‘
D 7 > @ ‘ :‘ = > ‘ D C , ‘ B @ > , @ ‘ ‘ + D @ B , N ‘ =, 3 = ‘ = > ‘ @ @ ‘ = > ‘ 3 ‘ U > > $? ‘
‘ = > ‘ 7A ‘ U > > ? @ ‘ < A > 7 @ A $! ‘ = > ‘ : <7 = ‘ 3 > :<7 ‘ ‘ > ‘ 7D<>A ‘ @ ‘ :7 ‘ 9 7 > D 7 ‘
@ @ > N ‘ = ‘ @ @ ‘ = ‘ V , @ ‘ 7 > ‘ D @ B , @ + $ O O ‘ ‘
A ‘ = > ‘ 9 7 > > B ‘ > 4 , 3 D 7 C = > 7 @ ‘] @ @ < 7 > ‘ <@ ‘ = ‘ U U > > O ‘ A > > @ ‘ ‘ @ B , ‘ A > ‘ :‘ ‘ : <7 ‘
: > A ‘ ,) ‘ @ ‘ > @ 3 =, < @ ‘ ‘ ‘ = ‘ <@ > 7 ‘ 7 > : > 7 @) ‘ = ‘ ^ ! ‘ 7 @ 37 , > ‘ 7 > ‘ ‘ 7D > O) ‘ @ ‘
@ ‘ ‘ < , A @ $ ‘ ‘ Z $ $
!‘ , D = ‘ AA ‘ = ‘ U > > ‘ ? , @ ‘ = > ‘ ‘ 7A ‘ , ‘ = > ‘ 9 7 > > B ‘ > : @ , ‘ :‘ = > ‘ A ‘ > @ > ‘
= > 7 > ‘ = > ‘ D 7 > ‘ :‘ , * = ‘ ‘ , @ = ‘ , @ ‘ > , > A $ > > ‘ , D @ 4 , 4 $ / - ‘ / H $ ‘ , D @ , , $ $
/ - / $ ‘ + + ‘ N

O U . > 7 < ‘ , $? ' ‘] @ ‘ , # , 3 ‘ A , > @ > @ ‘ < ‘
7 , , 3 ‘ A , > ‘ C <, ,, ‘ 3 D 7 > D 7 > <7 C > 7 > C @ ‘ > ‘ C <@
D 7 5 7 > 7 $!A > ‘ < > ‘ , ‘ # , 3 ‘ = 3 C > 7 , @@< ‘ > @ ‘ <, ‘
‘ C < @ > @ ‘ @ > 75 , > ‘ > > @ ‘ 3 D 7 > D 7 > $ ‘ C $ 1 C $ +
U 2 , 73 < , > 7 < ‘ " :‘ (> , @ $? $ ' ‘ > , @ ‘ > ‘ ; > @ ‘ , , ‘
K < > ‘ < , $ ‘ @ ‘ < > ‘ ! , > ‘ C > , @ 3 C 7 , C ‘ > 4 ‘ < C > 7 > ‘
A > C > A > @ ‘ K < ‘ 3 = , ‘ < < < 7 ‘ * D C $ C $ 100 $
. 7 , ‘ 7 , > ‘ > 7 $ 4 , $ -F ‘ ;>:: 37,5 C 7 3 < A < ,
> @ ‘ @ 3 = , ‘ > ‘ , >7C7> > < ‘ > * < @ ‘ K < A ‘ C 7 4, > ‘ C 7 3 > A , ‘
5 ‘ G 7 N 6 R F ` : $ &, A > ‘ >@ 3 ,, ‘ &$ (, N 6 $ K < ‘ > ‘ A 3 > , ‘
3 < < ‘ , < 3 ‘ @ > @ < K < , A > ‘ , 7 > ‘ , >7A< ‘ A , 3 , ‘ A > ‘ K , ‘
< @ 5 , _K< A7<C>A, <@ ‘ C 7 C 7 , > ‘ < > ‘ > ‘ C 7 >3, C < > ‘ A > ‘ 5, <@ ‘ >
3 C 7 , @ $ ' A > ‘ 3 @ > K < , <7 ’ , ‘ & @ - ' & $ 5 K < K < > ‘ > ‘ D & ; &
C 7 C 7 , > ‘ < < ‘ , A > K < > ‘ @ , D , :, 3 7 > ‘ % > ‘ C 7 , A > ‘ CK@ >7, < @ ‘ 3 ! +
K < ‘ 3 7, < @ > ‘ , < @ ‘ A , 3 ‘ 3 ‘ A ‘ > 7 > @ ‘ C 7 , 7, >@@ > ‘
, >7C7> > < $ " <A $ <@ >:$
‘ &, A $ 2 5 $ $ " ‘ $ ‘ , $ ‘ C $ 1E1 $ $ @ D $ $ 11 - $
$, 4 $ ' A $ A > ‘ , $ >4 $ 9 7 , D $ / $,,, $ C $ $ 3 C $ $ C $ G / + $
‘ &, A $ 2 5 $ $ " $ $,, $ C $ ‘ -$! $ " > ‘ " D $, $ 37 $
$ ‘ , , $ C ‘ G / - $
U U 2 , 73 < , > 7 < ‘ , ‘ " > , @ ‘ , ‘ C > , < @ ‘ 3 C 7 , , @ ‘ >D > @ $ ‘
> , 7 ‘ , ‘ = 3 ‘ 3 ‘ A > > <@ ‘ , > , D > 7 > ‘ > ‘ , @ ‘ K < , ‘ , > 7 ‘
> D > 7 < $ $ $ ‘ (> +A , 3 < ‘ K < , A ‘ D > <@ ‘ > @ @ > ‘ 5 > @ , > , ‘ > 4 ‘
C > , <@ 3 C 7 , @ ‘ > 4 ‘ < ‘ > 7 > ‘ A > C > A > @ ‘ K < ‘ D > > 7 > $ 5 > @ , ‘
> , ‘ C 7 C > 7 @ C > 7 , > ‘ , ‘ ; D C ‘ 3 = ‘ A , 3 < <7 ‘ < , $
> , @ K < K < > ‘ > D , <7 ‘ <@ < @ ‘ , ' ‘ :<, @ @ > $ ‘ ` $ 7 5 9 7 > > 3 > ‘ 5, @
A , 3 , <7 ‘ 5 > + K < A 7 < C > @ K < A , > $ ' A > ‘ C , *6 , d C > , @ 5, $ ‘
5 > 7 ‘ K < , A ‘ A , 3 < ‘ > 4 ‘ C > , <@ 4 , ‘ D > <@ 5 > @ , > , ‘ > @ C 3 ‘
& " ‘ ! ! ! $

C @, < $ @ ‘ > , ‘ , ‘ K < A ‘ 4 <@ 5 3 7 ‘ @ , @ , ‘ 3 C $
+ 5 > 7 , @ , > 7 7 > ‘ = , 7 > ‘ 3 < * < @ C > , @ ‘ =, @ C , A ‘ > @ @ > ‘ :> 7 < 7 ‘ ‘ K < ‘
, > ‘ A > 7 , 5 7 ‘ 5 2 < 7 ‘ = K * < @ 5 > @ , @ ‘ , A ‘ > @ ‘ ‘ > ‘ > ‘
‘ $. 7 7 @ $ 2 ‘ , ‘ > 7 $ C $, $ . . $ " <DA $ ‘ 4 $ C $
$ $ % $? ‘
‘ &, A $ >3 < $ $ ‘ , , + C $ O - $ $
‘ @ : , , * :> 5 ‘ & " 5 ‘ , : ‘ ‘ % 8 " ‘ !A $, ‘ C $
/ : $ ‘
O 2 3 < > , @ @ 37, C @, ‘ , ‘ 3 ‘ > ‘ > C @ @ C @ 7 < $ $ $ ‘
> 4 <@ < > ‘ @ C 37 A ‘ > A , , , > @ C , < @ $ ‘ $ ‘ 7 @ , , ‘
K < ‘ A ‘ : , A > ‘ 2 A , 3 < ‘ ($ ‘ > 4 C 7 > @ @ < @ > @ $;$;$ > @ $
Z . 7 > D $ A ‘ $ ‘ $ N ‘ $ C $ FO $ &, A $ > ‘ $ ‘ , $ C $ $
Z + ,=, ‘ = > ‘ , ‘ 3 > < , @ ‘ C 7 > > 7 C @ , =, < $ $ $ > ‘ 3 C 7 , ‘
C > 3 < ‘ K < ‘ > > ‘ 5 3 $, > 7 $ C $ / G O $ $, 5 $
. $ $ C $ 0 / G $ ‘ Z
!‘ , < @ ‘ > @ ‘ = , < @ > 7 < ‘ C > , @ 3 C 7 , ‘ K < > > 5 > ‘
C > 7 ‘ C C > 7 ‘ > ‘ 3 < B , @ $ $ $ ‘ S < ; ‘ > ‘ = , < @ C > , @ 3 C 7 , ‘
@ > @ , D , , 3 ‘ 7 , : , 3 ‘ , ‘ C > < ‘ 3 7 , < ‘ C @ @ , < ‘
$ A > > 7 > ‘ > @ ‘ , ‘ @ < ‘ 5,7 < < ‘ D 7 5 , > 3 @ , @ > 7 > $!$ 2 @ @ ‘
A > 2 $ @ , $ / ‘ " 3 $ $ C $ $ . . $ $ 5 , , $ C $ $ %$ 2 :$
5 D 3 $ (3 = ‘ 2 C , ‘ C $ 2 > > 7 $ (< $ 9 7 $ 3 $ ‘ , , , ‘
C $ $ (> A $
$ $ $ $ $ ‘ Z 5 ‘ > 8 "5 `4, , *$$ ‘ 54@,7 C$@,+ :$ # > ‘ &, 7D $
3 C $ $ $, , , $ C $ / - ‘ +
J &+Ra ‘ < 54 ‘ Y < Z & ; 45 8 ‘ ‘ P 5 <8 " 7 , 7
, " , "" 8 ‘ ‘ f * ‘ ‘ C , NR $ 7a % & 8 ‘ >@ 3 = $
V ‘ , A $

-$' >' 3, > ' /' . > $' ,,$' E - ' : >7' =,@' >7N U &=> ' ' =>' @<::>7>A' =>' =7> > >A' ' < ' U ,> A>A' =, @> :' ' =, ' = '*<AD>A' 7,D= > <@ $O

$' >' 3, >@' Ø /' ; = ' 5$ FR' , = < ' =>' => 5> ' , >@@>@' =,3=' =>' C , ' = A' ' , ' =,@' 3 C,>@$

1N' ,@' 7>@C>3 ' : 7' @37,C <7>' A' D> >7 ' A,5,@, @' :', ' , ' CC> 7' , ' =>' : , D'C @@ D>@N

$' U =,@ ? ╪ =>' @ @' U ,@' =>' 3 <@>' :'>77 7@' A' =>7>@,>@' = ' > ' : ' =>,7' ' : 3,>@)$ U A' > A' ' @' => ' <D= ' A' =>' A 3 7, >' :' =>' C7 C=> @' C @ >@' A' >5 D> ,@ @$?

F$' =>' ' ' 9 = @ ' , @ 7<3 @' <@' , ' =>' ' =>' C7 C=> @' =>' D @C> ' A' =>' C @ >@$?

0$' U = ╪ 7> @ ' 3 ' =>7>' >' = ' >' @= < A' ' 7>3>,5>' = ' ,@' ' <D= ' ' =>' ? >' Ø + ' ,&%, + #$' + ' 6! 8 # #$' %&' ! , %# #']

H$' >' @ @' U >' ╪ <D= ' ' , ' =>' :> @' ' A,@@> ' :7 ' =>' >5 D> ,3 ' A' C @ ,3 W A 3 7, >N' 7' ' < A>7@ A' =>' A,5, >' @37,C <7>@' =>7 ,@>' = ' =>' >@@>A' C @ >@' A' <7' Ø: =>7@ = 5>' > 7 >A' A' <D= $? ' $

=,3=' ,@' @ > = ' ,D< <@)' ! ' U <7' : =>7@? 7>' , > A>A' > ' A,::>7> ' :7 ' =>' C @ >@' A' >5 D> ,@ @' A' => ' 7>' C 3>A' , ' >K< ' < = 7, ' , =' = >$ C @ >@' !' =< ' 3 3>,5>' =,@' ,@' ' @ ,: ,A' A 3 7, >' 7' D7>> >' >, =>7' ' @37,C <7>' 7' =>' @> , > @' :' 2=7,@ , @' , ' =>' @ ' > 7 ' , >@N' < ' !' A ' ' =, B' , ' >>A:<' @ ' ' < A>7@ A' =,)' , ' 3 ' >' 7> @ >' ' =, B ' = ' =>' >K< >A' : ' > ╪ : >7' =>' C @ >@' 7O =>,7' 7, , D@' ' =>' A,5, >' @37,C <7>@' 7' ' =>' A,5, >' 7 3 >@$

/G$' >' 3= 7D>@' =>' (,3=>>@' , =' '7>*>3 , D' =>' ' A' =>' C7 C=> @N' A' , =' B, D @ >' =, D@ :7 ' A' AA, D' =>7@ ; ' =>' D @C> @' A' =>' C @ >@N' A' 3 @' => ' A5>7@ 7,>@' :' 7< =$' O

//$' >' ,B> ,@>' 3= ,D>@' & =>' . 7,@3, , ,@ @' , =' ,,@, D' KC 37 C= ' @37,C <7>@' 7, > ' , ' =>' >@' :' C @ >@N' A' 7A>7@' g > ' ' >' <7 >A$

/E$' " > ' >' ' AA' $:> ' , D@' :' ' A,::>7> ' B, A$'

/-$' 6,2 ' @<CC @> =' = ' $' . > >7 ' : >7' = 5, D' <D= ' =>' ;> @' :' ;<A> ' : < A>A' =>' 3=<73=' ' , 3=N' A ' : >7 7A@' , @ 7<3 >A' =>' C> C >' :' . <@' 9 , ' 2 CC A 3, ' @, ' A' , = , N' =>' @ @' = ╪ . > >7' @' ' >' , ' =>' 7>,D ' :$ =>' > C>7 7' 2 <A,<@N' A' V = ' =>' = A' =>' = <7' :' 7 7A ' D> =>7' , =' . <;' ' >' , ' =>' , >' :' >7 ' = @>' C>7@>3< , ' @' D> >7 ╪ A' =>' :,7@' => => ' C>7@>3< , ' =,3=' =>' 2=7,@ , @' @<::>7>A$

/ $' =,@' ,@= C' :' >' A >@' , ' ' >4 7 5 D ' >7' 5 <] =>' @<C7> 3 ' :' =,@' @>>

Ø 3' >=, A 3>' > <@ .> 7<@ C @ <@' $A,3> @ $$$ S<, ' 3 ' ' >A,3>7> ,,7' ' >A,3> *' 3 , ' C >7> <7' ' 3 , <7$ 7 A> ' < > '*<A,3 ,' @>', * @ >$ >7 $ -$ 3 ,5$ C,' /-H$ $

?' ╪ ,>' >@' K<,' &> B' C>7' K< ' > ' @ D<, >7 ,' ;>@<@ ?' 2=7 @ <@,' ' , ' K<J' @ < ' @>A' , ' K< ' > ' @ D<, >$ ' $! 7< ' < 7 ' = > ' @> , 7,<7 ' : @, < ' ' @ < ' ╪ C,7, <@ >@ ' K<,' >@ ,:,3 <7' K< , ' C,7,* <@ >@ ' 5>7, @$ $, >7A,3> A @' @>A' > , ' C> , <@ <:>7> A '* @< ' K<>' ,D , ' \ ' S<, ' 7>@ @ ' ' K<,' >@ , ,< ' A ' C,7, <@' K< ' > ' @ ' <@ 3 <37>7 ,,A >$ C$ /1$ $H-$ 3 C$ /1$ D<,@N' > ' 7>@+< < U@< $?' C,7, <@ < ,K<>' @ 3 ,:,3 , ,@' ' C C< @' K<,' >4' 3,73< 3,@, >' 37>A,A>7 ' >7<A,>7 @ > ' @ D<,@ 7>A> , ,@' > ' K< ' C ,@ ,@N K< >' 7, ' *< < ' * ' , > > ' >33 >@, ' < ' C7, < ' 2 ,7,@ , ' , ' , !@ @< ' > ' , A,5,A< ' > , ' ,=, K ' >' > 7< ' ' @<,' 3 >4, >' A,D , @' >@ , ' :< A 5>7 @)' * ,4,' . < ' 9 , ' 2 CC @>*< D, <7$ C$ E $ $ /G$ 3 C$ 5$ C E 1$ A 3, ' @, ' K<>' , = , ' >D, <@' >5 D> ,3 >' C7 @A,' ╪ >A' , ' 3' ,<@,C,> , ' 3 A< ' K<,' 3<7 ' A' 3 D @3> 7' 3 , ,@' , C >5>7 @$ >7 $ ' 3 C$ 1$ A ' 5>7, > ' ,K< ' , C>A,< <7' @3<7 ' ' A' C7 C=> , ' ' >3' < A,' A ,C, ' , >@' 7 7 ' K<,' , ' 2 ,+ C=@>' 3 @' 5 3>@' ' A' C @ ,3 @' , >7 @' >3' A' >5 D> ,3 @' <3 A >' >4C 5>7 @ @ 3>7A ,@' 3, $ < KK,A' < ' *<A,3, ' 7, >@' @>A' A' @> > ,C@ @ 7>3,,77< $ ' ,A> ' D,@ 7,' >77 7,@ . , ' <' @ >5, ,,' ;<A > ' ' 7' >7 ' 5>' , ' 2 <A, ' C ' >4,@ < ' J3$ C$ E $ $ $ 3 C$W,$ >@ @' 5>' , ' >7 >' 37<A> , @' 7 ! $ 3$ $

$ $ >4= 7 >' > ' ! @ 7<> >' C,7, <' 3 ' C>7' >D,@ >@ , ' V' A' K< ' > <@' 3 C @ ,<@ < @' 5 @ ' > >3 , ,@' > ' @C> ' :,3 , > ' C>7' 5 ,3, , ' C7 C=> 7< ' > ' C>7' >5 D> ,3 3, ,@' , D,@ >7' 9 > ,< ' . < <@ 33<77> @' > A> ' , ,' 3 @ O' < ' C @ ,3 K<>' A 3 7, $ >7 ' 2 ' 48#' -$ 3, <@' >@ ' > C 7> ' K< ' ,@ C<A 7' ,@K<>' , >7 @' @< ' P' S<,A' >7D ' C<@' >@ ' , ' 3 7' A , >7>' K< A' >4' ' A 3<, ' >7 ,@' 7 ' , C>7, $ $ 2<*<@ :<7 7' C>7' ,< ' 5, , 7< ' K< A' C7 C=> , ' ' 3>3,<, ' K< A' >5 D> ,,' 5>7, @' ' C7@>A, ' , : <@ >43>@@< ' , ' < 3' >< ' <@K<>' 77> > ' @<W' ,3 5B' K< A' C @ ,3 ' A 3 7, ' ' 7 A,A, _' C$ /1$ $ D-$ C7 >3,C, 5, ' , @ , >' < ' C7, <@ , ' 2=7@@ , ' 7 3, > ' 3 C$ $ Z $ $ D> >7 ,@' C>7@>3< , ,@', :> > $! $ 3 C$ 5$ ' 3< ' ' >5 D> B ' C @ ,3 K<>' A 3 7, ,' >' < ' '] >A' =<*<@' < >7,@' @ 37 < ' , # 7 , <@' A' ,< ' K<,A> ' 5>7 ' ,3> ' A,@@,A>7>' <' , >7' A>' @C7,C <7,@ A,5, ,@ C @ 7< ' ::,3,< ' C>7 , >7>' 5 <, ' < ' , ' > ,@@, ' . > 7 ' @ C>7>' K< ' > ,' C @ ,' > ' C 7>@' @ 7,' A,A,3>7< ' K<>' C @ 7< ' ,< ' @< ' C7, 3,C , >7' 3 3B, N' > ' ' A 3<>7< $ C$ $ $ E$ 3 C$ $? ,C@ ' K< @,' K< A ' 3 C, >' A ' @< ' 5> , ' , ' 3 7C<@' >' ' 2< ' @> C>7' @' A, >3 ,@@, ,' D <A>7>' , ' # , ' , ' >7>$ C$ $ $ $ 3 C$ $ j ' > ' A>' ' < A ' A,5, ' > K<, ' >4= 7 > < g ' J3$ >, $ EF$ 2 C$ /$ < <@ . > 7<@ > ,D, <7' K<,' > ' < ,5>7@ , ' D> ,< ' 5 3 , , ' > ' N ! @ , ' A>' K<, <@ ; K<, 7' A5>7@ ,,, ' 5>7, ,@' >D> ' C>7 , <@ C @ ,@' 3 ,,3 ,@K<>' >>A>@, >' C 7 , ,@' C7 >C <7N -' ' $

(@> ' A 7 '+>' , @C,7 ' A,5, , <@+C7 C=> : ' 7 3< ' 7> ' @C<>7< ' ,C@ @K<>' >5 D> ,3 @' > ' C @ ,3 @' C D, @' K< A ' <:>:> A ' > ' K< >A ' , @>7> A ' 5, 5>7 $ >7 $ --$ 3 C$,5$ &,A$' > ' $ $ 3 ' ,5 ?' C 37 C >' < > ' @37,C <7@>' K<@>' @< ' , , <@' C @ ╪ C,7, <@ >@ ' K<,' >@ ,:,3 <7' K< , ' C,7,* <@ >@' 5>7, @$ $, >7A,3> A @' @>A' > , ' C> , <@' <:>7> A '* @< ' K<>' ,D , ' <@ 3 <37>7 ,,A >$ C$ /1$ $H-$ 3 C$ /1$ @; ' C C< @' K<,' >4' 3,73< 3,@, >' 37>A,A>7 ' >7<A,>7 @ * ' , > > ' >33 >@, ' < ' , C7, < ' 2 ,7,@ , ' , ' , !@ A,D , @' >@ , ' :< A 5>7 @)' * ,4,' . < ' 9 , ' 2 CC ' A 3, ' @, ' K<>' , = , ' >D, <@' >5 D> ,3 >' C7 @A, ' 3 , ,@' , C >5>7 @$ >7 $ ' 3 C$ 1$ ' >3' < A,' A ,C, ' , >@' 7 7 ' K<,' , ' 2 ,+ C=@>' A >' >4C 5>7 @ @ 3>7A ,@' 3, $ < KK,A' < ' *<A,3, ' . , ' <' @ >5, ,,' ;<A > ' ' 7' >7 ' 5>' , ' 2 <A, ' C ' >@ @' 5>' , ' >7 >' 37<A> , @' 7 ! $ 3$ $ V' A' K< ' > <@' 3 C @ ,<@ < @' 5 @ ' > >3 , ,@' > ' @C> ' 3, ,@' , D,@ >7' 9 > ,< ' . < <@ 33<77> @' > A> ' , ,' 3 @ O' 3, <@ >@ ' > C 7> ' K< ' ,@ C<A 7' ,@K<>' , >7 @' @< ' >7 ,@' 7 ' , C>7, $ $ 2<*<@ :<7 7' C>7' ,< ' 5, , 7< ' , : <@ >43>@@< ' , ' < 3' >< ' <@K<>' 77> > ' @<W' C7 >3,C, 5, ' , @ , >' < ' C7, <@ , ' 2=7@@ , ' 7 3, > ' D> >7 ,@' C>7@>3< , ,@', :> > $! $ 3 C$ 5$ '] >A' =<*<@' < >7,@' @ 37 < ' , # 7 , <@' A' ,< ' C @ 7< ' ::,3,< ' C>7 , >7>' 5 <, ' < ' , ' > ,@@, ' . > 7 ' C @ 7< ' ,< ' @< ' C7, 3,C , >7' 3 3B, N' > ' ' ,C@ ' K< @,' K< A ' 3 C, >' A ' @< ' 5> , ' , ' 3 7C<@' >' >7>$ C$ $ $ $ 3 C$ $ j ' > ' A>' ' < A ' < <@ . > 7<@ > ,D, <7' K<,' > ' < ,5>7@ , ' D> ,< ' 5 3 , , ' > ' , <@' C @ ,@' 3 ,,3 ,@K<>' >>A>@, >' C 7 , ,@' C7 >C <7N -' ' $

A =>C7> > , > 3> :. > >7 5> => =>7 C @ >@N A0=>, C7 5>@ => 7A@ :/ . > $,,$ H @< @>75> =,@C<7C @> :>4 , D =>@>> : >$

4 ; 8 > 4

"&! $

!$ 0 " " ; 8:(6 @ 8:(4-8 84 !!$ 0 " "; :& - 4 "# 0 4 #8 82

. /o C7>@ >7 :(7@>, >@ : = @ > ,3> @ B> <@ : 7 >7 ,@C 3>A U 2 5> @ : <7,@=, D < => > 7 QG A : >7 7A@$ > " @C B> : @ : <7,@=, D < G >3 <@> , = > 7 =>:, ,@=>A =,@ 7> ,@> :. 7 5,A> 3> > :=,@C7, 3,C 7B@N =>,@, 2> ,* A,<@ C 7 : = @> 3= C >7W! 7 @37, > >)=> > , @@ > 7B@ : 5, >@,A> = @> >4 N =,3= 7> => : 7> > , >A 7> ,@>$:. 7 5,A> 3> 7 =># ,5, > 9 5>7 > , >,D= B@N D , @ 2 5> <@ >@@ , : <7 B@N C,@ >@ , > , < >7$$ 9> A,<@ @ @ => ,D= , =C< :,> 3> 3 5, @ >7 : ,@= C@N A D =,@ 7B@ 7>3B @ = , ,>@ =,3= >7> C7> 3=>A ,@= C@ @ > K< ,:,>A 3 C @> : 7 => @> 5>@$+ 5, ,@ 5>7 D7>> > 7, >7N => @ ,5, D => 9> A,<@ 7 > =,@ B :! <@ 7, <@ (> = ,@ , 01 @ , > 3 C< >@$ =>7 > 7 >A > 7> : 7 >7 A > : = 7B :S> A,<@N =, B, D , 7, > 0 , H 7 =>7> < $!!$ 5, @>> @ : = 5> 7>3>,5>A => B@ : => > >@ > =,3= > A $ /$ => B : => 3 @!@ : > A 7D> K< >A =,) =>0K< >@ =>$ >C,@ > => > 7> @ @ => C @ > . < ?@N => @ K< >@ => >C,@ > : $; >@ =>+ @>3 A #" , $. > >7 A =>V B : = > >5> , $

E$,@ D> >7 A,5,@, @ : =>@ 37>A @37,C <7>@ 7> @<3= @ =>@>) %,7@ ^ => N => => C7 C=> @N =,7A =>D @C> N : <7 = => C @ >@$ D ,] =>] A A > >@ > N => > =>C7 C=> @ => C @ >@ =>D @C> @N D @C> @ A C @ >@ A => ,B>$

e +

$ 0 !(6 # ,%, %9 &("#!3 &"% #5 $%(# !(,&%,& &8! & #$0!%#,& 3 ,! & 8 4& # # 5 && 3!, E 6 " 3!, $ B

^ & # ! [0 !"" 4! 3 8 %& !(,&% 6 . &! $ 8 #!#! 3 !$,%, # 3 #$ 3 6 !# #!3 &"% ! # &8 !$A , &#!3&!('4 ! &# " ('3!, %&4 # 3 !$! # ,&! # " & # & 8 % $ 0 !('"%(! % && -$ T3 5 &(D 3!, _5 6% , JJ / $ B " !8 - BB $ F - B8 EC 5! 6 ! #$ < !## # # 33 # ! ,& #4) &$+ (! ! " 6 8 &! &! # & #$ $!4#0 6 " M %0 !&$, # %,%& (!8 # &$ #3& ,# #34% !# 3% ! , & %# & (% ! . 0 4 # 8 - "6 &# # - 6!& !(4&%# 0 ! %& $ (%& (: &! 3%& ($" ,& 3 , %: # # #0 !" 3% " % (%(#$3%(,%# !6 &# .! (&%& 4& (($ % !# , #3%, # ^6 !" , #3%,%#[!3 !# (!# 6 A #0 4%" # 3 4% ! : " &$ 3!, $ (> $ 3$ $ .6 @<7 5,> > $ " " BG E ! ,A> , C @ 7< 3 , <@ > ,@@, <@ . < <@ ! ! U ,C@ ? , K<, U > 5,5, <@ > 5> <7 > @< <@$? #> 9< > #>,$ /$ $ C$ - $ &,A$ > /$ $ C$ M A5$ 5+ 7, $ /$,,,$ C$ $ > , ,$ A, $ $ <[$. 7,@$ / H 5 (0 !,%# % #$ % ! # %4 " != # !(!3 , (&3 " # & & 4 % ($ 0 %("%' %# 8 (#$ # ! !(' 8 . & (#! ('] ^ 4& [- "6 - 6!& B , " 4 ,

@ #>$ 9< >7 $ #>,$ /$ -$ C$ G$/$ $ C$ Q A5$ 5 7$ /$ C EE0$

K<,A>, > , * > <@ C @ <@ . > 7<@ >5,A> >7 >4 C @<, ,3> @ A> 5, , @,@ 3 >C,A,@ ,A >@ > >5,5> , <@ 2 7,@ , ,@ U (> ,<@>7 , ,@ 3 D @3>7>5>7, > ? J 3$ cE . > $,,$ E / EE$I # > 9< >7 $ #>, / $ C$ $ &,A$, $ / /$ C$ $ EG$

]V A@ >d , 5 7 , C 3 C@, A >C,A< 2=7,@ , < ,) , , 3 ,A<@ >@@>@ :7,D,A<@$ < 3 > K<, >C,A<@ >@ , 3,C, > >5 >7> >4 7> > $? c C 3$,,,$! $I # > 9< $ #>, / $ C$ 2 &,A$ > A5$ 5 7$ /$ $ @< $:, $ C$ * $ O] S$<@>7, <7 : 7@, K< > @, K< > #><@ 2 7,@ , ,@ = , , <@ A@,D > S< > ,@, , C>7 K< > 2 ,7,@ , @< <@ _ .7, < @3, ,3> >D> A>, A> C7 C=> @ >7 , >5 D> ,< K< 7 C @ *,3 @ >3 , >@$ #> 9< >7 $ #>, N -$ C$ 1 [K<,A> K< >7 0 < 3< 3 : 3, K< > >@ > A< 7< > C 7<7 *< > $ > , 3> @<7 >D,@ ,K< > > , >@ C7 C=> 7< , @$ > , > , K< > 7> , , , C @@< 5> C @ 7< , 7 7< ,@>5> 7,@@, , @ , < , + > 5> >5 D> ,3 7 & < , C > , C>7:>3 , @ D> >7> A 3 7, $! ,A$! @ C7 :>3 @>3 >@ K< >@ @>3 7>@+@< $ 3>@< @K<> A< , K < A A 3> <7$ CC 7> , K<> > C7 C > @ K< $@ = > , C<7, > A 3>7> > C @ @ K< @ >D< >: 7, : 4,@@> > >5 D> , K<, <@ , << :<7 >3 K P ,C@, : 3 < C7@>A,3 7>$ #> 9< >7 $ /$ $ C$ M!

] 5 D> , >D< > , C<A,3,@< $ C @ @ <A,< > , > 7, <7$! $ C$ $

‘ % 7 =,3=‘ =>‘ >4C7>@@> =‘ =>‘ D7> >@ ‘ 7>D 7A❜ : 7 =>‘ 3 @,A>7@ =>‘ @37,C <7>@ @ ❜A,3 >A‘] ‘ =>‘ C,7, ‘ :‘ 9 A ‘ @ 3 , , D‘ =>‘ 7>5> , ‘ :‘ =>‘ , A‘ :‘ 9 A‘ ‘ <@ ℕ :7 ⊬ => 3>‘ @ > ‘ @ ‘ 7> @ ‘ =>‘ C7 5>@ =>‘ A 3 7, >‘ :‘ ‘ . 7 5,A> 3>‘ =,3=‘ =>‘ ,@ 7> , D‘ :$

! ! !$!‘ @= ‘ ‘ @>75>‘ ‘ :> ‘ @> >3 ‘ C @@ D>@$

/$ >‘ @<CC @> =‘ =>‘ < >7 :‘ V :,5>‘ = <@ A ^‘ > , >A‘ 3 @ ,5$ ‘ ‘ >‘ AA, , ‘ ‘ =>‘ V =7>>‘ = <@ A ^‘ , ‘ 3=$,,$ / ‘ B, D‘ , ‘ ‘ >,D= ‘ = <@ A$ >5>7 => >@@ ‘ !‘ A ‘ ‘ =, B‘ = ‘ ‘ >‘ =>‘ 7<>‘ @> @>ℕ 7 > ‘ = ‘ =>‘ < >7 @ ‘ V :,5>‘ = <@ A ^‘ , 3 <A, D‘ =>‘ V =7>>‘ = <@ A^‘ 3 5>7:>3= ‘ . > >7?@ :,7@ ‘ @>7 ℕ : 7 ‘ :‘ => ‘ = A‘ 3 >‘ :7 ‘ A,5>7@ A‘ 7> >‘ C 7 @ ‘ ;>7<@ > ‘ ‘ >‘ C7>@> ‘ ‘ =>‘ :> @ ‘ :‘ . > >3 @ ℕ A‘ C7 ‘ @ ‘ : >7 =>‘ :> @ ‘ @ 5>7 ‘ 7> <7 >A‘ ‘ =>,7 @>5>7 ‘ 3 < 7,>@ A‘ A > , D@❜ 7 A >@ $ " <B>‘ @ ‘ = ‘ ‘ :,5>‘ = <@ A‘ >7>‘ U AA>A‘ ? ‘ =>‘ *@ >@ ‘ 7 ‘ =>‘ 3=<73=ℕ < ‘ =>‘ @ @ ‘ = ‘ ‘ =,@ @> @ ‘ V ‘ :‘ => ‘ =,3=‘ => 7A‘ =>‘ 7A‘ > , 5>A ^‘ 7 >7>‘ 3 5>7 >AℕV A‘ =>‘ < >7 :‘ =>‘ > ‘ @^‘ U A> ? T 5&" & ‘ V :,5>‘ = <@ AN^‘ , =‘ =>‘ AA, , ‘ :‘ 3 5>7 @ ‘ A>‘ =>‘ = >‘ < >7 :‘ > ,>5>7@‘ ‘ ;>7<@ > P < >A‘ ‘ :,5>‘ = <@ ,; ‘ (‘ :‘ =>‘ :,7@ ‘ =7>>‘ = <@ A‘ >7>‘ A> A‘ 7 7> C5>AN < ‘ :7 ‘ , >‘ ‘ , >‘ > ‘ 3 5>7 @ = A‘ >> ‘ A> ‘ A‘ ‘ =,@ @> @ ‘ U ‘ > ,>5>A =>7> ‘ =>‘ < >7 :‘ > ,>5>7@‘ ‘ ;>7<@ > ‘ U >3 >‘ :,5>‘ U = <@ A$? ‘ ‘ U

f $ >‘ ⊬ 3 @ , = ‘ C @ >‘ > , D‘ < A < >A ‘ C @ >‘ ,] ‘ >7 @> @>‘ ‘ @ >K<,5 > ‘ ‘ C @ ,3 ‘ 7 ‘ 3 C , ‘ A‘ A,@3,C >‘ :‘ C @ >@$ ‘ Y ‘ >‘ ‘ 3> > 7 >@ =>‘ : 7 , <A>‘ A‘ C ,> 3>‘ :‘ =>‘ C7, , ,5>‘ 2=7,@ , @‘

$ >‘ T, @,@ @ 5>7 ‘ <3=‘ <C ‘ f=>‘ D> >7 ‘ 3 77<C , ‘ :‘ >7@ D‘ 2=7,@ , @ , ‘ =,@ , >ℕ A‘ 7D> ‘ @=> @‘ = ‘ W , ‘ ,@‘ < >3 , D ‘ =>‘ 2=7,@ , ‘ C7 :>@@, ‘ A‘ ? A,@= <7 >‘ ‘ 2=7,@‘ =, @> :$ ⊬

1$ 5, ‘ @@<7>@‘ <@‘ = ‘ ‘ => ‘ = ‘ >7>‘ 3 >A‘ =>7> ,3@ 7>3>,5>A‘ =>‘ @ >‘ @37,C <7>@‘ = ‘ =>7‘ 2=7,@ , @‘ A ,AN =>‘ @ >OC7 C=> @‘ =>‘ @ >‘ C @ >@‘ A‘ >5 D> ,@ @$

$ >‘ @ @‘ 7> 5>7 ‘ = ‘ ⊬ =>7> ,3@ >77 , 3> ‘ ‘ > @ ‘ @, 3>7> ❜ => ‘ > ,>5>‘ = ‘ => ‘C7 :>@@ ‘) ‘ 7<>NO A‘ => ‘ =, B‘ => @> 5>@‘ ‘ >‘ 7 = A 4 * ‘ @‘ => ‘ 7>‘ =>7> ,3@ , ‘ <7 >@ >> ‘ @ ‘ 7>‘ >‘ , ‘ =>,7@❜ A‘ = ‘ => ‘ , ‘ >‘ 7> >A‘ , ‘ =>‘ A ‘ :‘ *<AD > ‘ <C ‘ 33 < ‘ :‘ =,@‘ =>,7‘ >:7 > <@‘ C, , ‘ =>‘ ; <AD>‘ >‘ B @$

‘ " K<> @ ◦ 5 < ,, , <@‘ @<,@ @>7 ‘ A,5, <@‘ @, ‘ , $ $‘ # >‘ 9< $ /$ $ C$ - /$ S< A‘ < ‘ C > ,<@‘ 3 C, $@‘ <A, K<,A‘ , ‘ , ‘ 37,C <7 7< ‘ 3 ‘ ,A> ‘ >@ 7‘ C 7=<@ 3:<@‘ ! ,A‘ ,3< ‘ > , ‘ C>7‘ A,5 @ , >7 @ @ 3>7‘ @> ‘ >@ <@‘ >@ $ "‘ $ ‘ , $ ⓪ >A‘ :> ‘ 3< ‘ C>7‘ @37,C <7 @ @ 37 @ @3,7>‘ @ K< @,‘ A> 73 >‘ , ,‘ 3 > ,@ @< >‘ K< @A ‘ 5 ,,>7, ‘ #> @ @ >7 ‘ K<, ‘ ,C@< ‘ K< A A ‘ @37 C <7 >‘ @ 37 >‘ 7 3< < ‘ #>,‘ > @ ‘ >@ ‘ K<,AK,,,A‘ 5>‘ D @3,‘ C>7 @< @ ‘ 5> ‘ C7 >A,3 7, #><@ 5 <, ‘ ‘ 3> $ #>‘ 9< $ /$ -$ C$ -$

Ư 33>‘ >5,A>,, >7‘ A,3, ‘ 5 < > ‘ @ 37< ‘ 3< 3 ‘ K< ,A,>‘ < <$ ‘ ,5, , ,@ 7>D, U> ‘ , 3>@@ , , >7‘ ‘ #> ‘ , ‘D< >7 5,$ #>+9 < $ WE C$ - - $ j <C>7>@ ‘ < ‘ K<, ‘ >@:< ,,@ @ 37,@ 7>@C,3,‘ 3 7>D,‘ ‘ #> ‘ , ‘ * ‘ C7 5,* A@‘ J3$! $ C$ -1$ Ô S< >‘ :<>7, ‘ K<,CC>‘ <7O‘ < , <A>‘ >33 >@, >‘ C7, 3,C ,@‘ >4‘ = 3‘ @ ‘ 3 D @3,‘ C >@ ‘ K< A‘ , ‘ C7, 3,C,,@ @ B ,C@,@ 3 ‘ = , < ‘ , , ‘ ,A< ‘ >33 >@, >O 33>@@,@@>‘ 7>:>7< 7$ A5$ 5 7$ /$ -$ C$ $ ‘ O O T "‘ >D,,& @ , =><7 ‘ C @ < ‘ $3 7 >‘ , :,7 ,@@, < ‘ :<,@@>$ #>‘ 9< $ /$ = 3$ $, <@‘ >7D ‘ , , ‘ K< >‘ > ,@@, <@‘ . < <@ C>7 < , ‘ , ‘ K< >‘ ! ‘ , 7,@ C @ > ‘ A>‘ 7> ,D, >‘ 3 @37,C ,@ >@ A ‘ A< ‘ 2=7,@ , ,* @ >D, <@ C>7 < ,@@>ℕ K<,‘ A‘ 3 > >@ ,@ 7>D, >‘ * < ‘ D7 A, <@ C3> @7< ‘ @< 7< ‘ A@3> A> >@‘ @3 @ @, , ‘ D< A A ‘ A>‘ >K<< >,@ 3 @ ,@K<>‘ :>3>7< $ #>‘ 9< $ /$,,,$ C$ 1G$ 1

‘ S< <@K<*@K<>‘ >@ ‘ K<,‘ ‘ @>‘ < ‘ : 7 ,3 , ,@ , 5 5 ‘ ‘ K<,A‘ C <7 ‘ ‘ 97 5>‘ > ‘ <3 < @< ‘ >@ ‘ K< A‘ A,3 <7<@ @< $!C@ ‘ >33 >@, ‘ K< >‘, ‘ , <@‘ >@@>‘ A> > ‘ C 3 7,4‘ # >, ‘ K<,A‘ >@ ‘ ,,<A‘ K< ‘ >4 3>7 7,4‘ # >, ‘ ‘ < ‘ C7 > >7 C <3,@@, @ K< @ ‘ A ‘ K<,‘ ‘ : ,D,< ‘ K<,A‘ >@ ‘ ,,<A‘ C> >‘ ,@ 3 > <@ 2=7+@ , 7< $ < ‘ @> , ‘ 5, , 7 ‘ _ # >‘ 9< $ $,,,$ $ 1F$

j ! ‘ 3‘ > , ‘ 7 $C7 7 @, > ‘ C7 C>‘ ,@ >33 >@, @ ‘ ,3 ‘ C > @ 7>A 3 ‘ >@ ‘ < ‘ , ‘ 3< 3 ‘ C C< ‘ 2=7,@ , ‘ D> <@ K< AA ‘ @ 3 , ,@ @, ‘ , <@ >@@>‘ &, :, @< $! $ C$ 10$ ⓪ S< ‘ :, ‘ <‘ > , ‘ @‘ K<,‘ 2=7,@ , ‘ >@@>‘ A,3, <7‘ C>7 ‘ A <@ 5, ‘ ‘ , ,@‘ 5, , ‘ C7 5, ,@$,=, ‘ > , ‘ C7 A>@‘ > ‘ = >7>‘@ 3 < ‘ @, >‘ 7, <@ℕ K<, ‘ 5, ‘ ‘ C7 :>@@, >‘ A,@3 7A @ 7 D ‘ , <@ 7,@ ,,< ,‘ = 7> $! $ C$ $ #>‘ ,@ > ,, ‘ A,3, <7‘ , <A‘ K< A‘ @<C7 ‘ A,4, <@❜ 33> ⊱0 ! #‘# $ 0 ‘ 4& # (‘ 3%2 (‘ ‘ ‘ 5 ‘ (‘ 4% !‘ " #3 & $,‘ >@@> $ $ $. @ 7> ‘@ 2 ‘ ‘ 2=7,@ , ,@ :,>7> ‘ @,‘ 2=7,@ <@ @ <3 ‘ A 3<,@@> $ * @ , 7,O‘ , K<>‘ A>‘ 3< 7, ‘ @ @<,@ C >@‘ , >‘ K<,‘ 3 , <7$ ⊬ S< AC‘ > , ‘ <@ D,@ >7 >@ ‘ > *<@ ‘ @ 5,A> <@ >@@>OA,@3,C< @_$$$‘ &,A>‘ 2=7,@ , ‘ K<,A‘ D ‘ > ‘ >5,A> >7‘ C . > ‘ A>‘ ,C@ ‘ 2=7,@ ‘ @3,7,‘ K<,A‘ A C> $ #>‘ 9< $ /$,5$ C$! ‘ $ A> ‘ > , ‘ > , ‘ , @ >D>73‘ K< >‘ @ >D 7 <@‘ > @A> ‘ C<A‘ , @ C7 C > @ #>, ‘ > @A> ‘ C @ * @ > @A> ‘ K5 D> ‘ ,@ @>@@>$ "$ 5$ C$ CH ‘ U Ô @7> ,3,‘ >7D ‘ @< ‘ @>A‘ ‘ @3,> >@$ #> ,K<>‘ C<A‘ @‘ @ , ‘ =@>7> ,3,‘ C<A‘ @>‘ ‘ @< $ ‘ , ‘ < ‘ @>‘ 3 = , ‘ 3 @‘ >@@>‘ *,,A,3 ‘ < ‘ @ ,C@ @ , < ‘ =@>7> ,3 >‘ CC> , ,@ , : >,;, $ S< A‘ >7D ‘ , ‘ ,@ @< ‘ = 3‘ @ , ,@$ @‘ > @ , *<7, ‘ A,5, >‘ D> >7 , ‘ : 3>7>‘ 3>7 ,‘ @< <@‘ K< A‘ , W 7> ‘ C 7>‘ :, , ‘ +A,3 *, $! ‘ @ , *<7, @ @ . 7,‘ 34,@ , ‘ K<, ‘ >K< >@ >@@>‘ 37>A,7 <@$ &>7, @ C<A‘ @ >@ $ >A‘ , ‘ C<A‘ @>‘ >@@>‘ C7 >@< < $ $$ $ 77 ‘ >7D N‘ @>A‘ ‘ , ‘ >77 ‘ ‘ A, ‘ @>A‘ :%>3 <‘ #>, ‘ = 7 7>‘ @>‘ # , < ‘ K<> ‘ 7>‘ 37>A> >@$$$‘ $ S< , >7‘ C7 ‘ = 3‘ ,C@ ‘ : @ >‘ C, , ,@$‘ 77 7>‘ , ‘ A,>‘ *<A,3,‘ C< ,> A,‘ @, ‘ < <@ C >@‘ @3,7>‘ ,@, ‘ *<A>4$! ‘ C$ $$

$ =>' 7D< > ' Ö ,B> ,@>' :' =>' 3 @' :' =>' C @ >@' A' =>' ' .>7>D7, , ' :' $. < ' < * , >A' ' , ' A' =>' 7D< > @' :' =>' 3 = ,3' >C,@ >@' h 3 D ,' A >@' ' @37, >' ' < = ' ,<@Ý =>' =, B@' =>7>' ÷ ,@' ' D A' 7> @ ' ' @ ' => ' 7>' =,@' @, 3>' < = ,<@' =, @> :' ,@' @, > ' < ' => $ =>' : 7> >< , >A' 7D< > ' ,@' , ' 2 3,< > ,<@' @ ' C7>:,4>A' ' =>' 3 @' :' =>' C @ >@' Ý A' =>' .>7>D7, , ' ,@' , ' 2 3< > ,<@' Ú : >7' =>' 3 @' 7' >: 7>' =>' >C,@ >' ' =>' @$ =>' 7D< > @' :' =>' 3 = ,3' >C,@ >@' 7>' @ ' , ä 2 3< > ,<@Ý A' , ' (, ?@ > ' >@ > ' => ' 7>' C7>:,4>A' ' =>' @ ,A' 3 = ,3' >C,@ >@' ' , =' =>' >' :' 2 3< > ,<@$

$!' @= ' ' > , ' ' :> ' @>75 , @' A' B>' @ >' >4 7 3 @$

D ' ' + 3 ' ! , , !&#' +! $' ' + ' +' 3 &)$! ' + ' # 6 ' 3! +% 3' , # # ; & '& 3 6 "' ! - . ! "& !$! "' ' % + &' , !& #' % ' 8) , '

$. @@, ' >' ' @ '=> 3>' 3 3 <A>' = ' =>' >5> , ' @' '7>3>,5>A' =>7>Ñ 7' ' > @ ' = ' , ' @' 'C< ,3 '7> A' 7' @ ' D> >7 '7>3 > A>A' ' =>' <@>' :' ' 2=7,@ , @' @' =>' =>7' B@' :' =>' > ' >@ > Ý : 74,:' , ' = A' , ' ,D= ' >' 7> @ >' ' >4C>3 ' = ' , ' @= < A' = 5>' >> ' ' A A>A' , ' >@@ @' 3= C >7@' A' &>7@>@$

/G$' < = ,<@' @37, >@' ;=>' 3 @' :' =>' C @ >@' ' "<B>$' ! ' =,@' C7 D<>' =>' 3 @' =>' @ @' Ù = ' Ť"<B>' =>' >5 D> ,@ ' A,@3,C >' :' . < ' @' 'C= @,3, ' :' , 3= ' A' = ' =>' Ù 7 >' ' B@Ý >' :' =,3= ' A' =>' :,7@ ' ,@' = ' :' =>' D @C> Ñ =>' =>,÷ ,@' =,@' B' : Ó =>' 3 @' :' =>' C @ >@' , ' =,3=' =>' 7> >@' =>' @3> @, ' :' 2=7,@ ' ' !*> 5> ' Ñ =>' A>@3> Ó :' =>' ' 9= @ ' <C ' =>' = ' C @ >@Ñ A' = ' =>' A,@3,C >@' C7> 3=>A' =>' A 3 7, >' : Ó 2=7,@ Ñ A' = ' ,7 3 >@' => ' 7 <D= ' 'C7 >7' A' : , =' , ' =, 'Ñ A' =>' A,5, >' 3 ' : Ó . < ' :7 ' => 5> ' A' =,@' C @ >@=,C ' A' @<33>@@:< ' C7> 3=, DÑ A' , ' ' 7A ' =>' <7@ Ù :' =>' C @ >@' : 7' 2=7,@ ' , ' =>' ,A@ ' :' 'A D>7@' A' A,::,3< ,>@$? ÷ ! ' =>' C7 D<>' ' $' . < ?@' >C,@ >@' =>' D , ' 2 @' =>' 3 @ ' ' " <B>?@' @>3 A' B$ ÷

/ /$' =>' C7 D<>' ' $' . < ?@' >C,@ >@' 3 , @' =>?=,@ 7 ' :' . < ' 3 >3 >A' :7 ' =>' 3 @' :' =>' C @ >@' A' :7 ' =,@' >C,@ >@' 3=,>: ' :7 ' =>' : 7 >7Ñ A' => ' ' > < >7 , ' :' =,@' >C,@ >@' ' A' : >7' = ' , ' =>' =,7A' @>3 , ' ' : 7 =>7' 33 < ' Ť :' $' . < ?@' 3 , @' , ' =>' 7A>7' :+ , > ' C 7 ' B> ' :7 ' <@> ,<@?@' 2=7 ,3 >' A' 33 >@, @ ,3 ' ,@ 7 $' >' @ @ Ù = ' >@,A>' ' =>7' <7@ , ' =>' 3 <7@>' :' =,@' ,:>' ' 7, D' > ' ' =>' C7 3 ,3>' :' 5,7 <> Ù . < ' 7 >' : <7 >> ' >C,@ >@' 3 , , D' , @ 7<3 , @' : 7' >5>7 ' C 7 ' :' ' = ' 3 5>7@ , $O' >' > < >7 >@' =>' >C,@ >@' , ' =,@' 7A>7Ý $' =>' @' Ñ ' ' =>' 2 7, =, @Ñ ' =>' 9 O' , @Ñ ' =>' C=>@, @Ñ ' =>' . =, ,CC, @Ñ ' =>' 2 @@, @Ñ ' =>' =>@@ , @Ñ ' =>' > 7> @Ñ =>' >C,@ >@' ' , = ' , <@' A' . =, > $' '

/E$' < = ,<@' C 3> =' . < ?@' >C,@ >@' 33 7A, D' ' =>' C7 :,3,> 3 ' =,3=' => ' = A' A>' = ' => ' >7>' @> Ñ >D, , D' , =' =>' > @ ' C>7:>3 ' A' C7 3>>A, D$ ' =>' 7>' C>7:>3 $' =,@' ,@' >5,A> ' :7 ' @>5>7 ' =, D@Ý : 7' =>' @ @' Ù =>' ? >C,@ >' ' =>' @' ,@' C 3>A' :,7@ ' @' 3 , , D' , @ 7<3 , @' : 7' = @>' = ' = A' > ' > 7 >A' ' =>' :,7@ ' C7, 3,C >@' :' =>' D @C> Ñ =,@' , ' CC> 7@' @ ' , ' = ' >' @ @' <C ' =>' >C,@ >' ' =>' C=>@, @' =>' :,: =' , ' 7A>7Ý A' => ' =>' @ @' = ' Ù =>' >C,@ >' ' =>' . =, ,CC, @' =>' @,4 =' , ' 7A>7' ,@' 7, > ' ' ;,>' : , =:< ' = ' = A' A>' C7 D7>@@' A' = A' 7 <D= ' : 7 = D A' :7<, $' A' ' =>' > A' :' =,@' > < >7 , ' ,' - ' : <7 >> ' >C,@ >@' =>' >4C7>@@ ' @ @' => ' V' 7>' C 3>A' 33 7A, D' ' =>' 7A>7' :' > ?@' C7 :,3,> 3 $' '

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' ' h 3Ý 2 $ C$ B E 'BEC

?? ! ,A$ C$ BEC ' ' '

Ť #<' , 7,' > ' C >@ ' ' 7D< > :<7 ' 3 << ' ,' C @ ' 7< ' >' ' .>7>D7, , >@ . <,' C @ ,'>,A> ' @< *< 3 >' < ' = ,,' C<@>4,@ 'K<,CC>' K< A' ,C@>' , ' , >' C7 D,' , ' C @ ' 7< ' 3 <@' <' ' A>' " <3 ' >5 D> ,@ ' > 7< A> ,' @37,C ' 7>' C @ >7, ' K< >' 3 ' 7D< > ,' 5,3>@' @<CC >7>' C @@, 'C ' 7< ' 5>7,@, ,>' >@ ' < = ,<' A>' 5 ' >*<@A> ' , 7,' 7D< ' 7 > '3 @37, > A '3 D, @@>$ 33>A, ' K< A' < K , ' @@>' 7 ' ,<@' @>' , ' 5,' >@ > ,' , 7,@' K< @' , <@ 7 A @ @<@C>C, ' 7D< > ' < '@37,C@,@@>' > ' K< >' . <,' >C,@ ,@' , ' >*<@A> ' >A, , >' C7 @:,D< <7' > ' >7,<@' <3 7 @' >@@>' @<C> ' 7,<@' @ > @< ' >@ $ S< 7> ' ,A> ' C7 7@<@' A>' 3 << ' C @ 7< ' > ' 3 = ,3 7< ' >C,@ 7< ' 7D< > ,@' 3> @> ' A< ' >@@>' 5,A> <7' > ' > C>' < ,' > ' ,' >C,@ 7< ' . < , ' 7< ' 7D< > 'C @ ' 5< D ' < = ,,' >A, , > ' ' ,K< ' C, ' 5,7 ' >A, ' > ' ' ,K<,@' , 7 7,,@ >,A> ' , @>7 ' :<,@@>' K< $ @<,@ 3 A,3, <@' * 7> ' >4,@ ,7 , => ' 3 3, , 7> $' h 3 D$$ .7 >:$ $,5$ C$ H ' 2 :$ < A$ C$ BE ' $ B

Z : 3 (' ' , ' 8

' ']' Ñ4]' '&%' ' ' '

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12 - # 31 -'&#' . =\#) , !H%-' ! -#' .' - ' 4 ' , ' CEG ' ' ' C C '

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A -' ' -' 5 ' ¿60** 0* ' # & &% - V') 1(' -

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') ') - ' . ' - ' CEC '

V' / >9 ,Ñ 68$ 8 : : Z@7@C,@*@' : ; - ;' " ' ;%' "45&

=>7>‘ : 7‘ = ‘ , >$‘ !‘ 7>:>7‘ , ‘ =>‘ 7D, ‘Ó ‘ @ >‘ =>7‘ 7, >7@$‘ # 5,A‘ A>‘ ?‘ @C> B@‘ :‘
=,@‘ < = 7‘ @‘ 7, , D‘ <‘ =>‘ > 7‘ HG‘) A‘ !‘ C 3>‘ =, ‘ ‘ = ‘ , >‘ ,B> ,@>‘ ‘ ,D>‘ = @>‘
= ‘ ‘ @<CC @>‘ =>@>‘ 7B@‘ ‘ = 5>‘ >> ‘ 7, > ‘ : 7 ‘ 7‘ :,: ‘ > 7@‘ >: 7>‘ => ‘ >7>‘ B> ‘
,3>‘ :$? >
‘ - ‘ + #‘ #‘ #! "‘ %&‘ + ‘ #!2 ‘ % ‘!‘ ! ! %8 ‘ %&‘ + ‘ 4%%2#‘ % ‘ + ‘ "‘ ! "‘ ? ;‘ # ! ($‘
% "‘ ‘ + ‘ + &"‘ 3+! , &‘ % ‘ + #‘ ! +%&A# 33 # !# 3! ‘ &!&3+) L‘ 4 ‘ . ,& ## "‘ ‘ ! ‘%4#3 & ‘
! "‘ ( )# & % #‘ (! &$‘ # "‘ %‘ + #‘ # ! ‘ ; !)‘ % ‘ ; / 8
$‘ !‘ = 5>‘ C< ‘ =>‘ = >‘ , ‘ =>‘ 7D, ‘ : 7‘ =>‘ <@>‘ :‘ = @>‘ = ‘ 7> A‘ 9 7>>B) , ‘ ,@‘ ‘ > @ ‘ ‘
>‘ 7 @ >A‰ < ‘ >‘ ‘ B>‘ ‘ :> ‘ 7> 7B@$; >@‘ @ D>‘ , ‘ =>‘ C 3>‘ 5>‘ 3, >A‘ ,@‘
3 >A,? ‘ :‘ C, , ‘ = ‘ =,@‘ 7, >7‘ > , @‘ ‘ B@‘ :‘ =>‘ A‘ >@ > ‘ < ‘ = @>‘ :‘ =>‘
‘ 6" -‘ 3 $‘ ! ‘ ,@‘ @ ‘C , ‘ = ‘ >‘ :‘ = @>‘ B@‘ ,@‘ =>‘ D‘ :‘ D@$‘ A‘ # , >‘ WZ@ @‘ =>‘
, @‘ ‘ @ 37>A‘ B‘ >, =>7‘ :‘ =>‘ A‘ 7‘ =>‘ > ‘ >@ > ‘ ‘ = >5>7 ‘ U =>‘ > 5>A‘ A,@ ,C >?
>‘ ,@‘ >4C7>@@ ‘ > , >A$‘ ! ‘ ,@‘ ,:>@ ‘ = ‘ =>‘ < = 7‘ 7>3>,5>A‘ =>‘ >5> , ‘) A‘ , ‘ ,@‘
C7 >‘ =>‘ = <D= ‘ $; = ?@‘ D @C>‘ ‘ >‘ =>‘ @‘ 7, > ‘ B‘ :‘ =>‘ > ‘ >@ > ‰ , ‘
>, D‘ > , >A‘ @ ‘ A‘*,>4 ‘ J >7‘ =>‘ B‘ :‘ =>‘ >5> , $

4 ; 8>‘ 4

9 #! ' $

‘ 4 , ‘ :‘ (7@>, >@‘ ,@‘ C 3>A‘ +‘ 2 5>‘ ‘ =>‘ > 7U H1 ‘ < ‘ =,3=‘ , >‘ =,@‘ B‘
:‘ ! <@ 7, <@‘ (> ‘ <@ ‘ = 5>‘ >>C‘ 7, > $‘ ! ‘ G =>‘ @ ‘ 3= C >7‘ :‘ = ‘ B‘ =>‘ > , @‘ =,@‘
‘ 7B@‘) =>‘ 3 3 <@, ‘ :‘ =,3=‘ 3= C >7‘ ,@ ‘ U = ‘ =>‘ = A‘ 7, > ‘ ‘ 7> ,@>‘ 7‘ 7> ,@>@‘ 3 ‘
Z3>7 , D‘ =>‘ = "V " ; :‘ ‰ A‘ 3 3>7 , D‘ =>‘ >5> , ‘ :‘ =>‘ >@@>A‘ ; = ‘ = ‘ 7B ‘ A‘ ‘
Ó >C,@ >‘ 3 3>7 , D‘ =,@‘ : , = ‘ @> ‘ ‘ 9 > @,<@ ‘ ,@= C‘ :‘ >$?
7 ‘ =>‘ B‘ :‘ ! <@ 7, <@‘ (> ‘ ,@‘ @ , ‘ >4) + A‘ !‘ = 5>‘ : > ‘ 7>:>77>A‘ ‘ , $‘ =>‘ >C,@ ,>‘
‘ 9 > @,<@ ‘ 3 3>7 , D‘ =,@‘ % , = ‘ ,@‘ @ ‘ D> >7 ‘ @<CC @>A‘ ‘ >‘ >4 ‘ = <D=‘ ‘ , ‘ ‘ D >@‘
‘ ‘ A,::>7> ‘ , >‘ , ‘ ,@‘ , ‘ =>‘ CC> A,4‘ :‘ =>‘ >,D= =‘ >‘ :‘ =>‘ > >A,3 , >‘ >A, , ‘ :‘
<D<@ , >?@‘ 7B@$
-$‘ < ‘ =>‘ 3=,>:‘ 7> @ ‘ :‘ ‘ C 3, D‘ 9 > A,<@‘ =>7>‘ ,@‘ ‘ 7>D 7A‘ ‘ =,@‘ 7> ,@>@‘ 3 3>7 , D‘
=>‘ (, > ,< ‘ A‘ $‘ ; = ?@‘ >5> , ‘ ‰ =,3=‘ !‘ @<CC @>‘ A ‘ :: 7A‘ ‘ D A‘ 7D< > ‘ = ‘ =>‘
7>3>,5>A‘ =>‘ >5> , ‘ @‘ ‘ 7B‘ :‘ $‘ ; = ‘ =>‘ C @ >‘ A‘ >5 D> ,@ $

V‘ &,A$‘ ' @@>7$ #,@@$ A>‘ 37,C ,@ #, @, ‘ 7> C$ @<CC @, ,@$
A‘ 3 3> ‘ , 7,‘ A>‘ 37,C <7$ 37$ >,‘ &>7 3$ C$ E0 / ‘ J3$
" < ‘ ,‘ A>‘ A< <@ #, @,,@$ % 7$, $ 97‘ $ 5$ C$ -$ $$‘ 1$
#<‘ . , ‘ , $ A>@‘ < $‘ 3$‘ $‘ , ‘ C$ - $$$‘ -0$ @@> $‘ , $
7$ $‘ ,$ C$ 1/$
#>@‘ , >@‘ !$,,$ 3=$ EG$ C$ E ,C$ ‘ 2= 7> $ C$
Y‘ $ & ‘ ‘ ‘7 ‘ 9 ‘0 ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘
$ ‘ : $ ‘ ; ‘ ‘ ‘ : 6 ! ‘ ‘ 6 ‘ & 57+ ‘
‘ &! %- H# !6 = " ‘&#‘ ‘ 1 - ‘ ‘ ‘
! ‘ ‘ $ ‘ : ‘ ‘ ! ‘ ‘ 6 ‘ < ‘
= = ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ > - ‘ ‘ 4 ‘ : ‘ $" ‘
$: ‘ a6 : ‘ = = # ‘ ‘ * ‘ ! $: ‘ = = ‘
) ? ‘ ‘ 5# 36 : *,$ ‘ = $ ‘ ‘ : ‘ ‘ ‘ " ‘ &‘
‘ ‘ $ ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ . = @ 1 &‘
‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ : ? $ ‘ .! ‘ $ ‘ - ' $ ‘
‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ & &5) ‘ ! ‘ ‘
" ‘ $ ‘ ‘ ‘0< ‘ ‘ & ‘ ' -‘ &‘
‘ ‘A- ‘ 5#% 6 ! 0 - ‘ ‘ ‘ . ‘
" ‘ : $ ‘> ‘ B 1 : ‘ ‘ * *! ‘ 9 %)#

7> C$ A>‘ 33 >@$,>7 73=‘ 3 C$ -$ @>3 $ $ C$ E : ‘ E0O$
5>7C$ * - $
Q $$$‘ K< ‘ 3 ‘ @37,C <7@>‘ <7 ‘ 5> >7,@ <7 ‘ 5 >‘ @ <,@ ‘
@, < ‘ 3 < > ‘ >4=, > ‘ @, D< K<>‘ < 7,<@K<>‘ 5 ,< +7>‘
‰ 3> @> ‘ ‘ K<,A> ‘ <@, @‘ 3‘ @ ,> , <@ , ‘ >33 >@, ‘ , , ‘
<@ , , ‘ < 3<C @‘ ` ‘ K< ‘ , >‘ ' ,K<>‘ 5> < ‘ ‘ K< A ‘ C, ‘
3< ‘A, ,D> ,@@, >‘ @, ‘ 3 &> a‘ @>A‘ > ‘ , ‘C>7@C,3<>‘ A>@,D @
3‘ A>@37, > @‘ < ‘ : 3, >‘ @, ‘ , > ,D>7>‘ < < ‘ ‘ > ‘ C7 > >7‘
,@@< ‘ >@ >‘ A,5, < ‘ , 7< $ # a‘ < ,‘ @<C7 $ /$,$ 3$ /`;$
‘

T &,A$ 2 5$ $ "$ $,$ > ‘ 2 :$ % :$ A‘ 9> A$ 3 C$ < $
9$;$ & @@‘ A>‘ ,@ $ " ‘ ,,$ 3$ /0$ $ 7,@$,@ $.> D$ /$,
S$ ‘ # <‘ . , = , , =$ $,,,$. $,,$ C ‘ EFF
D ‘ 9> A,<@‘ (@@, , @ C7>@ >7‘ @37,C@,‘ A5>7@<@‘ ‘
>@ = >7>@>@ , 7 @ 3 ‘ > ‘ A5>7@<@‘ >@ 7,< ‘ :, 7>@ 7>@‘ > ‘
7 3 <@ A>‘ 7 , >‘ ,@‘ > ‘ A>‘ C 3 C@,‘ > ‘ ; = ,@‘ > ‘
= 3‘ C<@‘ > ‘ >C,@ ‘ A>‘ ,A>‘ > ‘ ,@,‘ A‘ > < ‘ 9> @,<77*‘
<7 ,@ >‘ >C,@3 C< ,$ 9>< A$ A>‘ &$!$ 3 C$ 2$
Ó #>‘ 33 >@, @ ,3,@‘ # D ,: <@ , >7‘ 9> A, ‘ 7, < <@$

$

4 ; 8 > ' 4

9 " ! ' ' ! .' %($

/$ 97 ," , *D' ' :7,3 ' @<33>>A>A' %> ,4' !$' , ' =>' @>>' :' > ' , ' =>' > 7' HER' ' A>37>>'
, ' '3 < 3, ' :'@>5> ' ,@= C@' 3 3>7 , D' 3 ,3 ' >33 >@, @ ,3 ' A' C 37 C= ' @37,C <7>@'
,@' @37, >A' ' =, $' =>' D> <, > >@@' :' =,3=' A>37>>' ,@' A> ,>A ' 7' A,@C< >A' 'Ó . > 7@ +?2 5>+'
<>' A' ' ; >@' @ D>Ñ < '5, A,3 >A' +' . D, ' A' ' ;>7> , =' ; >@$' < ' =>7> @' , '
= @' >> ' D> >7 ' C 3>A' ' =>' > 7' H ' . D,' @ @' , ' & @' ' C< ,@=>A' >: 7>' H $' ! ' ,@' '
>3>@@ 7 ' = ' !' @= < A' > >7' , ' ' 7D< > 7' < ' ' =, D' :' @ ' >' ' A >)' !' @= ' '
>D>' = ' C 7 ' :' =>' A>37>>' =,3=' 7> >@' ' =>' B@' :' =>' > ' '>@ > $
$' : > ' ' C 7 ,3< 7' > < >7 , ' :' =>' B@' :' =>' A' >@ > ' : @)' Ú =>' Ó 7A>7'
Ú :' =>' @37,C <7>@' :' =>' > ' A' >5>7 @ , D' >@ > Ñ : <7' B@' :' =>' D @C> @' * 33 7A, D'
Ú ' (=> ' >' B ' 33 7A, D' ' (7B' >' B ' 33 7A, D' ' " <B>' >' B ' 33 7A, D' '
' ; = ' >' BÑ' >' B' :' =>' 3 @' :' =>' C @ >@Ñ =>' >C,@ >@' :' =>' C @ >' . < ': <7 >> Ñ' '
U =>' @' >' >C,@ >' Ñ' ' =>' 2 7, =, @' ' >C,@ >@)' ' =>' 9 , @' >' >C,@ >Ñ' ' =>'
Ú =>@@ , @' ' >C,@ >@Ñ' $ ' =>' C=>@, @' >' >C,@ >Ñ' ' =>' . =A,CC, @ >' >C,@ >Ñ ' =>'
Ú 2 @@, @' >' >C,@ >Ñ' ' , = ' ' >C,@ >@Ñ' ' , <@' >' >C,@ >' Ñ ' . =, > ' >' >C,@ >Ñ
Ú ' =>' > 7> @' >' >C,@ >)' ,B> ,@>' =>' >5> , ' :' ; = ' >' B)' ,B> ,@>' =>' @>5> '
Ú 3 ,3 ' >C,@ >@Ñ >' >C,@ >' :' =>' C @ >' ; >@' ' >C,@ >@' :' =>' C @A>' . > >7 ' =7>>'
Ú >C,@ >@' :' =>' C @ >' ; = ' >' >C,@ >' :' =>' C @ >' ;<A @' h> >@$' A' , ',@' AA>A ' Ú = '
Ú <C ' =>' C7 C=> ,3 ' >5 D> ,3 ' A' C @ ,3 Ó'@37,C <7>@' ' =>' 3 = ,3' 3=<73=' ,@' <, ' '
Ú =>' D7 3>' :' 9 A)?
-$' =>' 7> A>7' , ' @>75>' =>' 7A>7' , ' =,3=' =>' B@' 7>' C 3>A$' ! ' A>@>75>@' @ ' ' >'
@>75>A ' !' =, B ' = ' = >5>7' >7>' =>' < = 7@' :' =,@' 3 D<>' :' B@' :' @37,C <7>' => '
7>3>,5>A' >' : 7' < => ,3' A' 3 ,3 ' 7' =>' 7< >' :' : , = ' < ' @<3=' @' >7>' 7, > ' '
C @ >@' 7' @<CC @>A' ' >' 7, > ' ' C @ >@Ñ' >43>C ' =>' D @C> @' 33 7A, D' ' (7B' A' " <B>' '
A' => ' 3 @' :' =>' C @ >@$
$' >@,A>' =>@>' ' ' >33 >@, @ ,3 ' 7, , D@' 7>' > , >A ' =,3=' 7>' >A' ' >' A>'
<@>' :$' : >7' =,3=' : @' +' ' D' 3 D<>' :' C 37 C= ' B@' =,3=' 7>' > , >A ' A'
7>*>3 >A$' (+ :' =,3=' = 5>' >> ' C7 C>7 ' B> ' ,3>' :' , ' @> >7 ' C 7 @' :' =,@' 7BÑ'
= <D=' , = < ' C 7 ,3< 7' 7>:>7> 3>@' ' =,@' A>37>>' =,3=' >, D' @ ' >' , ' , > ' @' '
>3>@@ 7 Ñ' A' < A' = 5>' 7> A>7>A' =,@' 7B' >A, <@' A' C7 ,4' > A' ' , > , $

Ó &, A,3$' C$!D $.$,$ 3 C$ $
Ó ,@ $ "$ $,$ C$ ' $ Ó $ $ $ '$/G$'
Ú ,@ ' A>' 7' D ' !$ 5,,,$ 3$ 0$ $ ' C$' ' G$
+' $ $ E $$$$' $
Ú > ' A' %< ' (> = A' J3$ 5 $,$ C$! ' /HG$
Ó ! > ' 7A ' @37,C 7 7< ' 5,' > ' > >7 ,' >@ >7, ,$
5 D> , 7< ' , 7,' K< < 7$
>3< A< ' (= >< ' , >7' < <@$ >3< A< ' (73< '
, >7' < <@$ >3< A< ' "<3 ' , >7' < <@$ >3< A< ' ; '
,,> ' , >7' < <@$ 3 << ' C @ 7< ' , >7' < <@$
C,@ >' . < ,' C @ ,' < >7 '4,5$
A' @' >C,@ ,' < $ A' 2 7, =, @' >C,@ >' A< >$
A' 9 @>C,@ ' < $' A' =>@@ ,3> @>@' >C,@ >' A< >$
A' C=>@, @' >C,@ ' < $ A' . =, ,CC> @>@' >C,@ ' < $ A'
2 @@> @>@' >C,@ ' < $ A' ,7 =>< ' >C,@ >' A< >$ A'
, < '>C,@ '< $ A' . =, > >< '>C,@ '< $ A' > 7 > @'
>C,@ '< $

! > ' C 3 C@ @' ; ,@' , >7' < <@$
! > '2 ,3 >' >C,@ >' < >7 ' @>C > $
; 3 ,' C @ ,' >C,@ ' < $. > 7,' C @ ,' >C,@ >' A< >'
; ,@' C @ ,' >C,@ >' 7>@$;<A >' [> ,@' C @ ,' >C,@ '
< $ j . @ ' C7 C=> ,3 @' >5 D> ,3 @' K<>' C @ ,3 @' @37,C '
<7 @' K<, <@' >33 >@, ' 3 = ,3 ' C>7' D7 , ' # >,' :< A ' >@ '
, <A' > , ' , A< ' C< <@' J3$ Ú 2 3, ,< ' $
Ú K< ' '!44$ >C,@3 C,@' , 7,'@ 37,' > ' < => ,3 ' ' C 37 'C=,@@< '
A,@37> ,' @< ' 9> , $? C$ " $ 2 >$ $,5$ C ' /E G /E /$
' K< 5,@' ,<A' :< A > < ,' < <@' C @@, ' C >7>'
C7 > >7 ,A' K< A' C @, < ' >@ ' K<,>@ ' 2=7,@ <@' ;>@<@' > A'
>A,:,3 , > ' @ 7 ' > A> ' @ 3 ' ' >33 >@, ' C @'
, @' &> >7,@' 5>' 5, >@ > , ' K< @ 7>D< 7, >7' @<@K>CB <@ '
> , ' ' = @ @<@3,C,' 'C7 =, > $! $ C$ /E E$$$' e
, ' , ' , 7 7< ' C 37 C= 7 ' K<,' '7>3,C,<= <7$; $
C$ /EG $

4 ; 8 > ' 4

' ! .' %' 2 '! ' 2 . . # 2! $

' , 5 ' ,@= C' :' 2 >@ 7> ' , ' 2 CC A 3, ' ,@' C 3>A' ' 2 5> O' ' =>' > 7' 1GGN' = <D=' =,@' >4 3 ' , >' ,@' ' 3>7 , ' B $' >' 7 > ' 2 > 7 ' <C ' =>' B' :' =>+ >5> , N' :' =,3=' @ >' ,3>' <@ ' >' B> ' ' <@$

$' ! ' =>' C7>: 3>' ' =,@' 7B ' =>' @ @$' >' >>A@' ' ' > 7D>' , ' C7 5, D' =>' , @C,7 , ' :' =,@' B ' @, 3>' ' 3,> @' = 5>' 7 >' >@ , ' ', @' < = 7, N' @ 97>D 7 ' =>' #,5, >' 2 7,' c :' >4 A7, I ' . C, @ $!7> ><@ ' (> = A,<@ ' A' ,CC <@$

' A7> ' A,5,A>A' ,>' B' :' =>' >5> , ' , ' E ' 7D>7 ' A' F ' @ >7' @>3 , @$' =,@' =>' B>@' ,3>' :' , ' =,@' C7>: 3>N' A' 7> = @ ' = ' @ ' : >7 7A@' 7 >' ' 2 > 7 ' <C ' =,@' B ' > , @' , ' C 7 ,3< 7 ' , ' =,@' C7>: 3>$' (, ' @ @ ' = ' A7> ' =>7>, ' , , >A' < = ,<@ ' = ' = A' A >' =>' ,B>' : 7' @ >' =>7' C 7 @' :' =>' > ' >@ > $' !' C 3>' (, ?@ 33 < ' :' =,@' >7' > ' ' > D =$

$' ' C ' >5$' ,$' H ' =>' @>75>@ ' = O' ; = ' = A' >> ' 3 A> >A' ' ,5>', ' =>',@ A' . @N' < ' =>' A >@' ' @ ' => ' 7' ' = $

1$' >' @>> @' ' @<CC @>' = ' 0' ' ; = ?@' D @C>' @' 7, > ' >: 7>' =>' >5> ,

$' ' C ' >5$' ,5 ÷ F ' =>' > , @' U' =>' @ @' :' =>' : <7' >5 D> ,@ @$' =>' , ' 7>C7>@> @' ; = N' =>' 3 :' " <B>N' =>' > D >' (7BN' =>' ' (=> $' U

' FO' ! ' ,@' @ ' >>A >@@' ' @>75>' = ' =>' > @> =>7>' @ ' @C> B@' C :': <7' D @C> @' $

D ' + ' ' - 3 #' % ' + ' ! , %# #' ! & ' " # 3)' 0 % "' 4)' + ('

P ' - ' >C,@ >' :' V ; >@ ' A' =>'] :,7@ ' A' @>3 A' I' :' . > >7 ' 7>' >4C7>@@ ' K< >A' ' =, $

A' , ;' - ' K< , ' :' =>' :,7@ ' >C,@ >' , ' CC> 7@ ' = ' A7> ' @<CC @>A' . > >7 ' ' '

' =>' > A' :' = ' >C,@ >' ' > ' >$'

6 $ =>7>' 3 ' >' ' K<>@ , ' A>' < ' =>' 7>3>,5>A' '' =>' B@' :' =>' > ' >@ > ' =,3=' >' A $ $

/ /$' =>7>' 7>' , ' =,@' 7B ' 7 3>@' :' =>' 3,> ' , >7C7> , @' :' A,5>7@' >4 @' :' =>' >5> + ' , $

/E$' =>' ?>4C ,3 , @' :' =>' @> @ ' , ' =>' @,4 =' 3= C >7 ' A>@>75>' ' >' B> ' ,3>' :$

/ -$' :' =>' @,4 =' @> ' 3=$' 5,$' /E ' / - ' =>' @ @N' >' ? < A>7@ A' ' = @>' =, D@' ' >' @ A' :,D<7 ,5> ' :' =>' @,>D>' :' ;>7<@ > ' ' &>@C @, $

/ $' ' C ' 3=$' 5,,$$' / ' =>' @ @N' >' ? < A>7@ A' = @>' >4C7>@@, @' :' =>' 3 , ,>@' 7 <D=

O $$$$ ' 5,4,@@>' 5,A> <7' 3,73 ' >4, < ' @>3< ' ,@ ,<@ ' 3' 3 7<,@@>' ' 1GG$' ! 3>7 ' > , ' C7 7@<@ , ,<@ ' > @N' >3' < ' ' >*<@' C<A' 5> >7>@ > , $' ,@ $ " , $' $' ,$' C$' _$' 2 :$% 7$, $' 97$' $' 5,,$' C$' $

O' A' :, $' $' 2 7 @ @ $' 2 > ' , ' ; = ' 3A$' (7> $' $' 5,,,$' &,A$' .7 3> $' C$' -$

O ,f6 5FP' ,&>& 68#8,, "5' 4 244&" < 85' "B' 6 @:' ' 4 ,' :' 4@: 6 , ' "8' ,"5 ? " :' 65' ' A ;2 / #65' =2 C "& <8" ?/5& >B' <8" H "5 5$@8 ' C$' ,,,$' $

' T&,A$' 7> =$' A' 2 3$' $,,,$' 2 > $' 2 3< $' C$' G$

O A7> @' 2 >@ 7>@' 2 CC A 3< ' >C,@3 C @' @< ' :, > ' ,@>3< ' ,=<*<@' K<, ,' C 3 C@> @' , 7< ' ' @>' 2 > 7, ' , <@ 7 < ' C 7 , <@' >@ ' A' >4> C < ' < = ,,' , '@>3 , >@' *: @' > ' , 7>@' @> ' , ' % &8B' > ' < "#8*8 8 ' ! & " * 7>@' K< , ' C 7 , >@' >7 ' < = , ,@' VZ" >3 , , <@' ? = A' < ' @, , >@' <*<@ A,' < > ' 5, ' A7> @ 44,5' C7 ' < >7 ' 5,D, ,' K< < 7' > , 7< ' 3,73 ' =7 < ' @>A> ,< ' $$$$' * ,8@8" ;' 5>7 ' @,5>' @>D > ' , 7 ' 3 @ , <, ' ` A' < >7< ' < ,A,3, ' C 7 ,< '@3$ U3 7C 7,@' , >' > ' @C,7, :,@ ÷ >4' K<, <@' 3 @ ' > , 7>@d >7' 5,D, ,' K< < 7' @><' ! 4 ,$' CC @, >' > , ' 3<,K<>' 2 C, < ' > ,, >' K< A ' >7, ' K< >' , ' > ' 7 3 <7' C <3,@' ,<A,3 >$' (, $' . 7 >D$' $' $ P' .$' $ $$

÷ ,7@, 7@C 5' ,8" <8 ' 85 5' 58&& %" =' "B' ;,C,* , ' OPW' ", ,, 8 5' 5/2 # A ;44&8B' 5 $ 3 ' < , 45-8' 9 ' <' $' C$' ' $ U' $$$' " ' 8B' 8B' B' 48 8B ' * 8' " C 8 < 58&& ' , ' 6B' # "B' <8 %48B' &""&' * % & , / 7@' :,>5' % 5-B' >%8& B , #" : , ' <8 ' ' < " " ,* ' ; && %" & ' <' $' C$' E1 ' $ 2$

' <44" #5' "&' , " & 54<&& %"6&' < &&" " ' C4 , " " 44# " G">B' &&%B' 6 # "8 ' C$' / -/$' $

O$$ '@ ' 7D' >'> &&# 8' 7 ' ! @' 7 *' &' ,8 "B' ' #8 : ' C$' F ' $'

$' ' D&FD1D`7 ' ' ' ' :D + 7' 1 &8 B' 4, : *$' C$' F -$' $

V' D' ; # 8 5 #!' ' +,> \ D' :< ' > ' 7** # 6# 88 & # 5 ' C$' $ $

J $$$',* 7 ' & ', ' ,> 8<8#" 8' = #8' % & ;'" "4, #6 ' &' 8 B' <8# "8" B' 7 ' 5 : 2 6' P F@ FP' , &' %#" ' ," &' ;D ;DO' C$' $ $' C . $ $ ']

J P' 85 8' /" & B' "B' #" ' / " D5 " 8" "8&8' 8 C% 6B' ; %" #<"'8& %< & (" : & < ' 6&' "#'>"< &" & -" 4 & * ,7 D' ,,4 5 B' C ' - $ 2$ #

÷ P' <8" ; <' 5 ; &' "4 ' O 6V" = "6& : B' 8 8" "B' /& & &3Q" 8" % #< ! -' 7 ' ? /" <#6& ! && % 8& "b%85 8 - B

(")" " &' ,' - ' . # ' 0 " &

<C ' ,A' ;> ,@=' C> C >' ' =>' @N A' @ ,A' = ' ' Ù =>? P' : <7' D> @' @ A, D' <C '
=>' : <7' 3 7 >7@' :' =>' > 7 = ^' ,@' , , >A' = ' =>' ;> ,@=' C> C >' @= < A' :, A' ' ' ' >@3 C>'
=>' A,5, >' 5> D> 3>' >, =>7' ' @> ' 7' A ' 7' ' =>7' $
/ 1$' ' C ' 3=$' 5,,$' - ' Ù @ , D)' V' <7 ' ' =>' > 7 = $$$$$$$$, ' +>' = 5>' @> >A' =>' @>75 @' :
<7' 9 A' , ' =>,7' : 7>=> A@ ^' A' = ' : @ ' =>' @ @')' >' V= 5>' < A>7@ A' = ' @>3 , ' @
7> , D' ' =>' A>7:< ' >@3 C>' A' C7>@>75 , ' :' =>' ;> ,@=' > ,>5>7@ ' => ' ;>7<@ > ' @
>@,>D>A' ' =>' @$ A' => ' >7>' 3 :,7 >A' , ' = ' , >7C7> , ' ' = ' ; >@' @ ,A'
' . < ' 3 @' 44,$ EG ' V' = <' @>>@ ' 7 =>7 ' = ' ' = <@ A@' :' ;> @' =>7>' 7>' =,3='
> ,>5>$^
/ $' ' C ' 3=$' ' / ' E ' -$' >7>' A7> ' A>@37, >@' =>' > B> , D' :' =>' C >7' :' =>' A>5, '
' > @' :' <7' " 7A?@' A> =$' Ù >7> ?' @' ' ' @ 7 D>7 ' =>' = ' @>> >A' ' >' @ 7 D' @'
Ù A>@C , >A)' >' = ' >7>' =,@' C7> ' >7>' A> ,5>7>A ' A' =>' @' V' 3 @ ' , ' =>' >@@' C, $^'
Ù = ' =>' + @' < A ' A' =,@' C >7' > B> >A ' ,@' CC 7> ' :7 ' =>' 5>7 =7 ' :' ,A 7 ' A'
Ù =>' A> , , ' :' ,A 7 <@Ó' > C >@ ' A' =>' 3> @, D' :' @ 37,:,3>@ ' =,3=' >7>' ' ' >'
Ù ::>7>A' ' A@>7 <@$' =>' V' D7> ' 3= , ^' , ' =>' D> ?@ = A ' ,@' ,' >4C7>@@, ' 33 A >A' '
Ù <7' CC7>=> @, @' A> , D' ' 7>@ 7 , ' :' =>' A>5, ?@' C >7' A' ,3B>A >@@$' => =>7' =>'
Ù V' = <@ A' > 7@ ^' =>7>' @C B> ' :' A> >' >4 3 ' = ' >7 ' 7' ' ' D' A<7 , ' 9 A'
Ù ' B +@$' < ' , ' < A' >' 7>K<,@, >' = ' =>Ó D @C>"'@= < A' >' C7> 3=>A' : 7' ' > 7@'
Ù >: 7>' =>' @>>A@' :'7> ,D, ' A' 5,7 <>' 3 < A' >' @ ' A' B>' :,7 ' 7 ' =7 <D= < ' =>' = >'
Ù ? 7 A$?
$: >7 7A@' <C ' 3=$' 46$ FÓ Ù >+' 3 :, >' =>' 5>' > , >A' V' = <@ A' > 7@^'
Ó =>' @= 7 ' C>7, A' :' <7' " 7A?@' , ,@ 7 N' :7 ' =,@' C ,@ ' ' =,@' @3> @, ' ' => 5> N' >, D' '
Ù 7>' = ' =7>>' > 7@' 7' =7>>' > 7@' A' ' = :$' =>7@' =, B' = ' : >7' $ =>' 3 C > , ' :'@,4'
Ù = <@ A' > 7@ ' @= ' >' =>' @ ' 7>@<77>3 , ' :7 ' =>' A> A ' =,3=' ,@' ' >' C>3< , 7' ' =>' @ , @'
Ù >' N = ' 7>' ' >' 7 ,@>A' <C ' = ' => ' ' A > ' D , ' ' =,@' > 7 =' =>7>' => ' = A' D,5>
Ó C7 :@' :' C ,> 3>+ A' : 7 , <A>N' A' = ' => ' ' ,5>' =>7>' ' V' = <@ A' > 7@ ^', ' = <7' A'
Q C >)' : >7' =,3=' , ' >' =+>' D> >7 ' 7>@<77>> , ' :' D A' A' A$' < ' =>' 3=<73=' 7>3>,5>@'
Ù >, =>7' :' = @>' , >7C7> , @)' : 7' >' 7> > >7' = ' <7$' " 7A' @ ,A' ' =>' AA<3>>@' =
Ó =>' 7,D= > <@' @= ' >' @' =>' V' D> @' =,3=' 7>' , ' => 5> ^' c (7B' 4,,$' E1I)' @' @ ' =>' 7A@
Ó :' . < ' = ' @ @)' V' =>' B, DA ' :: 9 A' ,@' ' > ' A' A7, B^' c $' 4,5$' /FIÓ ' =>'
Ù ' = <@ A' > 7@ ^' =>7>: 7>' >' < A>7@ A ' =>' , >' :' =>' C7> 3=, D' =>' D @C > 7' =>'
, >' :' =>' D @C>' A,@C> @ , $

2 . $' 2 6 " & ,7$

' " 6 # ! ' (' 2 !. ' #' #!& ' !2 (! $

!$' - ' ! <8 : ("8 :' = 8 : 4 "# !!$' - ' "4- ; &' ,' / "4 #- ' !!!$' !' "4- ; &', ;
' """" !&$' ! : - ' "4- ; &', ;' - ' 8 ;

/$' ' ' # ' =>7>' D,5>' ' C 7 ,3< 7' 33 < ' :' =>' 3> > 7 >A' >4 A7, ' (<@37,C ' C7>N
@>75>A' , ' =>' B, D?@' , 7 7 N' = ' = 5, D' >> ' 7> A ' A >' +' @>5>7 ' >@C>3, ' ' ' # 7$' 9 7 >$
! ' 3 @,@ @' :' : <7' 5 < >@' , ' ÓK< 7 N' =7>>' :' =,3=' 3 , ' =>' @37,C <7>@' :' =>' A' >@

C. D 1 . ' , ' ' ' ' : ' W ' 5! 3 ; Z& V#$ & ;)' A ' %) =6'
f, :, <N', f5<7\' , , C , ,5 <4 $ C$' -F ' $
' # %' C ' ' . ! ' ,$ a . ' ' . $ ' - ' ' NW& . ' '
3* ,: 7@< (5 ø5 Ù C>7 6,*:\$ 2ø K" "8& *" " Š 6ø5
Y%, G VP 6$' =' Y% !L' : $ ' ' . ! HW' & ' ,)W6'
! % 5%)$' %)' :' ' ; =]'&%' Y MF%=' $" ' : $ ' *'
W A #)$' . ' - ' , ' ' D ' X $
>' ' E ' ' EE' -

' ' ' 5 ' E' ! :F ' ' ! ' "#$%& '
f f6 _ C $ C$' $ $' $
Ó &, A$ (, $' . 7 >D 7 $', ' $' $' $' / - - 0 $$$' / - G$' > @ > $
. 7 >D $ A' 33<7 $' $ $' >A, , ' C$' $ $' $ > . 7 >D $'
A' $' $' C$' ' J 3$
:' !$' $' 97 $. 7 >D ' A' >C < D, $' ! >7C7$' $',$' 3 C$;$
P' (7$' > @ >, ' @ @', ' : , $ ' ÷ 2 A>4' >@ ' &> >7,@' 5,K<P'
>@ ,' 97@>3<@' > 7 3><@', ' : , $' , D< 7' C D, D

> ' , ' =>' 9 7>>B' 5>7@, ' :' =>' >5> '* A' =>' : <7 = ' =>' @37,C <7>@' :' =>' > ' >@ ' 7 > ' < ' ' K<, > 3 C > >$
=>' 3 > @' :' =>' @>5>7 ' 5 < >@' 7>' C7>:,4>A' ' =>' :,7@ ' 5 < > ' A' V 7, > ' , =' =>' @ >' = A' = ' 7 >' =>' 7>@) =>@>' 3 > @' :' =>' >4 A7, ' (<@37,C ' >7>' C< ,@=>A' D' D ' ' C$' >5>7,AD>$' ! ' @= ' 7 @37, >' => ' @' => ' 7>' C< ,@=>A' ' # 7$' 9 7 >' , ' =,@' . 7 >D > ' ' =>' :,7@ ' 5 < >' :' =,@' >A, , ' :' =>' >5> '* 7>:>77, D' @ ' ' (7$' 2 @ > ?@ 2 D<>' :' =>' <@37,C @' :' =>' B, D?@' , 7 7 $

=> ' 7>' =<@)
9> >@,@$]O
4 A<@$+
">5, ,3<@$
< >7@$
#>< >7 $
; @=< ' =>' @ ' :' < $
=>' ;<AD>@$
< =$' ?
D> =>7' >,D= ' B@$O
=>' J @ ' B' :' =>' , DA @$T'
=>' @>3 A' B' :' =>' , DA @$'
=>' =,7A' B' :' =>' , DA @$'
=>' : <7 =' B' :' =>' , DA @$'
=>' :,7@ ' B' :' =>' > , @$
=>' @>3 A' B' :' =>' > , @$' +
D> =>7' @,4' B@*'
,4 >> ' C7 C=> @$O
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@
= "48 - ' - $
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A, = $ 1$
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h>C= , = ' H$
DD , ' /G$
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(3=, ' /E$
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[>B,> ' /1$
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@ =>7$
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;<A, =$
=>' :,7@ ' B' :' [7 ' + =>' C7,>@ $'O
=>' @>3 A' B' :' [7 ' =>' C7,>@ $'
=>' :,7@ ' B' :' (33 >>@$]
=>' @>3 A' B' :' (33 >>@$
=>' =,7A' B' :' (33 >>@$
=>' : <7 =' B' :' (33 >>@$
=>' . @ >7' , =' A>@' c 7' = @I$^
; $
=>' . 7 5>7 @$
=>' 33 >@, @ >@$
=>' 2 ,3 >@ ;'
,@A $
=>' ,@A ' :' ; >@<@' =>' ' :' ,7 3=$]'
=>' > ' >@ > $
<7' 9 @C> @')
33 7A, D' ' (=> '
33 7A, D' ' (7BN
33 7A, D' ' " <B>N
33 7A, D' ' ; = $
=>' 3 @' :' =>' C @ >@$
>5> ' 3 = ,3' &>C,@ >@$]
% <7 >> ' >C,@ >@' :'] . < $O
=>' >5> , ' :' ; = $
=>' :,7@ ' >C,@ >+ :' 2 > > $
=> @>3 A' >C,@ >' :' 2 > > $
D> =>7' ' B@$
. @ @' :' $]

A< @' >4=, > '3 < @' K< 7< ' @, D< >' K<, K , D> ,@ 3,73, >7' 3 @ ' , >,@$ > @ > $' . 7 >D $' A $' $' C$' 0$' (@ ' =>7@' @ ' , ' K< 7 $' , , ' 97 >3 ' , >7,@' *, @3 ,@' >4 7 ' ' ,@' K ' @37,C ' @>3< ' !5$' 5> ' 5$' 2 @ ' 2 $' ($' , $ >D$' C$' 1$' ! :' , ' >' 7>3B >A' ' K< 7 ' , ' ,@' :' ' 7D>' : 7 ' < ' =>' 5 < >@' 7>' '5>7 ' =,3B$' $
W' >>' > ' >' O ' +' $
2 A>4' 2 $' 33$' . 7, $ &, A,3 $ '" ,,$ 3$' C$' $ /E$' C$. 7$' C @ ' ' ,,$
T CC> ' q2 7, <@' . 7, 73= I' 2 A,3> ' ,@ < ' +' @37,C <7 @' $J 5,' > ' &> >7,@' >@ > ? K< , ' < 7,<@K<>' " , 7,' 2 ' ,3,' '=<*<@' C 37 C=,' K< K<>' > ' 3 , > <7 ' < ,' C > ' >4' ! A,3>' K<> ' ,C@ ' &, 7 7,$ <@' >,A> ' 3 A,3,' C7@>:,4, ' K<> K<>' =,>' 5>7 , ' AA, ,@ @ < ' 33> , <@' > ' @C,7, , <@' K<, <@' , >' 3 7> ' A>@37, $' !$' $ 97 >' . 7 >D $ 3 C$' /$ $ ' E$' , , ' 2 A,3,@' >4 A7, ,$
' & " "" < " ' ' -) V &HX
+ C0 , 6, ' O ` ,6 , ' A]
M / , !' . < C'
O <,3' @< >3 < <7' ,3> ' , ' ! A,3>' <A' , > <7$

@ g' f &% "' > ' ,::7 ,* # 6 ' K<@>' >@ ' ' 3 C< ' ,3=,$ 97 >$' , ,A$' O C #8 ' ' #6B
7:3 * +' >@ ' , >7' !$' @A7 >' C >5 C=<@$' ! #8 ']' >@ ' , >7' /$' @A7 >' 2 ,3<@$' K<>' =<,3' @< >4,' @< ' K 5,@ , ' ! A,3>' ' A>@,D ,' Q @@C $' 97 >' , ,A$
J < ! . . !] ! P3 ; ' % %)' : R ' M
T/ 8 3 '#' 5 ,' ' $ 4 5' 7' !$ # 44 8' 84 W" 8E R$
' b C#; ' N 8 &8# 2' L 5 = % "# '%`
+ ,@@,@ &,D, ' K<, K<>' 3,73, >7' : ,@' 5,D>@,,, < ' @>4 < ' ' ,@ ,@ , 3,C, ' 5>7 ,@$' (=$ 445$' ' #& -' "B 8",8&- > ' C:5 :, $ 97 >$, ,A$' +
V ! ,' , 3,C, ' C,@ ' ; 3 ,' K< ' @>K<< <7' A= >' . > 7, ' 7>@' ; ,@' > ' < ' ;<A >$ 97 >$
1&3+ " ! & ' ! 0 " ! ' <=.
O C,@ >' . < ,' > A> ' 3 >' @< ' 7A, >' K< ' , ' @ 7,@ , , 7< ' >A, , , <@J ,@,' K< A' C,@ ' A' > 7 @ @C7 4, >' @>K< <7' A< @' A' =>@@ ,3> @>@$' 97 >$
' =>' :,D<7>@ 7>' , D' , ' =>' <@37,C
O @' A5>7@ 7,,@ @ 37,@ A>' " ' 2>7A ' @< >4 @' >D>7>' >@ '* K<,CC>' ' 3 A,3>' @ 7 ' @3,@@ ' 5> ' A>C>7A, ,' @< ' 97 >$

(")" " &' ,' - ' . # ' 0 " &

" > ' <@' ' B>' ' :> ' @>75 , @)
/$ =,@' <@37,C ' @',@' >A' *' ' ,@' :' D7> ' 5 <> ' A' =,D=' ,K<, N' = <D=' =>7> '
,@' @ >' A,::>7> 3>' D' > 7 >A' > ' , ' =>,7' 3 C< , @' :', @' D>$' 97 >' V' =, B@', ' ,D, '
>' 7, > ' >: 7>' =>' > A' :' =>' : <7 =' 3> <7 N' =>7@' 7>' :' C, , ' = ' ?', ' @' ' 7, > '
, ' > 7' =>' > A' :' =>' :,: =' 3> <7 $
E$' =,@' +' <@37,C ' = @' @ >' 7> , ' ' =>' 3=<73=' :' >4 A7, N' : 7', ' @' 7 <D= ' :7 '
= ' 3, ' ' 2 7, ' "<3 7,@ ' C 7, 73=' :' >4 A7, ' => ' =>' 7> 5>A' ' =>' C 7, 73= >' :'
2 @ , C >)' A' => ' =>' A>' ' C7>@> ' :', ' ' ,7' = @' > ' =>' 7, ,@=' @@ A 7'
' 2 @ , C >' < ' =>' > 7' / E0 ' ' >' 7 <D= ' 5>7' =, =>7' @' ' C7>@> ' ' =>' B, D ' =>'
::,4>A' ' , ' ' @= 7 ' > 7 A< ' ' =,@' C<7C @>)' U' =,@' 2D B' :' =>' @37,C <7>' :' =>' > ' A'
U' A' >@ > ' @' >' = 5>' 7>3>,5>A' ' 7 A, , ' @' 7, > ' ' =>3 ' ' >' D C , '
Q' ' < ' =,7 >> ' =< A7>A' > 7@' D ' ' D' : >7' =>' 3 < 3, ' :' ,3>$O' =>7' 7D<$'
> ' :', @' >, D' 7, > ' ' >4 A7, ', @' = ' O' ' =>' B' :' . @ @' ,@' C7>:,4>A' =>' >C,@ >'
:' = @,<@' ' (73> , <@' 3 3>7 , D' =>' . @ >7N' A' !' =, B', ' ' >' 7>3B >A' ' 7D<M'
> ' :' =>' @ >' =, D ' = ' =,@' <@37,C ' = @', ', ' =>' B' :' =>' >5> , ' =,3=' >' 3 '
C>73>,5>' ' = 5>' >> ' 7>3>,5>A' ' =>' 3=<73=' :' >4 A7, ', ' => <7 = ' :,: = ' A' @,4 = ' A'
: , D' 3> <7,>@)' =, @ ', ' @' 7>*>3 >A' ' =>' 7, @' A' , >' 7>D 7A>A' ' ' =>7'
2=7,@ , @' , ' =>' @)' ' =,3=' ,D= ' >' AA>A' =>' > >@@' :' =>' 7, , D ' , ' =,3=' O' =>'
>4 A7, @' 7>' @<CC @>A' ' = 5>' >43> >A$' ! ' @>> @' ' >' =>7>: 7> ' @ > = ' @ 7 D>' = '
#7$ 97 >' @= < A' = 5>' B> ' ' D7> ' A> ' :' C , @' ' C7 5>' = ' O =,@' <@37,C ' @' 7, > '
' =>3 ' D 5>7 >@@' :' ' 3 5> ' :' > ' ' > ><3, ' , ' 2 CC A 3, ' 7' =>7> < $
!' @= ' @ ' =, D' 7>' < ' =>' <@37,C ' , @> :$' !' ' C7 3>>A' ' @>75> ' <C ' =>'
*<@ ' 7 @37, >A' 3 D<>' :' *B@' :' @37,C <7>' 3 , >A', ', $
-$' ! ', @' ' :< ' 3 D<>' :' 3 ,3 ' B@)' : 7 ', ' =>' A' >@ > ' 7>' >4C7>@@ ' > M
, >A' < =' A' @ =>,N?N , ' =>' > ' : <7 >> ' >C,@ >@' :' $' . < ' @>5> ' 3 = ,3' >C,@ >@' A'
$' ; = ?@' >5> , N' @' > ' @' =>,?@' =,3=' >7>' < ,5>7@ ' 7>3>,5>A$
$' 2 3>7 , D' =>' 7A>7' :' =>' B@' < ' =,3=' ' D7> ' A> ' ' >' @>> ' , ' O 97 >' !'
@>75>' =>@>' :> ' C 7 ,3< 7@' $' =>' > 5>' >@@>7' C7 C=> @' 7>' =>7>' 7>3B >A', ' ' A,::>7> '
7A>7' :7 ' = ' ' 3 ' , =' <@' D7>> ' ' =>' > 7> @$' A' ' :7 ' ;>7 ' >' > 7 '
= ', ' =,@' , >' =>@>' C7 C=> @' >7>' C 3>A' A,::>7> ', ' =>' > 7> ' , >@' A' =>' &>7@, ' :'
=>' >5>)' =>' 7A>7' :' =,@' <@37,C ' ,@' >4 3 + =>' @ >' =,3= ' =>' @ @' @' =>' @>75>A'
, ' =>' >A, , @' :' =>' >C < D, ' &>7@, $' =>' 7A>7' :' $' . < ?@' >C,@ >@' @' >' > 7 ' :7 '
97 >' ,@' =>' @ >' @' <7@N' >43>C ' = ' =>' >C,@ >' ' =>' > 7> @' ,@' C 3>A' >4 ' : >7' =>' '
>C,@ >@' ' ,>' =>@@ , @$' =>' 7A>7' :' =>' 3 = ,3' >C,@ >@' ,@' =>' @ >' , =' = ' , ' <@>N

O <A' A+' ' ,D, <7' >' < ' M ' >4 7 <@' 5,A>:<7' 3 A>4'
>4 A7, <@' <' @ >7 ' C < ' C @ ' 3< ' : 3 ' >C,@ 7< '
. < , 7 'A,5,@, ', '% # 4%8'< A< ', 'C< ,3< 'C7 A,,@@> '
< ' @ ,@', <,@@> $ 2< ' ,D, <7' > ' 3 A,3,@' @ 7,' > ' =>3 @>'
@> @', '> A> ' >4><' ,@' @>3< ,', 5' C>7, A< ', 3,A ' 7 A, , '
>' A,3 ' 5>7 ' 5,A> <7' @, ,, ' $' 97 >', $ @>3 $ 1$
' 33>A ' !D, <7' @> > , @' 2 @, ,7,' <A, ,' K<,' >4' 3 ,O'
<@' A,<7 ,@' 3 <7 ,@K<>' , ' = 3' 3 A,3>' ,@' *<A,3 5, '
3 A,3> '=< 3', ' <@< ' @ >7,,' 3 @ , 7< ' A> K<>' '
3= ' 3 > , ' >4 7 < ' :<,@@>$;$;$ > @ > $ .7 >D$'
A' $' $ 97$ C$ /G$,' 3 A>4' @ >7' ' 3 @ , ' @37,C @'
>@ ' < ,' A,4, <@' ' C >@ ' @>3< ' K<, ' +>@@>' 5> <@ , 7$'
3 > , 7< ' > , ' , @ , < < ' <3 7> ' , <,' (73> < '
C ,> @> ' 5>' C ,<@' >4 A7< ' >*<@' @<33>@@ 7> ' K<,'
Z: 7<,' $' 2$' EG ' >@ >' A<' 2 D>' , ' @@ 7, $$$' 4,@ , C'
,D, <7' > C<@' K< ' 3 A>4' ,@ >' @37,C <@ >@ ' , 3,A>7>' , ':, > '
@>3< ,' K<, ,' K< >' > , ' (, ,,' >@' @> > , $' .7 ' /--0$'
!A$', $ //$
T .7 C$ 4,5$ < ', '@>' 3 , > ' 3 A>4' >4 A7, <@'
K ' >' A' >33 >@, 7, ' >4 A7, ' 7>@C,3,< $' &>7, 4' =<*<@'
@@>7 , ,@ C7 <7' /$ >4' >C,@ ' = @,,$' E$' >4' C '
=>@, <@' <@> ,,$' -$ >4' 2 , <@ .@ 7 7< $ + $' >4' 2 '
,3,@' >4,@$' 1$ >4' >7 , ' (33 > 7< ' , 7 $' $' >4'
.@ ,@' ,@$' F ' 34' 7 A, , >' >33 >@, >' >4 A7, >$'
.7 >D $ A' $ E$' >C < D$ >4' >A, $ 97 >' @>3 $ F ' J3$
'$$$' AA, ' @3=>A ' K< ' 7>5> ' A,3 ' 3 A,3,@' ,' , ' C7 '
=' < ' 7 A,A, ' @>K<>< , <@ 5>, ,@)' +' ", >7' ,@ >' 37,C 7 >
37 >' $' > ' &$' >@ > ' C7 < ' >4' 7 A, , >' = > <@'
>@ ' @37,C <@ <<' =>3 >' , ,@ :> , >' $ D C , >' >'
, C' > ' 7>3> @ @ 3,73, >7' C < ' C @ ' 2 3, ,< ' ,3 >'
< $ * > ' =>3 >' , ' :, >' , 7,' >7 ' >4 7 < $$$' 4'
, 3 < ' >7D ' > ' >@ ' =>3 >' , > ' > ' 3>7 < $ >A' >'
7, ' > ' 7 A, , ' 7>3> @ @>75 $? C<A' 97 >' .7 >D $,$
@>3 $ /$
+' .@ ,@ # 5,A,@' C7 >:,4 ' @< ' ' C$ 1E-$' <@K<>' 1--$
= @,,' >C,@ ' -' (73> , < ' A>' , 7 ' .@ 7 ' <@>M
,, :,A =>@>@ , ' .@ @' J2$ 97 >' .7 >D $ A' $,$
@>3 $ E$
.' .7,4 ' :,D<7 ' , >7 7< ' >@ ' > >D @' > ' >4 A7, ';$;$
> @ > $ .7 >D$ A' $' $ 97$ $,$ C$ $' ,
W &,A$ .7 >D $', ' $,$ @>3 $
O .7 >D $' A' $,$ @>3 $ -$
O ' ,A> ' 7A ' >@ ' A< A>3, ' C7 C=> 7< ' C<A' >C < '
D, ' ! >7C7> >@ ' K<,' , ' > 7 ,3 ' 5>7, >' 7> , > <7$!!"
> , ' C < ' @>3< A< ', @' >7 ,< ' (,3= > ' K< 7 < '
; > ' K<, < ' A, ' @>4 < ' ; ' @>C , < ' ,, '
$ 3 5< ' B<B ' < $ C= , ' A>3, < ' DD > '
< A>3, < ' h 3= 7, ' A< A>3, < ' (3=, $ > 7 >'
< > ' C @ ' @>>' K<,' C<A' * 7 @K<>' C7, <@' >@ ' @>3< A< '
>D< ' ; > ' >7 ,< ' @' K< 7 < ' A, 'K<, < ' ; '
@>4 < ' (,3= > ' @>C , < ' ,, ' 3 5< ' B<B'
< ' C= , ' A>3, < ' DD >< ' < A>3, < ' h 3 '
7, ' A< A>3, < ' K<,' > ' < , <@' >@ ' (3=, $ .7 ' 2 '
> $' ' ; > $' $,,,$ C$ /--1$

! <8 : ("8 :' = 8 : 4 "# '

=>' >C,@ >' :' ; >@' =>' '>C,@ >@' :' . > >,+' =>' =7>>' >C,@ >@' :' ; = ' A' =>' >C,@ >' :' ;<A>O'
;B 7> 5>7' , ' ,D= ' >' D7>> >' '@ >' :' ' 7> A>7@' ' 3 C 7>' =,@' 3 D<>' , =' = ' :'
=>' %>@ ' >C,@ >' :' = @,<@' : 7 >7 'Ÿ 7 @37, >A' '<@' ' > D =') =>' ' 3 D<>@' 5>7 '
<3=' D7>>' :7 ' =>' >D, , D' ' =>' B@' :' =>' 2=7 ,3 >@' , 3 <@,5>N' , ' =' =>' >@@>7'
C7 C=> @' 7>' C 3>A' >: 7>' =>' : <7' =>7N A' , ' =>' %>@ '>C,@ >' @' > ' @'$=>7>' =>' 3 = ,3'
>C,@ >@' : ' >4 ' : >7' =>' 3 @' :' =>' C @ >@' A' C7>3>A>' $. < ?@' >C,@ >@' N A' $. < ?@
>C,@ >@' 7>' =>7>' , ' =>' @ >' 7A>7' @' =>7>N :, ' =' = 5>' =>' >5> , $' ! ' ' >' @ '
7 =' @>75, D' = ' $. < ?@' >C,@ >@' = 5>' ,B> ,@>' =>' @ >' 7A>7' ` = ' ,@' =>' >C,@ >' ' =>'
> 7> @' ,@' C 3>A' >: 7>' = @>' ' , = ' , <@' A' . =, > a' , ?' < = ,<@' ' D C , '
,@= C' A' > ' 3K< , >A' , =' = @,<@' = ' @' ,@= C' :' >4 A7, ' < ' HG$' =>'
@ >' 7A>7' :' . < ?@' >C,@ >@' ,@' , ' 2 @ @' :' >4 A7, ' N ' >' >D>A' =>7> : >7$
1 ' =,@' <@37,C ' 3 , @' ' D7> ' < >7' :' B@' =,3=' 7>' ' '7>3B >A' 3 ,3 $'
@' !' = 5>' : > ' @C B> ' :' =,@' >7' , ' @>5>7 ' C 3>@' ' D7> ' A> ' >>A@' ' ' >' @ ,A' =>7>$'
< ' C7 ' ' =>' B@' =>7>' > , >A ' A' 7, > ' < ' , ' =>@>' 5 < >@' ?>7>' '7>3B >A '
' >' :'>K< ' < = 7, ') , ' ' >' @<CC @>A' = ' => ' >7>' '7> A'@ > , >@' , ' =>' @@> ,>@'
:' 2=7,@ , @' , ' =>' 3, ' 7' 3 < 7 ' =>7>' =,@' 7< ' >' <@37,C ' @' 5 > $ >5>7 =>M
>@@' , ' < A' >' < 7> @ >' ' =, B' = ' => ' >7>' >@ >> >A' 7' < = 7, ' A' A>3,@,5>' , '
' A 3 7, >@' :'7> ,D, 'N = ' < A' >' 3 7 7 ' ' =>' @> , > @' :' 3,> ' 2=7,@ , ' 7, >7@'
, 'D> >7 N A' C 7 ,3< 7 ' :+' = @,<@' , ' =,@ %>@ '>C,@ >' A' :' =>'V C@,@' @ >M
, >@' @37, >A' '=, ' A' C7 ' 7, > ' ' ' >4 A7, $

! 2 . ' $

!!$' ! ' =>' >4 'C 3>' !' @= 'C< 'A ' =>' ,3= > 7 ' :' " 'C 7, 73=' :' 2 @ M
, C >' = ' : <7,@=>A' , ' =>' >D, , D' :' =>' , =' 3> <7 $' >' = 5>' A,@C< >A' =>' D> <, >M
>@@' :' =,@' 3 D<>' . > 7@ '+' , 'C 7 ,3< 7NN' = ' @<CC @> =' , ' =>' 7B' :' ' < B 'C>7@ '
= <D=' , ' >' : < A' @< * , >A' ' =>' 2=7 D7 C= ' :' ,3>C= 7<@) < ' D> >7 ' , ' ,@' >A$'
2 5>' @ @' ,:' , ' ,@' ' ,3>C= 7<@?@' , ' <@ ' = 5>' >> ' 3 C @>A' ' @ >' =>7' 9 7>>B ' < '
=>' @ >' , >N >3 <@>' , ' @' 7 @ >A' , ' " , ' ' @ @,<@' , , =>3 7,<@' , ' ! ' =A'
: <7,@=>A' < ' 4$ % 7,3,<@' T =, B@' , ' ' >' ,3>C= 7<@?@' 7' ' 7>' 3,> ' 7, >7?@ N 7'
A ' !' C>73>,5>' (, ' ' =>@, >' < ' , @' D> <, > >@@$
' ,3= > 7 ' ,@' ' 3 D<>' :' B@' :' @ 37>A' @37,C <7>' N ' =,3=' ,@' AA>A' =>' < >7' :'
=>' 5>7@>@' =,3=' > 3=' B' 3 , @$ =,@' ,3= > 7 ' 3 , @' ' 3 D<>' :' =>' B@' :' =>'
A' A' > ' >@ >) !' C7 C @>' ' 7 @37, >' =>' = >' , , D' ' =>' < >7@' :'5>7@>@ '
=,3=' 7>' : > , >@' : < ' A' 7>' ' >7, ' 'C7>@> $' =>7>' 7>' ' >A , , @ :' =,@'
,3= > 7 ' >@,A>' = ' ' =>' > A' :' =>' 2=7 D7 C= ' :', @' @<CC @>A' < = 7$!' @= ' :
=>' >A, , ' :' (: <3 ' =,3=Ù=>' = @' > ' C< ,@=>A ' @' 7>' >4 3 ' = ' @ ' =>7@N'
@>75, D' C>7= C@' , ' @ >' C 3>@' =>' A,::>7> '7> A, D@' :'@ >' =>7' >A, , @$
Ù =>' V A,5, >' @37,C <7>@' =,3=' 7>' 7>3>,5>A' ' =>' 3=<73=' A'7>3B >A' 2 ,3 ' A' =>,7'
U ,3= > 7 ' 7>' =<@) 9 > >@,@N' 4 A<@N' " >5, ,3<@N' < >7@N' #>< >7 N' ; @=< N
U' ;<AD>@' A' < =N =>' :,7@' A' @>3 A' B' :' =>' , DA @' N =>' =,7A' A' : <7 =' B' :'
Ó =>' , DA @N =>' :,7@' A' @>3 A' :' =>' > , @N' [7 ' :,7@' A' @>3 AN' =>^ B' :'
U . @ @N =>' . 7 5>7 @' :' 'N 33 >@, @ >@N =>' D' :' D@N ; 'N !@ , =' =>' C7 C=> N
U ;>7> , =' =>' C7 C=> N 7<3=N' [>B,> N' # ,> N' =>' > 5>' C7 C=> @$' ^ D> =>7' =>'
U B@' :' =>' A' >@ > ' 7>

W' >>' 5 $',,$ C$ -D ' >>' , ' =,@ 5 $ C$ M'
Ó >>' 5 $',,$ C$ $
' ! ,3&' C$ G- j G-$
K' ' =< A ' K<>>@' ,>= > 7, ' C 7@ >@' 2=7 D7 R'
C=,@>' K< >' > ' ' 3 > ' A,@ ' ' @@< '>@', 7' K<,A> ' , $
2 A,3, <@ 97 >3,@$ >A' ' D,@',C@' C 7@ >@' 2=7 D7 C=, >'
K< ' 2=7 D7 C=, ' C 7@ >@' ,3= > 7,@> $ &, A,3$!D $'
.$,$ 3$ $ C$ EFE$ $
' <3 7,@' 7 > '>@@>' ,3>C= 7 3 >5'5>', A>'C > 'K< A'
' @ @,' ', ' , D< ' " , '5>7@ '@, $ $ "$ $' , a&! $.!?' &#H!V6 36=' 4 "
,,$ C$ 1$
:' ,3>C= 7,'>@@>' >D ',A> ' .> 7@ ,<@, '8, A,3,,@ !D ,B T & ' 68*4"(

'@ >'5,A> <7' ,3>C= 7 ' ,K<, 7' >@@>$ ", 7 @' > , '7>3> $'
@>' > A> ' 7A, >' K< ', '3 B>' C@> @' = @, O >D< '
<7$ % 7,3$ 2 A$ C 37$ $ $ C$ / -$, ' ,@$2 :' *<@A$'
, $ 97$ $4,,,$ C$ 0 $
^ &,A$ .7 >D ' ' 7 7' 7
' &,A$ % 7,3' >' (, ' < ,' @<C7 $
C<A' ; @$ 3 =D$ >@ <7$ > C 7< $ C$ -!EN
+ &,A$, $ 2 ,@ ' C$ ES ' EG1$

?@,4 7>‘C 3>A‘ =7>>‘ B@‘ ‘ =,3=‘ >‘3 ‘ ?@N =>‘ .7 5>7 @‘ 33 >@, @ >@‘ A‘ =>‘2 ,3 >@) =>‘ =>7‘ ‘@ > , >@‘ @37, >A‘ ‘ =, $,@A ‘ A‘ 33 >@, @ ,3<@‘ 7>‘C 3>A‘ , =‘ = @>‘ =,3=‘ >7>‘ ‘ :‘ =>‘@,4 $‘ D ,) D‘ =>‘@,4 ‘ ,@‘ < ‘ >‘ B‘ :‘ [7 ‘ C7 ‘ > , D‘ <7‘ [7 ‘ A‘ >=> , =N‘ 7‘ ,@‘ =>7>‘ =>7>‘ ‘ > , ‘ ‘ ‘ :‘ ‘ =>7‘ =,@ 7,3 ‘ B@‘ :‘ [7) < ‘ D‘ =>‘ C 37 C= ‘ ,@‘ ‘ B‘ 3 >A‘ =>‘ >5> , ‘ :‘ [7 $ 3>‘ 7>) =>‘ B‘ :‘ @ =>7‘ ,@‘ ‘ =>7>‘ C 3>A‘ D‘ =>‘@,4 ‘N < ‘ D‘ = @>‘ =,3=‘ >7>‘U , = < ‘? = ‘ < >7‘ ‘ @‘ ‘ <@>:< ‘ B$ $‘ , =‘7>D 7A‘ ‘ =>‘ B@‘ :‘ =>‘ > ‘ >@ > ‘* =>7>‘ 7>‘ >‘ >@,A>‘ = @>‘ 7>3>,5>A‘ ‘ < ‘ @‘ @‘ @>75>A‘ >: 7>$ < ‘ =>7>‘ 7>‘ ‘ ‘ =,3=‘ >‘7>3>,5>N =>‘ B‘ :‘ =>‘ >5> , ‘ ,@‘K<, >‘ , >A‘_ = ‘@= ‘ >‘@ ‘ ‘ =,@‘_ ! ‘@>> @‘ ‘ >‘ = ‘ , ‘ @‘ ‘7>3>,5>A‘ ‘ =>‘3 C @>7‘ :‘ =,@‘3 D<>‘ ‘ : 7‘ => ‘ , ‘ < A‘ = 5>‘ >> ‘ D‘ =>‘ @,4 $‘ < ‘ @ , ‘ , ‘ , ‘ >‘ @B>A‘ ‘ @= ‘ >‘ 33 < ‘ : 7‘ =>‘ ‘ ,@@, ‘ :‘, ‘ ‘ =,3=‘ !‘ @ >7$! ‘ ‘ >‘ 33 < >A‘ : 7‘ >‘ :‘ =>@>‘ ‘ @$, =>7‘ =>‘ < = 7‘K<, >‘ , >A‘ , ‘ =, B, D‘ , ‘ > >7‘ @ ‘ ‘A ‘ A‘ >‘K<, >‘@, > ‘ = ‘ ‘C< ‘ , ‘ , ‘ ‘3 @@‘ < ‘ :‘ =>‘@,4 ‘ =,3=‘ < A‘ = 5>‘ >> ‘ ::> @,5>‘ ‘ @ >) 7‘ > @>‘ =>‘ < = 7‘ =, @> :‘ A,A‘ ‘ :,7@‘C 3>‘, ‘ D‘@ >‘ :‘ =>‘ B@‘ , = < ‘ =>‘@,4 ‘* A‘@ >‘ 7 @37, >7‘ : >7 7A@‘ @ 7<3B‘, ‘ < ‘ ‘> A<7, D‘ ‘@>>‘, ‘A> @>A‘ ‘ ‘, C7 C>7‘@, < , $ +

1‘ D‘ C 37 C= ‘ B@‘ A‘ =>‘5>7 ‘ @‘ :‘ => ‘,@‘U =>‘9 @C>‘ 33 7A, D‘ ‘ (=>)O‘ 3 3>7 , D‘ =,3=‘ , >‘ 7‘ =, D‘ >@,A>‘3 *>3 <7>@‘3 ‘ >‘@ ,A‘N < ‘ =>7> ‘3 ‘ >‘ > ‘ <7‘D @C>‘ :‘ (=> ‘ =,3=‘,@‘ D‘ =>‘@,4) C @@, ‘ =,@‘ 7 ,3 >‘= @‘ >> ‘ ‘@ >‘ > @‘ 7‘ =>7‘3<7 , >A$ =>‘D @C>‘ 33 7A, D‘ ‘ =>‘ > 7> @‘ ‘= 5>‘ >> ‘=>7>‘ > , >A‘ A‘ @ ,A‘ ‘= 5>‘ >> ‘>@ >> >A‘ ‘@ >‘ =>‘ 7,D, ‘ ‘ =>7@‘ ‘ 7 @ , ‘ :‘ =>‘D @C>‘ 33 7A, D‘ ‘ (=> $

!&$‘ !‘@= ‘ B>‘ ‘ : 7 =>7‘ ,3>‘ :‘ ,3= > 7,>@‘ >43>C ‘ AA, D‘ = ‘ =>7>‘,@‘ =>7‘C,, ‘ A,@=>A‘ ‘2 > >7,<@‘V, ‘=,@‘ ;<AD > ‘<C ‘ =>‘>C,@ >‘ :‘ 7 @‘) =>‘@ @‘, ‘,@‘ < , >A‘ A‘ 3 77<C >A$!‘C< ‘A ‘ = ‘C 7‘ =,3=‘7> >@‘ ‘ =>‘ > ‘ >@ > ‘ A‘,@‘ =<@) U =>‘: <7‘ U D @C> @N (=> ‘ (7B‘ "<B>‘ ; = N I,>‘>C,@ >‘ :‘ . < ‘ ‘ =>‘ @‘ =>‘:,7@‘ ‘ => O 2 7, =, @‘ =>‘@>3 A‘ ‘ =>‘2 7, =, @‘ ‘ =>‘9 , @‘ ‘ =>‘ C=>@, @‘ =>‘:,7@‘ O , = ‘ =>‘@>3 A‘ ‘ , = ‘ ‘ , <@‘ ‘ =>‘2 @@, @‘ ‘ . =, > N =>‘:,7@‘ :‘ . > >7 O =>‘@>3 A‘ :‘ . > >7N =>‘>C,@ >‘ :‘; >@N =>‘:,7@‘ :‘; = ‘ =>‘@>3 A‘ :‘; = ‘ =>‘ =,7A‘ :‘ U ; = ‘ ‘ =>‘>C,@ >‘ :‘;<A>‘N =>‘>C,@ >‘ :‘ 7 @N =>‘ >5> , ‘ :‘; = ‘* =>‘ 3 @‘ :‘ =>‘ U C @ >@‘N =>‘ =>C=>7AN =>‘ 3 @‘ :‘ . < N =>‘ >5> , ‘ :‘ . > >7$O 5>7 ‘ >‘C>73>,5>@‘ = ‘ =,@‘ 2 D<>‘,@‘ <3=‘ < , >A‘ =>7>‘ >, D‘ , D‘@>5>7 ‘ B@‘ =,3=‘ >7>‘ @‘ < ,5>7@ ‘7>3>,5>AN @‘ =>‘ >C,@ >‘ ‘ =>‘ . =, ,CC, @‘ A‘ =>‘ ‘ >C,@ >@‘ ‘ =>‘ =>@@ , @N @‘ > ‘ @‘ =>‘ >C,@ >‘ ‘ =>‘ > 7> @‘ =,3=‘ @ ‘ @‘ D> >7 ‘ 7>3>,5>AN A‘, ‘ ‘ >‘7>3B >A‘C7 >‘ = ‘ ‘ =>@>‘ >7>‘ 7,D, ‘, ‘ =,@‘3 A D<>‘ 7‘ ,3= > 7 $ = ‘<@>‘3 ‘ >‘ A>‘ :‘ =>‘ >7‘C 7‘ :‘ =>‘3 D<>‘ !‘ <@‘7>:>7‘ ‘>5>7 ‘ 7> A>7?@ ‘3 @,A>7 , $

4 ; 8>‘ 4

2 (‘ %‘ " 6 # ! $

$ 0 " ‘ " ; ‘ 8 : (‘ I @ ‘ !!$‘ 4 "# ‘ ,‘ - ‘ D (‘ 8 ; : ‘ 4 "5 (‘ -& = ; ‘ ! ! !$‘ @‘ , - ‘ 6‘ 8 ; : ‘ 4 "5 (‘)& -"; ‘ !&$‘ . : 8‘ " ‘ 8 : (‘ ("5" " : ‘ ,‘ - ‘) @‘ ,‘ 4 "# 8 : (‘ ; 8 - ‘ ,‘ # 4‘, ‘ - ; ‘ &$‘ 6 ‘ 2 : 8‘) 58 " : ‘ 4 :4 :":2‘ - ‘48 : :‘ ,‘ 4 : # & ,$‘ 4‘#8 82 ‘

p

/$‘ 4 ($‘ :‘ >4 A7, ‘ , ‘ D C ‘ 3 >A‘! A C ><@ >@‘ 7‘ ! A,3 C ><@ >@‘ ‘ 33 < ‘ :‘ ‘ 5 D>‘ =,3=‘=>‘ A>‘ ‘ =>‘! A,>@‘O ‘ :,7@‘ ‘ >73= ‘ : >7 7A@‘ B‘ A‘ < = 7‘ ,5>A‘ , ‘ =>‘ , >‘ :‘ =>‘ > C>7 7‘ ;<@ , , ‘ A‘,@‘3 C< >A‘ ‘ = 5>‘ : <7,@=>A‘O <‘ =>‘ > 7‘1

O&"A$. $ C @‘ ‘ ,$ 8,A$ 2 ‘ ‘"$ $,$ C$ 1/1$ >‘ (:$ .7@:‘, ‘2C@ $ C D7$3 C$,$

>' 7 >'@>5>7 ' =, D@'C 7 ,3< 7 ' =>' T2=7,@ , ' C D7 C= ' 7' =>' C, , ' :' 2=7,@ , @' 3 3>7 , D' =>' 7 A', ' > 5>' B@'@ , '>4 ' A'@ >' =, >' D 'C< ,@=>A' 'D7> ' A5 M D>' '# ' >7 7A]'#>' (: <3 $! ' = ' 7B' 2 @ @' 3 7 7 ' ' =>'@> , > ' :' ' @ 7 >7@ , 'D> >7 ' A> ,>@' =>' > 7 =' ' >' @C=>7,3 N' A' > A> 5 <7@' ' C7 5>' =,@' C, , ' :7 ' 7> @ ' @37,C <7>' A' 2=7,@ , ' 7, >7@' = ' ,5>A' >: 7>' =, $

!' 3 ' 5 ,A' B, D' ,3>' :' =,@' 7, >7' =,@' >@ , ' ' =>'@37,C <7>@' >, D'5>7 '3 M @,A>7 >N' A', :'!' A ' ' 3 :, >' @> :' ' = '!'@= ' >5>7 => >@@': 7' =>'@ B>' :' 7>5, ' , 'A,5>7@' =, D@' ' < 7 = ' :' @>75 , N' : 7' @' (: <3 ' @ @' =>' ?' A,D7>@@, @' 7>' @' 5 < >' @' =>' 7B', @> :$

$!!$' /$ A', ' =>' :,7@'C 3>' !' @>75>' = '2 @ @?@ 3 ' :' =>' A' >@ > ' @' = ' :' =>' ;> @J' =>' = @' 3>'K< >A' 7<3='@37, >' 7' @>37> 7 ' :' =>'C7 C=>';>7> , =N' 33 >' @, @ ,3<@N' A'+' =>' (33 >>@N' <' ' @' :' < = 7, $ =>' B@' K< >A' '=, ' @' :' < = 7, ' A' >4C7>@@ ' > , >A' ' 7>' =>' . > ><3=N' =>' B' :' ; @=< N' =>' ;<AD>@N' < =N' =>' B' :' =>' , D@' A' =>' 2=7 ,3 >@N' =>' B' :';_@ @N' =7>>' B@' :' ' =>' .7 5>7 @' 2 ,3 >@' A' 33 >@, @ >@N' =>' > 5>' C7 C=> @N' A' =>' : <7' 7D>7'C7 C=> @$' >7>',@' 'C 7 ,3< 7' > +, ' :' [7)' < ' ' = ' B',@' > @> =>7>' >4C7>@@ 'K< >A' , =' =>' 2=7 ,3 >@$

E$! ' =>7' C 3>' = 5, D' > , >A' =>' =,@ 7,3 ' : 3 @' :' =>' A' >@ > ' ' =>' @> > > ' :' =>' !@7 > , >@', ' =>' A' :'2 '=>'@ @)' U : >7 = '9 A'7 ,@>A'<C' ' => ' U C7 C=> @N' # 5,A' =>' B, D' <> ' =>' D7> ' , @' A' <@' A,@3,C >' ,@= N' A' =>' > 5>N U A' =>' : <7' D7> >7' C7 C=> @' = 'C7 C=>@,>A' :' =>' 3 , D' :' =>' " 7A' 2=7,@ $?

-$ =>' U B' :' ; ',@' K< >A'@>5>7 ' , >@' A' @' A,5, >' @37,C <7>$

$ =>' .@ @' 7>' : > 'K< >A' A' 3 >A' A,5, >' @37,C <7>$ # 5,A',@' @ >A' '=, 'O =>' U D7> '# 5,A ?' B, D' A'C7 C=> N A' =>' @ @' = 'V =>' B' :' .@ @' @' 3 C @>A' '=, $

1$ =>' B' :' 33 >@, @ >@',@' K< >A' '=, ' , =' 7B@' I :' =>' =,D=>@' 7>@C>3)' U @'] => O A,5, >' @37,C <7>' @ @N' ' =>' A,5, >' $? ! ' =>7' C 3>' =>'@>> @' 'A, , ,@=' ' @ , D' = '=>' I' 7 >' =>' .7 5>7 @' =>' D@' A' =>' 33 >@, @ >@N' = 5, D' 7>3>,5>A' :7 U . (' - '2 84 ' ,' ,@A ' ', @ 7<3' > ', ' =>' 7,D= '3 A<3 ' :' ,:>)' < ' =>' A,A' '7>3>,5>' U =>' D7 3>' :'C7 C=>3 $? >5>7 => >@@' !'@<CC @>' = '2 @ @' A >@' 'A> ' ' =>' D,: ' :', @C,7 , N' < ' ' =>' D,: ' :'C7 C=>3 ' 7': 7> > , D' =, D@' '3 >)' , ' =>' D> >7 '@> @>' :' =>' 7A' =>7>: 7>' =>' @' 'C7 C=> ' >, D' 5>A' ' =>' '9= @ $

$ 5, D'3 >3 >A' >@ , ,>@' < ' :' =>' > 5>' C7 C=> @' A' @ ' :' ' < ' :' (3=,' =>' 'C7 3>>A@', >A, > ' ' =>' > ' >@ > $

$ A' =>' @ @' = '? =>' B@' :' =>' A' >@ > ' >7>' 7, > ', ' > 7> $

!!!$ =>' B@' :' =>' > ' >@ > '7>3>,5>A' '2 @ @' 7>' =>' : <7' D @C> @' =>' 3 @' $. < ?@' : <7 >> ' >C,@ >@' A' @ >' :' =>' 3 = ,3' >C,@ >@$

/$! + =>' :,: =' B' =>7>' =>' K< >@' =>' B@' :'@37,C <7>' >' : >7' =>7 ' A'D,5>@' @ >' 33 < ' :'> 3=' B' =>' @ @)' U (=> ' VZ,@' =>' :, @' >5 D> ,@ ' = ' 7 >' ' D @C> $ =>7>' U >, D' 'C>7@>3< , ' => ' >C=> ' @' @ >A' A' =>' @ ' >, D' <' 'D ':7 ' = 'C 3>' U =>' > ,>5>7@' > 7> >A' =, ' ' > 5>' , =' => ' ' 7, > ', @ 7<3 , ' , =' =,3=' 7>K<>@' => O 3 C ,>A)' A ' >, D' > ' 3K< , >A' >@C>3, ' , =' =>' A>' :' =>' " 7A' , ': >@=' =>7>' <' U =,@' > 7 =' =>' @>' >: 7>' => ' ' C >7 ' :' '>43> > ' , @ , < , ' A' :' ' => 5> ' A U A,5, >' ,:>' A' 3 5>7@ ,)? A' = ': @$

E$ U (7B'? =>' @>3 A' >5 D> ,@ ' 7 >' 'D @C>' ' >' ' =>' A,7>3 , ' :' . > >7$?

-$ U "<B>' U ,@' =>' =,7A' >5 D> ,@ ' = '= 5, D' @>75>A' '> A> 5 <7, D' ' 7, >' D @C> @' Q A', 5> , D' =, D@' < ' :' =>,7' ' => A@' 7 >' ' =,@' ' A,@3,C >' => C=, <@' ' D< 7A

Ó 2A@ >' ! A,3 C><@ >' 2=7,@ , 7<, ' C, , 'A>' (< A ' @ 5>' CC D7 C ,, ' 2=7,@ , $ C$ $ (: <3$ 5$ 2 M >3 , $ . .$ $,,$ C$ / / -$ J3$. 7,@$ $

A,D7>@@ , <@ D <A>' @37,C 7' @ >7' < 'C7 >' 3 7' < 7 ' 3, 7 K<>' 7>:>7 $ &>7>K<>' A,3,' C >@ ' >@@>' 7W 7 3 :@: 5' H ' :' ' .7 >:$, $ 3 C$,,$:, $

T C D7$ 2=7$ /$,,$ C$ $

' "$,,,$ C$ -0E$ #$ ' "$,,$ C$ / -$ 2$

' "$ ' C$ E-0 ' $

Ó 7Q J' 04' ,* K"5#8 &&#8 C#4 ' 8" ' 0 , 4= U " 58" '< ',5 ,, #8' '5,,,$ C$ -G $ $

= "$ ' C$ $ $

Ó "$,,$ C$ $ $ "$,*,$ C$ $ #$

"$,,$ C$ /10$ $ > 'C @@, $

? ' ' C$ EE $ $ "$ ' C$ E-0$ #$

O' ',,$ C' /- $ $ "$ ' C$ /-G$ $

'' $>' ' ' 2' ' '''', ' !' ' $$' 2' ' ?

& < 9 '$ % % ' $*' !)) & ;)'1 * / . /) ' % / 9 ? '

' ' ' 2'

O' YYYYYYY @ :@')*' IS$.& @5!:*6 \4@7>' < $ $$' C$ E G$ #

C$ $ $ 2

' E

; 8 ‘ ,/ ! <8 : ("8 ‘ $‘ # $‘ 1 1$‘

C @ >@‘ < ‘ ‘ > A>7@‘ $‘ => ‘ 7D<>‘ , ‘ =,@‘ >7‘ =>‘ >C,@ >@‘ :‘ ; = ‘ 7>‘ < >7>A ‘ $O =>‘ :,7@ ‘ @>3 A ‘ A‘ =,7A‘ @‘ >, D‘ ‘ =7>>‘ 7, > ‘ ‘ >‘ A‘ =>‘ @ >‘ C>7@ $‘ =>7@‘ ‘ 7>3>,5>‘ =>‘ >C,@ >‘ :‘ ; >@‘ D> =>7‘ , =‘ = @>‘ ‘ * = ‘ ,@‘ =>‘ :,7@ ‘ :‘ . > >7 ‘ A‘ =>‘ :,7@‘ :‘ ‘ ; = I$‘ D‘ =>‘ 7, @‘ 7>‘ : < A‘ ‘ =>‘ =7>>‘ >: 7>‘ > , >A‘ !‘ > ‘ =>‘ >C,@ >‘ U :‘ ; >@ * =>‘ >C,@ >‘ :‘ . > >7 ‘ A‘ =>‘ >C,@ >‘ :‘ ; = ‘ => ‘ = 5>‘ ‘ =>‘ 7>@ $‘ ' C ‘ V =>‘ ‘ = >‘ , ‘ A >@‘ ‘ >3 >‘ ‘ C>7:>3 ‘ 2=7,@ , ‘ ‘ > A> 5 <7‘ ‘ 3 :,7 ‘ ‘ =, D‘ ‘ A < :< ‘ B@‘ => ‘ =>‘ B@‘ , ‘ =>‘ >@ > ‘ 3B >AD>A‘ ‘ ‘ = 5>‘ @<::,3,> ‘ A>3 7>A‘ ‘ =, D@‘ >>A:< ‘ ‘ >‘ B ‘ 3 3>7 , D‘ =>‘ => 5> @‘ A‘ =>‘ > 7 = ‘ A‘ =>‘ > > > @‘ A‘ =>‘ = >‘ 2=7,@ , ‘ A 3 7, >$?

' C ‘ =,@‘ C @@ D>‘ :‘ 2 @ @‘ ‘ 7> 7B@‘ ,D= ‘ >‘ A>‘ !‘ @= ‘ > , ‘ ,>@>‘ : , D)

`/$a‘ ,@‘ >4C7>@@, @‘ 7>‘ , ‘ @ >‘ C 3>@‘ ,D< <@‘ A‘ =>7>: 7>‘ @3<7>)‘ , ‘ ,@‘ ‘ @‘ 3>7 , ‘ => =>7‘ =>‘ , > A@‘ ‘ >‘ < A>7@ A‘ :‘ ‘ =>‘ 3 = ,3‘ >C,@ >@‘ , ‘ D> >7 ‘ 7‘ :‘ @ >‘ $ Y +

`E$a‘ 2 @ @‘ > 7 @‘ ‘, 3 , , ‘ ‘ 7>C7>@> ‘ ‘ =>‘ 3 = ,3‘ >C,@ >@‘ @ A < :< ‘ A‘ ‘ A, , ,@=‘ =>,7‘ < = 7,)

`-$a‘ < ‘ = ‘ ,@‘ < 7> @ >)‘ ‘ 3,> ‘ 2=7,@ , @‘ , ‘D> >7 ‘ 7>3>,5>A‘ >‘ >C,@ >‘ :‘ . > >7 ‘ A‘ >‘ >C,@ >‘ :‘ ; = $

$ R‘ 2 @ @‘ @ @‘ = ‘ ‘ >‘ :‘ =>‘ 3,> ‘ 3 > 7@‘ :‘ @ 37>A‘ @37,C <7>‘ = A‘ 7, > ‘ ‘ 3 > 7 ‘ <C ‘ =>‘ 3 = ,3‘ >C,@ >@)‘ =,3= ‘ @‘ (: <3 ‘ @>75>@‘ ,@‘ ‘ 7,D= ‘@ ,A‘ : 7‘ #,A <@‘ :‘ >4 A7, ‘ 7 >‘ 3 > 7,>@‘ <C ‘ ‘ =>‘ @>5> ‘ 3 = ,3‘ >C,@ >@$

`1$a‘ ! ‘ ,@‘ ‘ >>A:< ‘ : 7‘ <@‘ ‘ ‘ 3 @,A>7‘ =>‘ 33 < @‘ =>7>‘ D,5> ‘ :‘ =>‘ @> , > @‘ :‘ !7> ><@‘ <@> ,<@‘ = @,<@‘ C=, 3=,<@‘ A‘ =>7@‘ 7‘ ‘>4 , >‘ => =>7‘ =>@>‘ 33 < @‘ >‘ 7,D= ‘ 7‘)‘ : 7 @ <3=‘ @ =>B‘ >@ , ‘ ‘ =>‘ @ 37>A‘ @37,C <7>‘ = @‘ >> ‘ 7> A ‘ @>75>A ‘ , ‘ =>,7‘ @>5>7 ‘ 3= C >7@$

` $a‘ =>‘ @>5> ‘ 3 = ,3‘ >C,@ >@‘ >7>‘ ‘ > ‘ B ‘ , ‘ D C ‘ =>7>‘ 2 @ @‘ ,5>A ‘ A‘ >7>‘ ‘ 7>3>,5>A‘ ‘ $‘ ‘ <3=‘ ,@‘ ,:>@ ‘ :7 ‘ =, @> :$

$N R‘ =>‘ 2=7,@ , @‘ , ‘ 7, ‘ 7>3>,5>A‘ =7>>‘ ‘ :‘ =>‘ 3 = ,3‘ >C,@ >@$‘ :‘ =,@‘ 2 @ @‘ @C> B@‘ C @, ,5>)‘ , ‘ ‘ >‘ @<CC @>A + =>7>: 7>7 = ‘ ,@‘ ‘ =, D‘ < ‘ =,3=‘ =>‘ ? @‘ > ‘ @@<7>A ‘ A‘ : 7‘ =>‘ 7< =‘ :‘ =,3=‘ =>‘ ‘ >‘ 7> ,>A‘ <C $‘ ‘ = <D= + (: <3 $‘ A‘ > <@ 7>$

`0$;‘ = <D=‘ 2 @ @‘ @‘ @= ‘ :‘ K< , D‘ =>‘ 3 = ,3‘ >C,@ >@ ‘ >3 <@>‘ :7 ‘ V =>‘ @>3 A‘ >C,@ >‘ :‘ . > >7‘ ‘@ 7 D‘ *>3 , ‘ @‘ 7 <D= ‘ D , @ ‘ >‘ :‘ =,@‘ C, , @‘ N > ‘ !‘ =, B ‘ =>‘ <@ ‘ = 5>‘ 7>3>,5>A‘ =7>>‘ :‘ => N =>‘ >C,@ >‘ :‘ ; >@ ‘ =>‘ :,7@ ‘ :‘ . > >7 ‘ A‘ =>‘ :,7@ ‘ :‘ ; = N : 7 ‘ ‘ =>‘ >C,@ >‘ :‘ ; >@‘ =>‘ = @‘ ‘ 7>@C>3 :< ‘ 7>:>7> 3>‘ , ‘ =>‘ , 7 A<3 , ‘ ‘ =,@‘ 7B ‘ =,3=‘ ,@‘ ‘ =,@‘ C<7C @>)‘ ! ‘ ‘ =>‘ >‘ :‘ =>‘ >‘ 9 A$$:7 ‘ = ‘ A>@3> A@$ ‘ <@‘ :7 ‘ 5>‘ >5>7 ‘ D A‘ A‘ C>7:>3 ‘ D,: $7‘ >>‘ ; >@‘ ,$ /FO A‘ T=>‘ K< >@‘ =>‘ 3 3 <@, ‘ :‘ =>‘ :,7@)‘ >C,@ >‘ :‘ . > >7 ‘ =>‘ 3=<73= ‘ V =,3=‘ ,@‘ ‘ @ < > =‘ < ^‘ @‘ ‘ C7 :‘ :‘ =>‘ > 7 ‘ C7 D7>@@‘ :‘ =>‘ 2=7,@ , ‘ "2" : ‘ , = < ‘ =>‘ < A@‘ :‘ =>‘ ‘ > C,7>N ‘ =,3= ‘ =>7>: 7> ‘ >‘ C>73>,5> ‘ = ‘ ‘ 8)& :‘ - ‘ A,A‘ ‘ < A>7@ A‘ >$‘ >‘ = @‘ @ ‘ K< >A‘ O /‘ . > $‘ ,$‘ ! $

`H$a‘ >‘ =>7>‘ @>>‘ C , ‘ >4C7>@@>A ‘ = ‘ C, , ‘ :‘ =>‘ 3,> ‘ 2=7,@ , @‘ = ‘ ‘ B ‘ A 3 7, ‘ 7‘ >C,@ 7 ‘ <D= ‘ ‘=>‘ 7>3>,5>A‘ @‘ :‘ < = 7, ‘ < >@@‘ 7, > ‘ ‘ ‘ C @ >‘ A‘ B ‘ ‘ >‘ @ $‘ ‘ =>‘ 3 = ,3‘ >C,@ >@‘ 7>‘ =>‘ >@‘ :‘ C @ >@)‘ < ‘ =, @ ‘ , ‘ @‘ A < :< ‘ , =‘ 7>D 7A‘ ‘ @>5>7 ‘ :‘ => ‘ => =>7‘ => ‘ >7>‘ 7, > ‘ ‘ C @ >@ ‘ @ ‘ D‘ => ‘ >7>‘ :‘ A < :< ‘ < = 7, $

‘ # ‘ %6&%6 5: ‘ : ‘ " ‘ * (: I)* C<A]‘ 7 @R K<P‘ A> ‘ ,=‘ >33 >@, ‘ , 3=> ‘ 7>3>C @ :<,@@>$‘ (:$ #, 7, $, ‘ C@$ $ ‘ C$ 2=7 @ $ $ C$‘ $

," 5 5 - 8 = ; ‘ <<" ‘ ""D% & " & "5 &#8 , "

‘ $ ‘ &@ A 3 ‘ J) '). ;)' ' ' % ' (' * & H, 5 /D " >&‘ . ! ' ; !6 % ‘ ‘ &WV ‘ 5 %#" " 4&"5&‘ + *$‘ $ > $

,>$@ >‘ 2 @ @‘ ‘ 33<7 >‘ 7> ‘ D, $$$‘ #,A <@ > , ‘ + >D (3 7, <@ , >D7 @ , ‘ @>C > ‘ ,' @ >C,@ @ 3 > 7, @ >A,A, ‘ >@ >‘ ,>7 $ .7@>:$, ‘ 2 @ $ C D7$ C$ $ Ó >3< A ‘ , > ‘ .> 7, ‘ > ‘ >C,@ ‘ ;<A >‘ C @ , ‘ C>7, A>‘ K<>‘ @>3< A ‘ > ‘ >7 , ‘ ; ,@‘ ‘ 7,@‘ K<>‘ A> ‘ ‘ , 3=> ,@‘ A ,@@ @ :<,@@>‘ A,@>7 >‘ A 3> ‘ 2 @ @ $\ D C ‘ , @‘ K<,‘ > C 7>‘ ;<@ , , ‘ ! C>7 7,@ @37, > $,3‘ < > ‘ = > $ C$ S $$$‘ , 3‘ ,:>@ ‘ 5,A>@‘ > , ‘ > C 7>‘ ;<@ ‘ Z , , ‘ ! C>7 7,@‘ 3 = ,3,@ * ' ,@ >C,@ ,@ , ,@,‘ 7>@

: ‘ " ‘ * (: I)* ‘ ""D% & " & "5 &#8 , "

$ ‘ &@ A 3 ‘ J) '). ;)' ' ' % ' (' * & ‘ 5 %#" " 4&"5&‘ + $ > $

,>$@ >‘ 2 @ @‘ ‘ 33<7 >‘ 7> ‘ D, $$$‘ #,A <@ > , ‘ + >D (3 7, <@ , >D7 @ , ‘ @>C > ‘ ,' @ >C,@ @ 3 > 7, @ >A,A, ‘ >@ >‘ ,>7 $ .7@>:$, ‘ 2 @ $ C D7$ C$ $ Ó >3< A ‘ , > ‘ .> 7, ‘ > ‘ >C,@ ‘ ;<A >‘ C @ , ‘ C>7, A>‘ K<>‘ @>3< A ‘ > ‘ >7 , ‘ ; ,@‘ ‘ 7,@‘ K<>‘ A> ‘ ‘ , 3=> ,@‘ A ,@@ @ :<,@@>‘ A,@>7 >‘ A 3> ‘ 2 @ @ $\ D C ‘ , @‘ K<,‘ > C 7>‘ ;<@ , , ‘ ! C>7 7,@ @37, > $,3‘ < > ‘ = > $ C$ S $$$‘ , 3‘ ,:>@ ‘ 5,A>@‘ > , ‘ > C 7>‘ ;<@ ‘ Z , , ‘ ! C>7 7,@‘ 3 = ,3,@ * ' ,@ >C,@ ,@ , ,@,‘ 7>@

‘ 2>‘ < ><7 $K<,‘ > , ‘ D C ,> ‘ > ‘ K<,‘ : 7 @@ , ‘ A @ >‘ 5,$ @,>3 >‘ @@<7>‘ K<>‘ >@‘ 7,>7,@ ? ‘ K<>‘ ‘ $ >C, 7>‘ A>‘ $;> ‘ ‘ $ A>‘ . ,>77>‘ > ‘ 3> ,>‘ A>‘ ; K >@)‘ K<O A$/? >D 7A‘ A>@‘ K< 7>‘ < 7>@‘ > >@ >‘ @>‘ 7C<5> ‘ C @ > >$ A @ ><7@‘ >D ,@>@$,@ ‘ A>‘ (,3=$ $‘ ,$ C$

‘ '*# " ‘ ‘ : ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ : ‘ ‘ ‘ " 1 ‘ $% ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ C$ >+2 ‘ ‘ 2 :$ C$;$ $! ‘ @ "‘ ,,$ CW "$ 5,, ‘ C$ $ $

C @ >@' : 7, 7 =>7' @ ,@: 3 , ' =>' >D>@' C @@ D>@' :' A,5>7@' 7, >7@' = ' = A' ,5>A' >: 7>' =, $' >' , ' @>> @' : >7' =>' C< ,3 , ' :' =>' : 7 >7' C 7 ' :' =,@' 7B ' , ' =,3=' 7>' @ ' ' K< M , @' :' =>' @>5>7 ' C 7 @' :' 3 ,3 ' @37,C <7>' @ ,A' = 0' =,@' , >7C7> , @' :' @37,C <7>' >7>' A,::>7> ' :7 ' = @>' :' <7' : =>7@' = ' ,D= ' >' 7> @ ' @<CC @>A' ' = 5>' < A>7@ A' =>' 7<>' > , D' :' @37,C <7>$' > ' = ' < = 7@' A >@' =>' ' >D>' _ # >@' =>' C7 A<3>' C @@ D>@' :' >7 @' 2 > > ' !D ,<@' =>' >3 D , , @' =>' 2 > > , >@' =>' 2 @ , < , @' =>' 3 @' 7' . 7> 3=, D' :' . < ' 7' . > >7' 7' (=, @' 7' ' =>7' ,B>' 7, , D@' _) =,@' ?:,7@' < = 7' ,@' = @,<@' ,@= C' :' >4 A7, N' A' : >7' = ' 9 7>D 7 ' [, [> ' A'@ >' =>7@N' =,3=' !' =, B' <@' >' >A' ' >' ' D A' 7D< > ' = ' =>' 7, , D@' :' > 7 ' 2=7,@ , @' : >7' =>' C @ >@' >5>7' >7>' :' < = 7, $' 2 @ @' >D>@' >' :' => N' 7' A,A' => ' = ' A>' >43>C M , @' ' =>' :,7@' >A, , ' :' =,@' 7B' >4C>3 ' @<3=' 3, , @' :7 ' =, N' : 7' =>' B>@' ' C D ' : 7' B, D' ' ,3>' :' => N' < ' , >A, > ' C7 3>>A@' ' 7, >7@' :' =>' : <7 =' 3> <7 ' = @>' 7B@' >5>7' 3 < A' B>' ' C7> > @, @' ' >' C 7 ' :' =>' 7< >' :' : , =$' ' ' , ' ' ,B>' 3 @>' ' 7, >7' :' =>' C7>@> ' , >' : >7' C7 :@' :7 ' =>' A' A' =>' > ' >@ > ' ,D= ' : 7' =>' @ ,@: 3 , ' :' @ >' *>3 7@' K< >' , , D: >> ' A' , @ ' A' <7 > ' 7' > ' A' 4 >7 ' A' ($

& ! $' !' @= ' AA' ' :> ' @> >3 ' C @@ D>@')

/ $' >' @ @' = +' ' 2=7,@ ?@' ,7 3 >@' >7>' @<, >A' ' =,@' >43> > ' A' D7 3, <@' A 3 7, >' >, D' => , D' A' > >:,3, $' ! :' ' @= < A' *>3 ' =>' @@' :' =>' @ , >' A' =>' :,D 7>>N' = @>' ,7 3 >@' >7>' ' 7 <D=' ' > ' < ' ' ' 7< >@' A' ' 5>D> >' C $' >' : >7e& 7A@' 3 @,A>7@' @ ' =>' 3 , ' :' 2=7,@ ?@ A7,5, D' =>' < >7@' A' @> >7@' < ' :' =>' > C >' N A' @ @' = ' >5> ' => ' 2=7,@ ' A,A' ' @ 7,B>' ' ' , =' =>' =,C' =,3=' =>' = A' , ' =,@' = A' < ' =>' 7< >' , @' $

E$' 2 @ @' @C> B@' 5>7 ' D@>> ' :' =>' C7 D7>@@' :' =>' 2=7,@ , ' 7> ,D,)' =>' @>75>@' = +O' =>' D @C>' @' :,7@ ' C7> 3=>A' ' =>' C @ >@' , =' D7> ' @<33>@@' , ' =>' ' > C,7>N @ ' : >7' = ' , ' @' C7> 3=>A' , ' . >7@, ' ' =>' C @ >' = AA><@$' 33 7A, D ' , ' ,@' 7, > ' , ' =>' 3 = ,3' >C,@ >@) U' =>' 3=<73=' =,3=' ,@' ' > >3 >A' D> =>7' , =' < ' @ < > =' U' <$? ! ' =>7' C 3>' =>' O> 7D>@' ' C ' =>' A>7:<' C7 D >@@' :' =>' 2=7,@ , ' 7> ,D, ' @' D7>> >' ' = ' 2=7,@ ' = A' : 7> A$' c ; = ' 45,$' - -$' (=$' 45, ' /0$' 4,,,$' - -$' 44,5$' / $ ' U' % 7 O' @ @' =>' U' = <D=' :7 ' =>' >D, , D' 2=7,@ , @' >7>' C>7@>3< >A' ' =>' 9 7>>B@' A' ;> @' => O' 5>73 >' A' A7> ' 5>7' =>,7$> > ,>@' ' => @> 5>@O' 33 7A, D ' >' @>>' =>' 3=<73=' = @' ' U >> ' A>@ 7 >A' < ' @ , ' @< @,@ , D' A' < ,C ,>AN' A' =>' = >' > 7 =' :, >A' A' @ , ' 7> O' A' 7>' :, , D' , =' =>' A 3 7, >' ' =>' " 7A' 2=7,@ ' A' =>' D @C>' C7> 3=>A' , ' ' =>' U 7 AN' =,3=' ' @ @' => ' !' @> :' = 5>' @>> ' , ' ' C 3>@' A' =>7>: 7>' 3 ' > 7' , >@@' O =>' 7< =' :', $? >' =>7>' > , @' ' D7> ' ' 3 < 7,>@' 7> >' :7 ' > 3=' =>7' =>7>' ,>' D @C>' A' >> ' C >AN' A' C 7 ,3< 7 ' @>5>7 ' C 3>@' , ' =>' ! A,>@' =>7>' =>' = A' >> ' , ' =,3=' >7>' ' 3=<73=>@$' >' >4C7>@@ ' @ @' = ' , ' .>7@, ' >7>' ' 3=<73=>@' A' ,@= C@' A' # # ' A' ' 7 7@N' @' @ ' , ' =, C, ' A' 7 , $

2 . $' 2 6 " ! 6 $

% 2 ' # ' ' ! .' %' (! ' ! ' % !2 $

/$' % < #<@ T' ' > 7 >A' :7,3 ' ,@= C' : <7,@=>A' < ' =>' > 7' :' 2=7,@ ' 1 G M M "' %' !2 ' % 3 ' %' 0 % ! % #' % ' + ' : %#, #$' ! "' - 3 #$' ! "' % + &' 4%%2#' % ' + ' ? ;' # ! ($' ; + 3+' ; & ' ! ; !)#' & 3 6 "' 4)' ! ' +& # ! #' ' 8 &! $' ' 6 &)' , ! & ' % ' + ' ; %& "

' 4' , ' C ' ' 9 ' ' ' ' ' ' 9 ' ' ' , ' ENP'

; $' ' ' "$ ' 5 P) !=' ! ' ' ' / 4 ' , ' '

W ' 4,aC ,7F $' ! ,A' X "' !6' $' ' 9 ' ' * 4' $' 5$ C ' $' !4& 3 ' * 4$

U' ' ' '" , ' / ' / 1$' ' ' <$, ' BH' ' / O$$' $' 3' !'" # "%&' " ' 53&$' 3 ' 3 ' $' '

(")" " &' 5 ,' - ' . # ' 0 " &

' >' K< >@' Ó =>' >C,@ >' ' =>' > 7> @' @' =>' C @ >' . < ?@$
$' >' ,B> ,@>' K< >@' ? =>' >C,@ >' :' =>' C @ >' ; >@' A+ ' =>' @>3 A'>C,@ >' :' =>' C @ >'
. > >7 ' A]Ó =>' >C,@ >' :' =>' C @ >' ; <A> ' A' @ +' =>' B' :' =>' >5> , $
1 ' ! ',@' ,B> ' =>7>: 7>' = ' =>' 7>3>,5>A' ' =>' B@' :' =>' > ' >@ > ' =,3=' >' A '
A' ' =>7$
$' ,@' D> >7 ' A,5,@, ' :' =>' B@' :' =>' > ' >@ > ' ,@' = ' :'D @C> @' A' C @ >@)
: 7' ' =,3=' =>' = @' =>' D7> >@ ' 17>D 7A$
$' >' K< >@ =>' >C,@ >' ' =>' C=>@, @' , =' = ' , >$
0$' >' 3, >@' , $' ,,$' ! $' : >7' =,@' >7') Ú " B, D' : 7' =>' >@@>A'= C>' A' - ' CC> 7, D'
Ú :' =>' D 7 ' :' =>' D7> ' 9 A ' <7' 5, <7' ;>@<@' 2=7,@ $
' 3< A<@' 3, , D' =>' :,: =' 3= C >7' :' =>' :,7@' >C,@ >' :' $' ; = ' A >@' ' > , ' =>'
=> 5> ' , >@@>@' < ' @ @' = ' Ú =>' @C,7, ? A> >@' =>' % =>7 ' Ú =>' >7' Ó =>' ' C,7, '
A' Ú =>' A? ;>@<@' 2=7,@ $

4 ; 8 > ' 4 '

$

/$ Ú " 8 @ @+' #<' . , ' U = ' 7 >' ' 2 > 7 '<C ' *>' >5> , ' >4 7 3 >A' :7 '
Ú = ' :' A7> ' :'2 @ 7> ' ,@' C 3>A' , ' =>' @,4 =' 3> <7 ' A' 7>3B >A' '= 5>' >> ' ,@= C' :'
Ú 2 >@ 7> ' Ñ <' =>7>' ,@' ' C7 :' >, =>7' :' =>' >' 7' =>' =>7$?
E$' 2 5>' Z 7> = @' ,@' C 3>A' ' =>' > 7' 1 G$' A' =>' ,@' @ > = ' A,@C > @>A' , =' 2 @, '
,7>' <A, ' : 7' @<CC @, D' =, ' ' = 5>' ,5>A' <3=' >7 ' < ' =>' > 7' H G$' 5 - ']
% 7,3,<@' : 5 <7@' 9<A, ?@' 3 *>3 <7>' = ' 7> = @' @' ' 7, >7' :' =>' > =' 4 : &'À - 6 5 '
=>' 3 @' =,@' 2 > 7 '<C ' =>' C 3 C@>' ' >43> > ' 7B$
' (, ' Í @C> B@' :'=, ' D> =>7' , =' =>7' 7, >7@' :' =>' @,4 =' 3> <7 ' < '1 G ' A'3 @

Ť ,3' > , ' 3< ' . < <@' >*<@' c . > 7,Í' 3 C @ <@' 2=7,@ , @'
, <@' >D, <7' A,3> @') Ú >A, >' C7@>C @, ,@' 5>@ 7,@$?$ $$'
c > 7$ 4,,,$' $Í' % 3< A$ $ 4,,$ 3$' -$C$' ,S 2' . 7,@$' ; $ $
A' > 7 > @ A,3, ' C @ <@$' "$,,,$ 3$' $ C$' $ #$ > ' , ,$
; 3 <@' C @ <@ A,3,) Ž , >' C <7>@' D,@ 7,' :,>7,$?
c2 C$' ,,,$' /$Í' "$ 4$ 3 ' EC' /1/$ 2$ &,A$ > $ /$ 5,3 1$ C$ 2
> A ' K< A' .> 7<@' C @ <@ A,3) + #, >3 ,@@, <@'
Ú :7 >7' < @ >7' . < <@' @>3< A< ' > 7 ' K< >' A ' >@' , ,' @ '
Ú C,> , ' @37,C@, ' 5 ,@$?$ $$' cE' .> $,,,$ /1' $Í' "$ 4,,$' 3$ E$
C ' /0F$ #$
Ž S<>7 ' C,7, < ', ,' '= > ' K<,' @>' '>33 >@, ' @>D7>'
D ' C @ ' ;<A ' A,3> >') ? ,'@< ' K<,' @>D7>D +@> > '
Ú ,C@ @' , >@' C,7, < ' '= > >@$? c5>7$' ,D$Í' /$ 4,,$' 3$
/$' C$' /01$' $
Ó "$,,$ 3$ 1$ C$ -G$ Ú $ > ' C @@, $?
.' 5 D> ,3 >' > ' C @ ,3 >' A>' # , ' 5 3>@$ "$, ' 3$ 1$
C $ $ $
' 3' < > ' 7>5>7> , ', @,' A,5, >' @37,C <7 >' A>:>7, <@'
< ' '37>A <@ K< A' ,K<,A' , A,D >' <A 5, $ ' ,A> ' 3< ',
<A, <@' C @ < ', >7' , @'*<@ @' @ 'K< K<>' <A '
> ' K<>' A,3> > ' c > 7$ 4,$ -E$Í' , > ,D, <@' K< A$$' /$
4,,$ 3$ &$ C$' $ #$
<A, ' C @ < ' @37, > > ' C=>@,,@' /$,,,$ 3$' $ C$'
0$ 2$
Ó $$$' >4C>3 >@' > ' @C> ' > ' A5> < 'D 7, >' D ,'
#>,'@ 5 7,@' @ 7,' ;>@<' 2=7,@ ,$ /$,$ 3$' !$ C' -$
' > ' ; = >@' , ' >C,@ ' @<,' A>' . 7>' > ' %, , ' > '
C,7, <' 3 ' @,3' A,3,) + 7>@' @< ' K<,' >@ , ,< ' A '
Ú , ' 377, ' @C,7, <@' K< ' > ' > ' @ D<,@Ñ > ' =,' 7>@' < < ' @< '*
, ' $' C,7, <? @,D ,:,3 @' . 7> ' @,3< ' # , <@' < ,>7,'
7, >' @>3< A< ' ,C@,<@' ; = ,@' 5 D> ,< ' K<, <7 '
A,3> @$$' c ; =$' ,5$' $$$' E $Í' ! ' ?8+ @Ć 5>7 ' C,7, < ' 3M
< ' @,D ,:,3 @' @,3< ' , ' > A> ' @< ' >5 D> ,3' >4C @<, ' 5>7 '
, ,$$ c3 C$' 5,,$' -F ' $' -D$Í' ! ' +' @ D<, >'? 5>7 ' %, ,< '
@,D ,:,3 @' K< , ' ,C@>' >4' 3 ,' 7, , >' 3 < ,3 5, '
3 7 ,' > ' @ D<, ,$' "$,$' 3$' -$ C$' F ' 2$
' @,' >33 >@, ' 2 =7,@ ,$$$' 7>@' 37>A,A, ' > ' C7@>A,3 5, $. '
7>7 ' > % ' ,< ' > ' C,7, < ' 3 < ' @,3< ' >@ , , ' ; = M
,@' @<C7 ' A 3<, <@ ' K< ' A,3 < ' > @) Ž 7>@' @< ' K<,' >@ , '
+' ,< ' A ' , ' >77 ' @C,7, <@' K< ' > ' @ D<,@Ñ > ' =,' 7>,'
7 ' < < ' @< $? ! $' C$' $ 2$ # $
? , $' A>@' < $' 3$' $ 5$ C$' F $
Ď 7> = @' 2 >@ 7>@' 2 CC A 3, ' 73=,>C,@3 C<@' 3 7<, '
< ,' 5< ' 2 33,<@' > ' C @' >< ' ,,' `K<,' > ', 3>7 ,@' C7 7@<@
, < <7' 3 *>3 <7,@' 3,73 ' < ' 1 G$' " D>' 5>7 ' 7>3> , 7'
@,' A ' 5>7< ' @, ' K< A' 5< ' 2 @, ,7<@' <A, ' >< A> ' @3,M
,3> ' :<,@@>' @ 7< ' 3< ' 7> = ' C7>@ >7 ' 2 >@ 7,> @, ' K<,'
3,73 ' < ' @37,C@, ' 7 @ , > ' < = ,' . 7, 7'
3= >' 2$.$ C<A' ",CC < ' -' 7>**>7 $' &>7< '
,A' D7 ,@' ::,7 ' <A, <@$ >3' > , ' C7@>@ '>,' >@' 7D<'
> <7 ' K< ' @> > , '@< ' 3 :,7 > $ 2 5' $D"$ $,$
C$1EG$
V 7> = @' K<,' > ' ,C@>' C @' A7> ' 2 >@ 7> P*P@A> ' ,'
2 CC A 3, ' 73=,>C,@3 C<@' :<,@@>' 7 A, <7 ' : 7 >' <A' A5>7@ '
>@' ' 7> = J* K<,' A=<>' C7>@ >7' 2 >@ 7,> @,@' @37,C@, ' A>
Ž7 @ , >' < = ,,' 2$' .$ $ 2$ $ A>:< 3 ,$ >K<>' , '
C7 , ,@ = >3' ,=,'5,A> <7' 2$ &$ 2 @, ,7,' <A, ,' 3 *>3 <7 '
$$' $>*<@' , @,D >' , ' C 3 C@, ' C<@' C7 A,, ' J 3$, $ 97$+ '
5,,$' C$' $ $
' .7 >D$' $' ! $

=,@ 7,B 3= , 3 >3 >A < , => 2 > 7 :=,@ C7>A>3>@@ 7 A7> A => 7B@ :
!7> ><@ ,CC <@ 97>D 7 [, [> 2 7, : >4 A7, A =>7@$
$ 7> = @ => >D, , D :=,@ 2 > 7 <C 3=$,$ 5>7 / - @ @ U = O @ > :
U => 3,> @ B>A <C =,@ B @ @C<7, <@ A >3 <@>, A,::>7>A :7 =>@ > :=>
U > 5>A A,@3,C > , =,@ =>7 7, , D@ @37, >A , =>7$ < 9 7>D 7 3 >A @ =>
U A,5, > 7>3B @ , D => D> <, > 7, , D@ :=>>5 D> ,@) A , = >C 7>: 3> D7>>
O = = A >> > >: 7> 7, > A7> =>@ @ , = A >> 7>3>,5>A @, @C,7>A @37,C <7>
O @, 9 7>D 7 2 7, c :>4 A7, I . C, @ 7> D><@ A ,CC <@ 7 = A 4 : =>7@ N
U A =>7>: 7> , <D= > A7> =>@ @, @ > =, B = =>7, >7@ =>7> >A :: 7A 7D< > = 7> = @
A,A , ,5> >7 = =>@,4 =3> <7 $
$! < A 7,>: @>75> = , =,@ 7B 7> K< >A @ 7 => B@ :=> >
>@ > C 7 ,3< 7 =>O D @C> :=> (7B A =>]O 3 @ 7, > =" <B> N =>>C,@ > =>
> 7> @+ @ . < ?@ >4C7>@@ A : > N =>T >C,@ > :=; >@ + AO =>@>3 A :=. > >7)=>
7>3>,5>A =>=7>> >C,@ >@ :=; = N : 7 =>: > K< >@ =>:,7@ A 3> , =,@ >7)
; = ? , =>:,7@ :=,@ 3B = ,3 >C,@ >@$! ,@ ,B> =>7>: 7> = =>7>3>,5>A '=>@ >
B@ :=> > >@ > = > A N 7 = 5> !@>75>A 7B@ :C>3< , 7 7>@C>3 : 7
=>7 2=7,@ , 7, , D@N A ! AA=>7> = <D=@ > = < :C 3> = +O =,@ 7, >7
K< >@ ?@ @ D$ $
F$ ' C >5$,$ 1$ V ' =, = 5>A <@ A @=>A <@:7 <7@, @ , =,@ A ^
=>@ @ = @+ 7, > @ 3 C,>@ U @=>A ?, =>7@ U A> ,5>7>A O 7 U7>A>> >A$O
(, V = @ B> ,3> :=,@ C 3 7,A C7>:>7@ => >7 7> A, DN

4 ; 8 > 4 ?

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9 :,7@ A5 3 > => @ A,>7 : >7 ,+A@ T 3 <7 ,>7 = <D= :, > D = 7> ,7>:7 => 7 A A @ CC , >A @< A> 3 , =>3=<73= : >$
D >3 C @>A 7B > , >A0? => C @ ,3 ,@ 7 , 5>7@>, B@ 3 C @>A
< :=> 3 @ :=> C @ >@ +O =,3= => @37, >@ $ " <B>$
-$! 3 @ 66$ E0 =>@>> @ = 5> 7> A U =>3=<73= :=> " 7A)? : 7 =>@C> B@ O :
=>3=<73= =,3= 2=7,@ => :A A @ >7 = A C<73= @>A , = =>C7,3> :=,@ A$ 7 7

"&, ,65 8" 8 4#" 5 6%G# #W &! H&6 & = 585 ; &# L)W
#=O ; + (? 3/ / V6 % *229C 1 <* &) $ /
% 3& GF2 ** %)) / - + % ! / *) /* '(&% # !6% 3 %#
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7 @:>7 7 A ,5> @ . > 7, @, > <7 , > 3 @
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K !# 9% (# " (%& " "
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Y @0 ' ,,@, $! :'=>'= A'= A', '=,@ 3 C,>@' V =>' 3=<73=' :' 9 A ^' 7'= A'= A' 'B M
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*$' '; $ ' ' ,@ Q<'$ ";,,<, <' <,@,, C' <' :' 5 , 'C 3>'!@$ '3>7 , 'B $ 2 5>'@C> B@' :'
=, ' @' ?: <7,@=, D' <' =>' > 7' 11GN' A ' <' ' 1 G$' >',@ , ' 7, => ,<@N A !
7 @37, >' =,@' 3= C >7' > $ (7> 5>7' #<' :, ' A' ' % 7,3,<@' = 5>' 33 < @' :' =,@
,@= C' =,3='A>@>75>' ' >' B> ' ,3>' :$
f$' =>' '7> , , D' 7B' :' ;< , ,<@' A' =>'7 ' 7B' :'=,@' =,3='7, => ,<@', '
=>':,: >> ='3> <7 ' = A' >' , ='', , >A$:'T =>' . 7 @' :' =>'#,5, >' " ', ' B@'
,@ 7, > ' ' ' :' K<>@ , ' A' @ >7$
-$' >'= @' @>5>7 ' @' :' A,5,A, D' =>' B@' :' @37,C <7>$ >'@Z 7>' :' C>7:>3 ' =>7@
:' ,AA >' < = 7, ' =>7@' :' >' ')' A'U @ >' 7>'=,@ 7,3 =' @ >' C7 C=> ,3 ' @ , >'
C7 5>7 , ' @ >' > 3='@, C $' ' = ' ' 7 @37, >' =, ' ' > D ='7>K<,7>@' 7>'7 ' = ' !'
3 ' :: 7A)' !' @= ' = >5>7' B>' 7,>: ' = ' =>' @ @' 7> , D' ' =>' B@' :' =>' > ' >@ $'
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' U =>' =,@ 7,3 ' B@' :' =>' > ' >@ > ' :' C>7:>3 ' A' 3 ,3 ' < = 7, ' 7>'
U =>': <7' D @C> @' :' (=> ' (7B' "<B>' ; = ' A' =>' 3 @' :' =>' C @ >@$?
1$' U = @>' ǂ B@?' =>'@ @' U > 3='@, C ' =>7>, ' >' 7>' C , ', @ 7<3 >A' 3 3>7 , D
0: , =' A' >7@N' A' =,3='A ' ' 7> >' =,@ 7 ' 7' C7 C=>3 ' 7' @C> B' C7 5>7 ,
U < ' ' > 3='C , $' =>' B@' = ' > 3='@, C ' 7>' =>' >C,@ >@' :' =>' C @ >'. < N
U ' =>' @' >N ' =>' 2 7, =, @' N ' =>' 9 , @' >N' ' =>' C=>@, @' >N
U ' =>' .=, ,CC, @' >'N ' =>' 2 @@, @' >N ' =>' =>@@ , @' N ' , = ' N
U ' , <@' >'N ' .=, > ' >N ' =>' > 7> @' >'N >' :' =>' >@@>A' . > >7' ' =>' 9> '
U , >@'N A' =>':,7@' >C,@ >' :' =>' >@@>A' ; = $' ' =>@>' ' AA' :,5>' 7>'N >' >C,@ >' :'
U ; >@N =>' @>3 A' :' . > >7N >' :' ; <A>N A' ' :' ; = $?ǂ >' @' $@ @' U = 'V =>'
U >5> , ' :' ; = ' @' A < >A' :' D> >7 ' ' =>' 2=7,@, D' , ' =>' > @ $?' =,3=' '
, C ' = ', ' @' D> >7 '7>3>,5>A', ' :7,3 ' @', A>>A', ' @$
$' ! ' ' >' =>7>' @B>A' '@ >J '3 < A' ;< , ,<@' ' :7,3 'B ' =>'@> , > ' :'
2=7,@ , @', ' =>'> @ ' 3 3>7 , D' =>' B' :' =>' >5> , ' ' A' = '3 >@', ' 'C @@' = '
=>'@C> B@' @' =>' A >@' :' =>' 3 = ,3'>C,@ >@'_ !' @ >7' = ', ' =>' C7>: 3>' 7' A>A,3 , ' :' =,@

$' < <
.>7@ @ 7>@ >@@>' #>< N
" ',$ C$ /E0$ #$' &,A$ > ' 9$
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0 ;< , ,<@' >C,@3 C<@ 3<*<@A ' <7 ,@', ' :7,3 ' ` > '
< > ' <7 ,@ , 5> ,7>' 'C <,a 5,7 3>7 >', ' @ 37,@ @37,C <7,@
5 A>' A 3 <@' >', ' @>3< 7, <@ A,@3,C , ,@' > *<A,3, '@<::,3, '
> >7 , @ 7<3 <@' @> @<' C7 :< A<@' > K<, ' A< 3,@' >' 7 <@+'
< ' A,3, <7 3 <@37,C@,@@>' C<@3< $ >A' >D ' < ' 5,A,'
C<@ , @,D >' K< A'@37,C@, ' A' .7, @,< '@<C7 A,3 < ' >C,@3 '
C< ' K< A' C7 > 5, ' #>' . 7 , ,,@ #,5, >' ">D,@' 2, 7<, '
$ $*1 ' 1 G' 7, => $ A>' 37,C $ 3$ 3 C$ /11
0 , $ A>@ < $ 3$ $ 5$ C 0/$
', ,;>' 8>7, $ > ,D$ 2=7,@ , 'C$ E11$
T #>' . 7 , <@ #, , @ ">D,@$ ", 7,' A< $ C$, $ . .$
4$ $ C$ - G$$$$' -1G$ ǂ Z
G #,@3,C$ S< A 'A,5, 7< ' , 7 7< '3 @,A>7 <7 <3 '
7, @' (D$ S<, 'K<,A C>7:>3 > <2 7, ,@ @< 'K<,A '
>A, >' K<,A ' < ,<@$ #$ S<,' @< ' C>7:>3 >' <3 7, ,@'
($ S< @ 3 ,3 @', ' @, D< ,@ @C>3,> <@ @ < >' A < >7 '
,,,<<@$ #$ S<,' >A, >' ($ S< @ A*< D,' 'C <7* <@ A,4,
<@$ #$ S<,' < ,<@ <3 7, ,@ @< _' ($ >,K<,' >@$
" ',$ 3$ F$ C$ - /$ 9$ $
ǂ #,@3$ C>3,>@ A,3 , ,@ K< '@<C _' ($ S< < 7$ '
< '=,@ 7,3 '>@ ' ''C7 C=> ,3 ' <' C7 5>7 , ,@' <'@, C ,'
3, >7 A 3> @$ "$, 3$ E$ C$ - G$ %$
0 $$$' 5 D> , 7<7 ' K< < 7 @>3< A< ' (= @< '@>M
3< A< ' (73< ' @>3< A< ' "<3 '@>3< A< ' ; = > '
3 << ' C @ 7 $! $ 3$ -$ C$ - G$ 9$
#$ S< >'@ ', C >4 A 3 7, ' _' ($ S< 'A>':,A>' <' A>'
7 <@ , 'C7 >@> ,' > C 7>' A 3> <7$' #$ S 7>' = 3' '
> ' 33>C,' _' (' S <, $ $$' >K<>' =,@ 7, ' >4, ' >K<>'
C7 C=> , ' >K<>' C7 5>7 , , >7 K<, 5,7' @>A' <C,' A '
@, C ,3, >7 A 3> $ #$ S<,' , 7,' A' @, C ,3> 'A 3 7, 'C>7M
, > ' (YY C,@ >' . <,' C @ ,' A' @ @' /$ A
2 7, @' E $$$' > ,' .> 7,' A' 9> >@' /$ >' > ,' ; = ,@
C7, $ #$ < ' ,' , 7,' A' @, C ,3> 'A 3 7, 'C>7 , > ¯
($ A*< D< 'K< C <7, ' K<, K<>' , @' K< >' C @ ¯
7< ' 3 ,3 >' < 3<C <7)' ; 3 ,' /$.> 7,' @>3< A '
;<A@>' < ' ; = ,@ A< @$! $ 3$ $ C$ - /$ %$
2 > >7< ' A>' ; = ,@ C 3 C@,' C<A' 7,> >@ A'
, A< 'A< , <7$! $ 3' 'C$ - /$ $?

' :"V 3$ $ # $' 11G$

7B' ' .7, @,<@' =>' @ @' =>' Ø=)A' >> ' 3K< , >A' , =' . < ' ' .>7@, ' ' > 7 >A' ' = ' = A' >> ' >A<3 >A', ' =>' @3= ' :' =>' 7, @' ' ,@, ,@$' %7 ' =, ' , ' ,@' ,B> ' =>' 7>3>,5>A ' =,@' , : 7 , ' @' , A>>A' =>' =>7>' , , >@$

' A', ' = ' =>' @ @' :' =>' 2 = 3' >C,@ >@' =>7>' 7>' ' =, D@' @ > = ' 7> 7B >$ %,7@ ' = ' =>' @<CC @> =' =>' :,7@' >C,@ >' :' . > >7' ' = 5>' >> ' 7, > ' ' 9 > , >@Ñ A' 3 @>M K<> ' =>' @>3 A' @ ' ,:' , ' >' . > >7?@') : 7' 5>7 ' C7 ' =>' ' >C,@ >@' >7>' @> ' ' =>' @ >' C> C >$ >3 A ' :' =>' @>5> ' 3 = ,3' >C,@ >@' =>' 7>3B @' ' ' :' C>7:>3 ' 3 ,3 ' < = 7,)' =>' =>7' :,5>' 7>' ' :' ,AA >' < = 7, ' 7>*>3 >A' ' @ >' A' 7>3>,5>A' ' =>7@$! :' ;< , ,<@' = @' =>7>' D,5> ' ' 7<>' 33 < ' :' = ' =>' ,> 7A' :7 ' =>' 5>' >A' . >7@, ' , ' ' >' 7D<>A' = ' =>7>' >7>' @ >' , ' =>' > @ ' = ' 7>*>3 >A' 7' A < >A ' :' =>' >C,@ >' :$; >@' @' > ' @' =>' =>7' : <7) =,3=' , A>>A' CC> 7@' ' >' 5>7 ' C7 >$

0$! ' =>7' C 3>' =>' > , @' =>' B@' :' =>' > ' >@ > ' , ' =,@' 7A>7) =>' : <7]' D @C> @' =>' C @ ,3 ' >C,@ >@' A' =>' 3 @$

$ >' C< @' =>' K<>@ , ' Ñ Ù ' A ' >' B ' =>' < = 7@' :' =>' B@' :' @37,C <7>' _ =>' Ù @ >7' ,@) >' 7>' B ' ' =>' , >@' A', 7 A<3 , @' @' =>' B@' :' =>' C7 C=> @' , ' Ù =>' A' >@ > ' A0 =>' >C,@ >@' 1 :' =>' C @ >@' , $ =>' > $$ >' 7>' B ' ' =>,7' , >@' ' @' =>' D @C> @Ñ @ >' ' ,+ A, , ' :7 ' =>' 3,> @' @' =>' :,5>' B@ :' (@>@$ Ø :' @ >' B@' =>' < = 7@ 7>' < B ' @' = @>' :' < = ' =>' ;<AD>@' A' =>' , D@$? /G$ >' ,B> ,@>' C< @' =>' K<>@ , ') ' A ' >' B ' =>' B@' :' <7' 7> ,D, ' ' >' 4A ' > ' ' A,5, >' , @C ,7 , !' 7 @37, >' =,@' @ >7' > ' = <D=' , ' >' @ > = ' D' Ñ =>7>' =>' @ ' @ @' Ù = ' ,7 3 >@' >7>' 7 <D= ' , ' =>' @37,C <7>' ` 7' =>' 2=7,@ , ' 7> ,D, a' @ Ø7>3>,5>A' ' =>' 9 > , >@) Ù < ' 57, ' ,@' @<::,3,> ' = ' , ' ,@' < ,5>7@ ' 7>3>,5>AÑ =,3=' Ù >' 3 @,A>7>A' @' ' @ A, D' ,7 3 >$? $

/ /$' >: 7>' !' 3 3 <A>' =,@' 3= C >7' !' @= < A' 7>:>7' +' ; >@' @ D>' = ' = @' @>75 , @ !*C ' =,@' 7, >7?@ 3 D<>' :' =>' B@' :' @37,C <7>' = ' C 7 ' >@C>3, ' =,3=' 3 3>7 @' =>' B@' :' =>' A' >@ > $' ⁄ ?

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' !) 1 ' 5 ' ' ' +' ,@' C 3>A' ' 2 5>' @' : <7,@ ,, D' , ' =>' > 7' 1/ ' => ' =>' @' 3 @<)' < ' @' !' ' ' K< >' =,@' 7B@' 7, > ' : >7' =,@' 7> ,7> > ' :7

W A' = >3' >D ' 7>@C A)' &,A,@@>' >' K<> A ' . < < ' , >' .>7@ ' D> 37>' K<', ' 7 7< ' @3= ', ' ,@, ,<7 >' >@ ' >A 3 <@' < ', A,5, ' >4' C>7' D,@ 7 @ C< ,3 @' ,3<' C<A' @ , ' < A ,@ @ <A,,@ 97 ,3 ' > ' => 27,3 ' 7A, >' > ' 7>D< 7 >7' 7 A, <7$ 4 ' C$ - G$ 2$ Ø S<,@>@' 7A ' A,5, 7< ' 5 < , < ' _' $ $$' $ 5 D> , ' `< ' @<C7 A,3 < ' >@ á K< < 7' C @ ,3 >' >C,@ >' > ' 3 <@$; $ 2$ /G$ C$ - E$ $

/' 9 ' 53& , %& # " 6 %& (' 4&%& (' 0 !' &! % ' 3%8 %#3 ' (#7 < ' & 4 # (%" #' - ' .' #$,&%% &! #$,&% ' ,+ 3M# 4&%#$ ' /! ,%# % %& (' , # % !#Ł ! ' .' #' ! ' (' / ' 6! 8 # !#Ł ! ' .' &!" % ' 6 & ($ ' <%)# # MM M: " &M" ,# ## ' 0 0 ' ,& (# 4&%# + # %& ! ' 5 (& ' # ' ?!6 ' 4 &$!4' % 0 % 3 , ! &$ &!" & #3& , # ' 53 " (' ,&# & !$ 0 %" 0 %& (" ! (' +4&%& (' , #' 8 %&! & ! 3 %& #$ ' # ' " 3 ($ ' +$ ' 8 (' T3' 4 ' 3 ' D ' /' ' 9 #3 ' S " ' ,&%4!&! #$ 4&%# & 8 % # %# &! ' " 6 8' ## ' #, &! % ' 3% #3& , %# < ' .' (#$ 0 %& (' ,& ((' #' ,# # # && , &! ' 6 & !# & " " ' %&"% & & ($ 3% #% ! !

C7@>3>C 7< ' A<@' 3 , ,@ @, >' , <' C<7, @K<>' 5>7$ 7< $ ' AA, <7' 3 @37, > ,<, ' >' C7@>A,3 ,< ' K< , @Ñ K< A' A, , ' = , >@' >43> @ ' 5, >@' , : 3< A,' @< , , ' ' ,@,' A,5, ' 7>C > ,' C,7, <' 7 A,A,@@> $ <7 ' C7@A,3 , ,@ 5 7 <@' K< >' A< ' C7 >A,3 7> <7 !,3>' ' C <3,@ A>@C>3 ' , <, $ 33>A< ' =,@ 7>3 ,:,3 , ' c:$ >@ ,:,3 , Ì 3 7 7, 7< ' <' r, ' 7,, ' 5>' .=, @ C= 7< ' >4C< @, ' A7>7@ 7, 7< ' < , , @ 3 @>K<> ,< ' >4, <@' > 7< ' K< >' C>7' 33>C , > ' >' :,D< ' 7 @ C7 >A,3 , >@K<>' C7 >A,3 ' @< $ A' C @ 7> < ' ,7 ' 3< ' *<D, >7' : 3 ' A >>' @37,C <7 ' ,C@ ' @<@3,C>7> <7' ' 9> , ' 7@$ #>' K< ' < 3' A' C7 4, < ' ,7 3< < ' _<,13, K< A' ' , <@ @<@3>C ' 3 D @3, <7$! $! ,,$ 3$ EG$ C$ -1G$ ' ,@ ' A>' I? D ,@>$ /$ 5,,$ 3Ñ /G$ C' - ' $ ⁄ &,A$ 2 5$ Ñ "$ ' ,$ C$ 1G/$ ⁄ #<' . , ' , $ A>@ < $ 3$ $ ' C$ -$ % 7,3' C$, $ 33$ A' 7,,' <D$ /$ 4,,,$ 3 C$ E/$ 7, => $ A>' > ' 3$ 3 C$ E/ -$ ' ">' " D' , $ 37' C$ (%) ' &, $ 2 @@, A$ ' 9 7> , ' 3 @37,C $. D,' ** ' $ $,,,$ 1/ $ $,$ 1 E$ $,5$ $ @ D$ $ 1- $ $,< 1-1$ $ 4$ $ $,$ P > 7' @K<>' 3 >D>' < ' C>7<, $ < ' = > ' >@ ' E

OG/A‘ A‘ =>‘ > $‘ ! ‘ =>‘ A‘ 7>‘ 9> >@,@‘ 4 A<@‘ ">5, ,3<@‘ < >7@‘ #>< >7
U‘ ; @=< ‘ =>‘ @ ‘ :‘ < ‘ =>‘ ;<AD>@‘ < = ‘ : <7‘ B@‘ :‘ =>‘ , D@‘ ‘ CB@‘ :‘ =>‘
+ 2=7 ,3 >@‘ >‘ B‘ :‘ =>‘ .@ >7‘ :,5>‘ B@‘ :‘ ‘ = ‘,@‘ =>‘ .7 5>7 @‘ ,@A
Ó 33 >@, @ ,3<@‘ 33 >@, @ >@‘ =>‘ 2 ,3 >@)‘ =>‘ C7 C=> @‘ = ‘ ,@‘ !@ , =‘ ;>7> , =‘ [>B,> ‘
U‘ # ,> ‘ @> ‘ @‘ (,3 =‘ ; > ‘ A, =‘ ; =‘ =< ‘ BB,,B‘ h>C= , =‘ DD , ‘
U‘ h>3= 7, =‘ (3=, ‘ = ‘,@‘ @‘ 3 >A‘ =>‘ D> ‘ ; ‘ , ‘ @ =>7‘ ;<A, =‘ ‘ B@‘ :
Ó [7 ‘ ‘ B@‘ :‘ =>‘ (33 >>@$: >7‘ =>@>‘ : ‘ =>‘ : <7‘ >5 D> ,@ @‘ (=> ‘ (7B
U‘ "<B>‘ ; = ‘ =>‘ 3 @‘ :‘ =>‘ C @ >@‘ =>‘ >C,@ >@‘ :‘ . > >7‘ ‘ =>‘ 9> , >@‘ =>‘ >C,@ >‘ :‘ ;<A>‘
‘ :‘ ; >@‘ ‘ =>‘ > 5>‘ 7, >@‘ :‘; = ‘ ‘ =>‘ . 7 =, @‘ =>‘ >C,@ >@‘ :‘ . <‘ * $ ‘ =>‘ @‘
U‘ ,5>N‘ ‘ =>‘ 2 7, =, @‘ N‘ ‘ =>‘ 9 , @‘ >* c ‘U‘ =>‘ C=>@, @‘ >‘N‘ ‘ =>‘ . =, ,C ‘
ÓC, @‘ >N ‘ =>‘ 2 @@, @‘ >N ‘ =>‘ > 7> @‘ >‘N ‘ =>‘ =>@@ , @‘ N ‘
U‘ , = ‘ N ‘ , <@‘ >‘Ó ‘ . =, > ‘ >N =>‘ >5> , ‘ :‘; = $?
=,@‘ 3 D<>‘@‘: 7‘ @‘7> >@‘ ‘ =>‘ A‘ >@ > ‘ @= ,AA‘ >‘3 C 7>A‘ , =‘ =>‘ 3 ‘
:‘ =>‘ =,7A‘3 < 3, ‘ :‘2 7 = D>‘: 7 >7 ‘ 7 @37, >A‘ , =‘ =,3=‘, ‘ ,D= , ‘ D7>>@$ >7>‘ @‘
> ‘ @‘ =>7>‘ 7>‘7>3B >A‘:,5>‘ B@‘ :‘ ‘N , ‘ =‘3 D<>@‘ 7>‘C 3>A‘ , ‘ ;<A, =‘
A‘ =>‘ ‘ B@‘ :‘ =>Ó (33 >>@)‘ , ‘ =‘ 7>‘7>3B >A‘ ‘ B@‘ :‘ [7 ‘ > , D‘ <7‘
[7 ‘ A‘ >=> , =‘ , = <‘ ‘ ,3>‘ :$ =>7‘ B@‘ @37, >A‘ ‘ [7 $ < ‘ , =‘7>D 7A‘ ‘
=>‘ > ‘ >@ > ‘ =>7>‘ 7>‘@>5>7 ‘A,::>7> 3>@‘, ‘ =>‘ ‘ 3 D<>@‘ A‘ C 7 ,3< 7 ‘, ‘ =>‘
7A>7‘ :‘ =>‘ B@‘ @‘ ‘ >‘ @>75>A‘ ‘ ‘ : c
!!!$‘ ' C ‘ =>@>‘ 3 D<>@ ‘ @ $‘: 7‘ @$ 7> >@‘ ‘ =>‘ > ‘ >@ > ‘ !‘ < A‘ B>‘
7> 7B@$ Z $
! ‘ =>‘ :,7@‘ C 3>‘ , ‘ >> @‘ => 3>‘ ‘ CC> 7‘ = ‘ =>‘ < >7‘ :‘ B@‘ ‘ >‘ 7>3>,5>A‘ @‘
3 ,3 ‘@37,C <7>‘= A‘ ‘ => ‘ >> ‘A> >7 , >A‘ ‘ ‘ < = 7, ‘ < ,5>7@ ‘ 3B >AD>A‘
A‘@< , >A‘ ‘ ‘ 2= ,@ , @)‘ : 7‘ 2 @@, A 7,<@‘A >@‘ ‘@ ‘@+ $ A‘=,@‘ >7‘ :‘A> ,5>7, D‘
=>@>‘@>5>7 ‘3 D<>@‘@>> @‘ ‘@=> ‘ = ‘=>‘= A‘ ‘B >AD>‘ :‘ ‘@<3=‘A> >7 , , $
>3 A ‘ >5>7 => >@@‘ =>7>‘ @‘ ‘5>7 ‘D> >7 ‘ D7>> > ‘ D‘2=7,@ , @‘3K 2>7 , D‘ =>‘
B@‘ :‘ =>‘ > ‘ >@ > ‘ =,3=‘ <D= ‘ ‘ >‘ 7>3>,5>A‘ @‘3 ,3 ‘ 7‘ =>‘ 7< >‘ :‘ : , =$
=>7>‘,@‘ ‘7> 7B >‘A,::>7> 3>‘, ‘$ ‘ :‘ =>@>‘3 D<>@‘)‘ =>‘:,7@‘ ‘= 5>‘ ‘ =>‘ B@‘ :‘
=>‘ > ‘ >@ > ‘ =,3=‘ 7>‘ ‘D> >7 ‘7>3>,5>A‘ ‘<@$‘ A‘,:‘ $; = ?@ :,7@‘>C,@ >‘
‘ >‘ > , >A‘, ‘ =>‘ =,7A‘ A‘ @ ‘C @@, ‘ =>‘ ,@@, ‘ :‘ =>‘ =>7‘ ‘>C,@ >@‘,@‘ ‘ ‘
: < ‘ :‘ =>‘ 7 @37, >7$ >5>7‘, ‘,@‘ > ‘B ‘ A‘ >A‘ = ‘ =>‘@>3 A‘ A‘ =,7A‘
>C,@ >‘ :‘ ; = ‘ >7>‘ ‘< ,5>7@ ‘7>3>,5>A‘, ‘ =>‘ :,7@‘ D>@$ 3>‘ 7>‘: 7‘@=> , D‘ =>‘
= 7 ‘ :‘ =>@>‘ =7>>‘3 D<>@‘, ‘ <D= ‘ ‘ >‘ @>75>A‘ = ‘=>7>‘,@‘ ‘ > , ‘ A>‘ : ‘
B@‘ :‘ =>‘ > ‘ >@ > ‘ @‘3 ,3 ‘ =,3=‘ 7>‘ ‘7>3>,5>A‘ @‘@<3=‘ ‘<@$‘ =>7>‘ 7>‘ ‘
, @>7 >A‘, ‘ ‘ :‘ =>@>‘3 D<>@‘ 7 @‘ 7‘2 > > ‘ 7‘ !D ,<@‘ 7‘ ‘ =>7‘ 2=7,@ , ‘
7, >7@‘ = >5>7N =,3=‘ :: 7A@‘ ‘3 D> $ 7D< > ‘$ = ‘ =>7>‘ >7>‘ ‘ ‘ =>7‘ 2=7,@ , ‘
7, , D@‘ =,3=‘ >7>‘C 3>A‘ ‘ =>‘ 3=<73=>@‘<C ‘ ‘ >5>‘ , =‘ = @>‘, ‘ =>@>‘3 D<>@$
!&$‘ ! ‘ ‘ ,D 7‘ 3,C, ‘ (:,>,‘ C< ,@=>A‘ ‘ 7B‘ :‘2 @@, A 7,<@‘ =,3=‘ = A‘ >> ‘ D‘
,@@, D)‘ A‘ , ‘ =>‘ : , D‘ > 7‘ =>‘ @ >‘ 7B‘ @‘ C< ,@=>A‘ ‘ " A ‘ ‘ ‘ > 7 >A‘
:7,> A‘ (7$ <>‘2= A >7‘ , =‘ =>‘ AA, , ‘ :‘ ‘*<A,3, <@‘ C7>: 3>$! ‘,@‘ > , >A‘ U 2 ‘
U C >4, @‘U 7‘@= 7‘2 > 7,>@‘<C ‘ =>‘ C,@ >@‘ =>‘ 3 @‘ :‘ =>‘ C @ >@‘ A‘ =>‘ >5> ‘
U , $? ‘ >‘ 7>‘C 7 ,3< 7)‘ =>@>‘ >@‘ 7‘3 C >4, @‘ 7>‘<C ‘ =>‘ >C,@ >@‘ :‘ . <‘ , ‘
=>‘: , D‘ 7A>7)‘ =>‘ >C,@ >‘ ‘ =>‘ @‘:,7@‘ A‘@>3 A‘ ‘ =>‘ 2 7, =, @‘ ‘ =>‘ 9 M
, @‘ =>‘ C=>@, @‘ =>‘ . =, ,CC, @ :,7@‘ A‘@>3 A‘ ‘ =>‘ =>@@ , @‘ ‘ =>‘ 2 @@, @‘ =>‘
:,7@‘ A‘@>3 A‘ ‘ , = ‘ ‘ , <@‘ . =, > ‘ =>‘ > 7> @$ A‘ =>‘@>5> ‘3 = ,3‘>C,@ >@‘
, ‘ =,@‘ 7A>7)‘ =>‘:,7@‘ A‘@>3 A‘ :‘ . > >7‘ =>‘ =7>>‘>C,@ >@‘ :‘; = ‘ =>‘>C,@ >@‘ :‘; >@‘ A‘
;<A>)‘ =>‘ 3 @‘ :‘ =>‘ C @ >@‘ A‘ =>‘ >5> , $

Z > ‘, 7 @‘A< @‘ .@ >7,,‘ , 7< ‘ <=< ‘ ,@‘ , 7 @‘ . <,‘ A‘ @‘<,, ‘ A‘2 7, =, @‘A< >‘ A‘ 9 @‘< ‘c A‘
K<, K<>‘ ,A‘>@ ‘.7 5>7 , ‘ C,> , ‘ 33 >@, @ ,3< ‘ 33 >‘ C=>@, @‘< I‘ A‘.=, ,CC> @>@‘< ‘ A‘2 @@> @>@‘< ‘ A‘
O$, @ > ‘2 2< ‘2 ,3 7< ‘.7 C=> @‘,A‘>@ ‘!@ ,+ ‘;>7>‘ ,:> 7 @ @‘< ‘ A‘ =>@@ ,2> @>@‘A< >‘ A‘ , =><‘A< >‘
, ‘ [>3=,> > ‘ # ,> > ‘ @>>‘ @‘ (,3 , > ‘ ; > ‘ A‘ , ‘ < ‘ A‘ .=, >7 > ‘ < ‘ C 3 C@,@‘ ; ,@‘
A, ‘ : ‘ =< ‘ 3<3‘ C= , ‘ DD >< ‘ ! ,A$‘3 C$ / $ C$]1/ $
Zh 3= 7, 7‘ (3=, ‘K<;‘> ‘ D> @‘ ; ‘ , ‘ @ =>7‘ $ 7 =>‘>C,@ >‘ ‘ =>‘ C=>@, @‘,@ , D‘, ‘ =>‘>A, , ‘ :‘
;<A, =‘ @A7@>‘A< @‘ (33 > 7< ‘A< @$. @‘= >3 @>K<< ‘ 2 @@, A 7,<@‘ =,3=‘!0 B>‘<@>‘ :N‘ <‘ !‘ @<CC @>‘, ‘ ‘ >‘
<7‘ >5 D>,@ >‘ K< < 7‘,A‘ >@‘ (= ><@‘ (73<@‘ "<3 @‘ ‘ ‘>7 7‘ :‘ =>‘C7>@@$ + & $‘, $ C$ 1F ‘1F1$
= >: 3 <@ C @ ! 7< ‘>C,@ >‘.> 7,‘ A‘9> >@‘ ;<A::,‘ ++‘ 9 @@, A 7,,‘ > 7,@ 2 C >4, >@‘, ‘ C,@ @‘> ‘ 3 ‘
t ; 3 ,‘ A‘A< A<3, ‘ 7, <@‘ ; = ,@‘ A‘ . 7 = @‘ >C,@ > C @ 7< ‘> ‘ C 3 C@, $ % 7>K, >‘

/$ ' =,3=' , ' , ' ,:>@ ' = ' 2 @@, A 7,<@ 7>3>,5>A' ' =>' B@ :' =>' > ' >@ > ' =,3=' >' A) : 7 a <' =>' : <7 D @C> @ =>7>' 3 $ >' ' K<>@ , $ =>' 7A>7 :' =>' B@ =>7>$ A' , ' =>' 3 D<>@ >: 7>' 7 @37, >A' !' > 5> ' >' @>75>A' ' =>' 7>>$A>7) !' @= ' = >5>7 ' B>' ,3>' :' ' :> ' =>7 =, D@$

E$ 2 @@, A 7,<@ >4C7>@@ ' @37, >@ U =>' 3 @ :' =>' C @ >@ ' "<B>' =>' >5 D> ,@ $

-$ >' @>> @ ' = 5>' = A' ' 3 <@>' , ' 3 @ 5,,,$ -H' = ' ? =>' ' 9 = @ ' A>@3> A>A' <C ' =>' "< <3=' : >7 =>' = A' >> ' C ,[>A' ' . =, ,C$

$ ' 3 @ 4,5$ /H' =>' @>> @ ' = 5>' 7> A' ' 7A' 7 ' , D' , ' <7 3 C,>@) U A' O U =, @ ' => ' 77,>A' A' <D= ' =>7>' 3 >' :7 ' , 3=' 3>7 , ' ;> @$O = @>' >4C7>@@, @ ' 7>' :' <@>' ' >' =>' @<7C7,[>' ' =>' @<AA> ' 3= D>' =,' =>' C> C >' ' " @ 7 $

1 ' ! ' =>' , >' C7>:,4>A' ' =>' :,7@ ' >C,@ >' :' . > >7 ' , ' ,@' @ ,A' W ' >' 7, > ' A' 9 > >@' c 9 > , >@) ' < ' , ' =>' >4C ,3 , ' 2 @@, A 7,<@ @C> B@ :' . > >7?@ 7, , D' ' > ,>5, D' ;> @' , ' . <@ ' 9 , ' A' 2 CC A 3, $

$,D 7 (::>,' =, B@ ' = ' ' <7 < = 7 = A' A=>' => 5> ' , >@@>@' , ' =>' :,: =' 3= C >7 : =>' :,7@ ' >C,@ >' :' ; =) < ' = ' A >@ ' CC> 7 3>7 , ' ' >$!' C 3>' =>' C @@ D>' T > ' A' < A' 7>:>7 ' (7$ > @ >, ?@ @>75 , @' <C ' , $ $ O

F$ 2 @@, A 7,<@ @ @' = ' O ; = ' = A' =,@ 7>5> , ', ' =>',@ >' :' . @' =>7>' =>' = A' >> ,@=>A' ' =>' > C>7 7 # , , $' ' N $

4 ; 8 > ' 4 @

$ % ' ' $ ' & ' ' ( ) *

!$ - ' 8 - U ' " ; ' !!$ 0 ' = ' 8 : ' ! "8 : ' 8 : (' 8)" - #' 0 " ' 4 : ' ,' - ' 0 ; "8 : ' 8 : (' ,' 8 ' - " ' ":' 2 : 8 ' !!!$ @ ' ,' - ' D (' 8 ; : ' 4 "5 (')&' -" ; ' !&$ @ ' ,' - ' 6' ,8 ; : ' 4 "5 (')&' -" ; ' ' @ ' + (' 6 -"4-' 8 ' : ' ":' ' 48 : : ' &!$ 4 ' #8 82

' 2 " ' ! C>7:>3 ' 7B' <C ' (=> ' @ ' 3 >A' >3 <@>' , ' = @' ' 3 >' A ' ' <@' > ,7> ' = @' >> ' > , >A' + 7> A $! ' ,@ <@< ' * , >A' , = $ 2=7 @ @ ?@ 7B@' >3 <@>' , ' @' : 7 >7 ' @37, >A' ' =, N = <D=' ' , ' ,@ D> >7 ' 7 < ,5>7@ ' >A' ' ' >' ' 7B' :' = ' > , > ' $

=>' , >' :' =>' 7B' 3 ' >' >4 3 ' A> >7 , >A') < ' , ' 5 @ 7, > ' : >7 =>' 7>,D @' :' 2 @ , >' A' => A @,<@' =>' :,7@ ' :' =? = ' =>' < = 7 3 C , @' @' = 5, D' D >' , ' > @<7>@' ' + =,3=] =>' , >7>@ @' :' =>' 7<>' C7, 3,C >@' :' 2=7,@ , , ' = A' >> ' CC @>A' A' A,@3 <7 D>A' :7 ' = ' , >' ' =,@' $! ' + >' C 3>' =>' @C> B@' @ , :' => +@C $3>' :' , >$

"<3 @' < <@ >5 D> ,@ 7< ' K<' A > 7, ' # , ,' 33>' >@ ,' 5>7, >' > @37,C@, ' 3 <@ K< K<>' C @ 7<7 ' :,A> ,' 7' 5 , >' 3 C >4<@ >@ $ .7 >:$, ' 3 $ C$ +

O $ $ $ ' > ' 7A 7>' > ,@ , 3> @<@ ' C , [7,' @>' C7 , <@ C @ < ' 5, $ S< $,3 ' C,7, <@ 3 <@ @<C7 ' >< <3=< ' 3>3,A, ' > ' . =, ,CC<@ @< , ' 7 @ , >' A,@C 7<, $! ' 3 $ 5,,'" - 0 ' $ + 2 < K<>' , ,' 3 7 7> <7 ' > ' A 3>7> ' @<C>75> >7< ' K<,A ' ' , 3=, $! ' 3 $ 4,5$ /0$

. > 7,'$ C @ ,' A' 9 > >@$

+ 3 ,@@, >'7>D< >' , @ , < ' 3A 3> > 7 @' > ' . > 7<@ C @M <@ ;>@<' 2=7,@ ,' @37, ,' @> , <@ > 7 >,@' K<,' , C,: ' C>7@>' 3< , >' ;<A > 7<, ' A,@C>7@,' :<>7 ' > ' A5> >' : 3 ,' C>7 . ' < ' C>7 9 , ' C>7 2 CC A 3, ' ' @, ' > ' , = ' , ' O>A' > ' , ' 2=7,@ ' ;>@<' 3 77>3 ' > >' 37>A,A>7 $ ' ! ' / . > $ 3 C$,$, $ ' . $ E1 / $ $

O 2<,' 7>,' >@ ,:,3 <7 , ' >77 ' 7, ' @ >7, ' K< ' @ D<,@' > ' C,7, <@' K< >' , ' C @@, >' # , ' >D< <7 , C > *' , ' 3 A ' < > + . >7' > ' %, ,<@' > ' C,7, <@ 3 <@$ ' =,' 7>@ < <@ >@ ' #><@$! ' ; = ' 3 C$ 5$ +

V ,A$ > @ > $ $ $ 97$ $,,$ C$ $

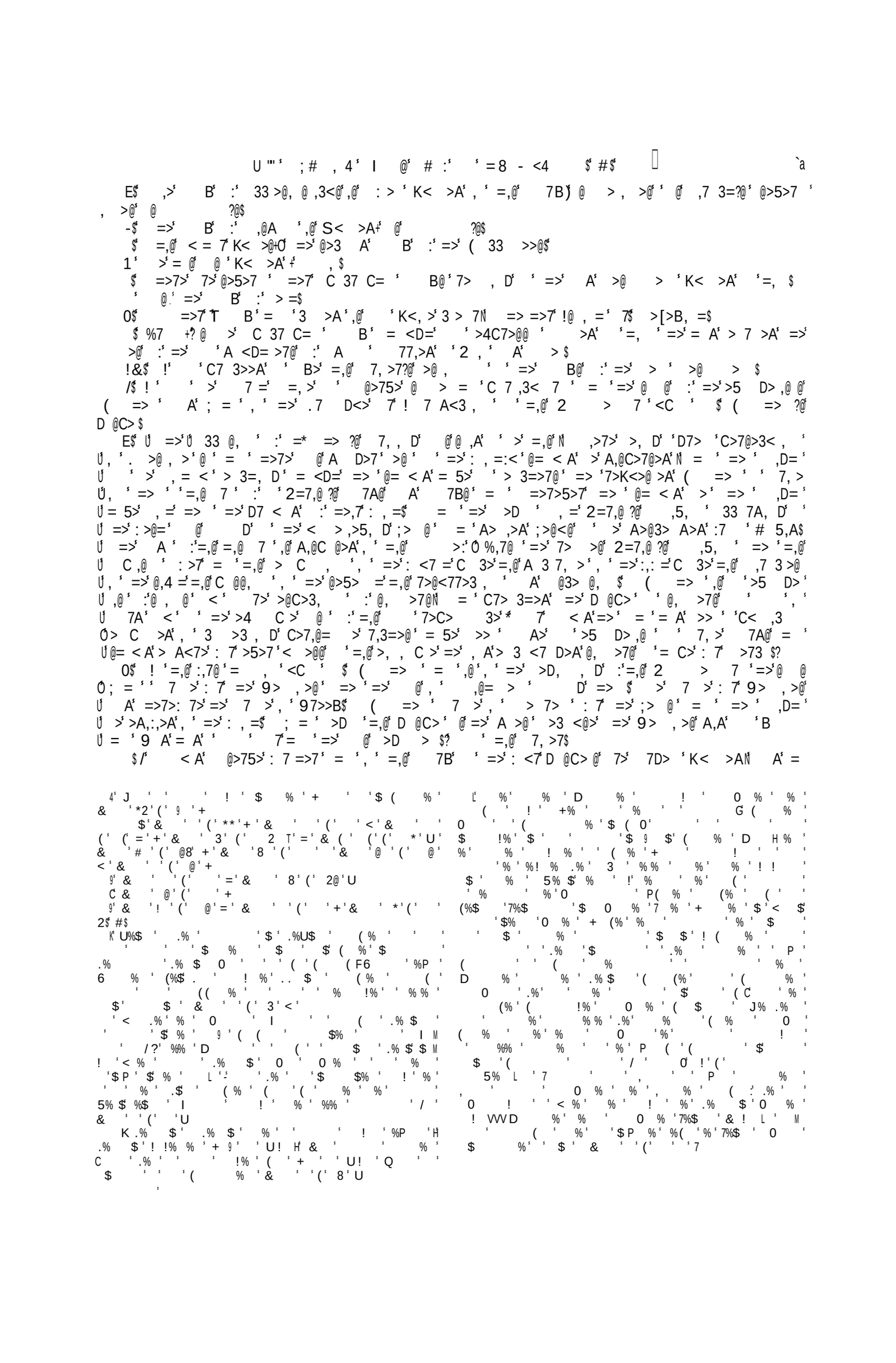
R 2 < ' >@@>' , ' , @<#' . =7 ' '# , , ' . 7, 3,C>' C7 C >7' 5>7 < ,' # , ' , ' >4, ,< ' :> ,3, >,7 A>@ , <@' # , ,3 ' A,>' 5 3>' D A+3 , <@*' ' ! ' C 3$,$ $

' >>' 5 $,,$ C$ ED$

+ C<@ ! C>7:>3 < ' , ' (, > $ $,,,' , ' 5$ >@ $ >A, $ (7> $ $ 5,$ >A, $ > >A,3 , $

V &,A$ 7 $$ $ C$ $

] ,3' , >' :: ,3 @ 7>@ 7, 7<: ,' A>C 7 ' K< >' @< ' 2 ' @ , ' C>7 ,3 > ' :,A>7 ' A>C< @ >' @< ' => A @ a < >, ' (D ' C7 @,7 >' @< ' , ' < ' ' , ' > C 7>' + <@K<>' < 3 ? @,5>' <@K<>' A' <3 7,@ > C<@ C>@@< ' @> C>7 7, $ O >, A>3 , >' :>7>' C>7 < ' , 7< $ (: <3$ #, 7, $ A' C$! C$ $ 5$ C$ $, ' CC$ 2=7 @$ CC$$ $ 5,$ i' ' 5>7>' 7A ' @>A' K< < ' A' @ 7 ' , 3 @ , ' 7A 7>' 5,A> <7$$ ' @,' 3 @ A>7> <@' >4' K< ' 2=7,@ <@ , ' 33> < ' @3> A, ' > ' K< < ' 5,5> '= , >@ >' A, <5,< N > ' C7 C>' < ' @C , ,< ' >@ ' K< ' > C 7>' >7 ' < , <@3<Y*<@, ' K<>$> 7< $ 7 $ E' C$ E/0$ $



K"4 : : : " $ # $ 1

O @ C7 C>7 3,73< @ 3>$. @@, O =>@C> B@ 7> A5 D> <@: : = B = , $A>@>75>AN >5>7 => >@@ =>D,5>@ , < = 7, $

1$ >, , >@ = ?, @ >@>37> 7 C 37 C= B@, 5 @ 7, > = 2=7,@ C ,[>A ; = : >7=>= A >> C ,[>A :=, =,3= >@ C ,[>A :=, =,3= >@<CC @> = A >> 3 >3 >A:7 7A@ :(=$,,,$ / /1$

&!$!'@= >D> 7 7>:>7 @ >@> >3 C @@ D>@

!$ $ =>< = 7 > >4C , @ <7 " 7A?@C7 =, , , V A @ >: 7> > >@>> :=> $^ (=$ 5,$ /$$$$ $

$ > 7D> 3 @,A>7@ = ,@, C ,>A, 0" 5, D 9 A , = =>=> 7 $+

p-$ >@=> @ = :O,@ > >< A>7@ A =>U >AA, D D 7 > $?

$ >4 , >@O =>7> @ @ @@,D >A @ > = ;>@<@ 2=7,@ ,@ 3 >A =>: 9 A$

1$ =>> 3 A > @ 7>= A@ > 7>=> 7@>A =, $

$ >@<CC @> = = T. < @ > >: 7 = =>@ ,A =>=,D=C7,>@ $ 3 @44,,,$ -0

$ >]7> A /' =>@@$ 5$ E/ @ >A $

O$ >K< >@U ; @>C=<C$

$ = ,7 3< <@C >7@= A3> @>A , =>< = 7?@ , > >@>> , C @@ D> 7 @M 37, >A? 5>N =>7>=>@C> B@ :@ <A , D =>@37,C <7>@ @ =>: B , D =,3= ,@ => 7<>3=<73=$

/G$ =,@ 7, >7 = @ >4C7>@@, @U3 3>7 , D =>><3= 7,@ =,3= 3 > >7>3 3, >A , => A>7 C C,@= A 3 7, > : 7 @< @ , , $

!!$ => = 7> 3<7, <@ 3 @< T $, = = @ 7 ,3 > <C =,@ < = 7 @ 3 > 7$

4 ; 8 > 4

&!2 ' ' !

) , <,: @7@ :7,3 ,@= C = : <7,@=>A < =>,AA >] :=>@,4 =3> M <7 A 7 > 2=7 ,3 > > A, D? =>> > 7 1 @ @J U => (>@@ @ 3 @< ` = U,@, =>> 7 :2=7,@ 1G a 2 @ , C > 7A>7 :=>> C>7 7 @ @,<@ =>= = OD @C> @ >, D 7, > , >5 D> ,@ @ 7>3> @<7>A A 3 77>3 >A$?

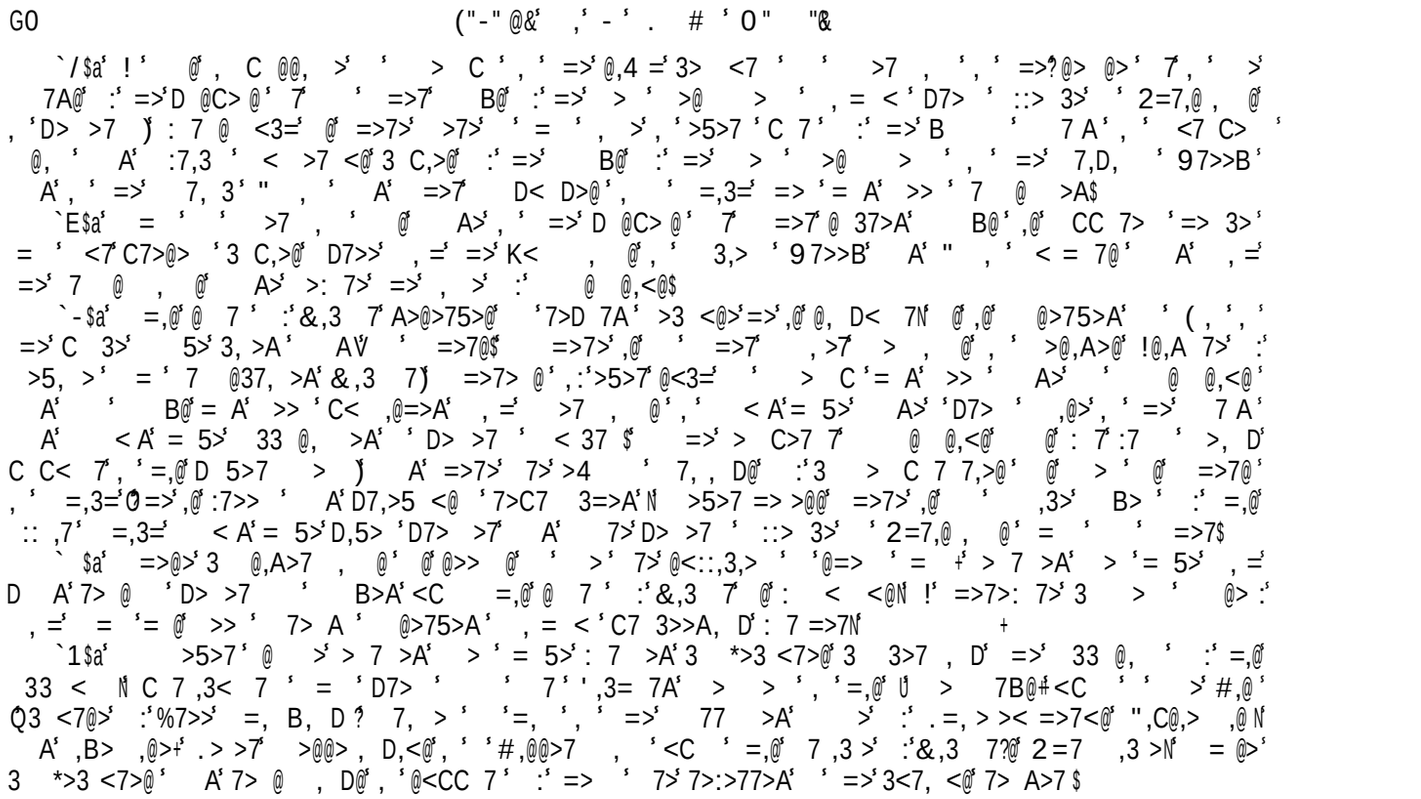
E$ >= 5>=> 3> 7D<>A = =>3 C,>@ :=> > >@ > :=>D @C> @ > @ = 5> 3 > A <@ @ => >7> 7,D, 7, > => = 5, D >> >7>A, =>, > :=>$ > C>7 7 @ @,<@ = >D =,@ 7>,D , =>> 7 H/ A A,>A?, 1/0$

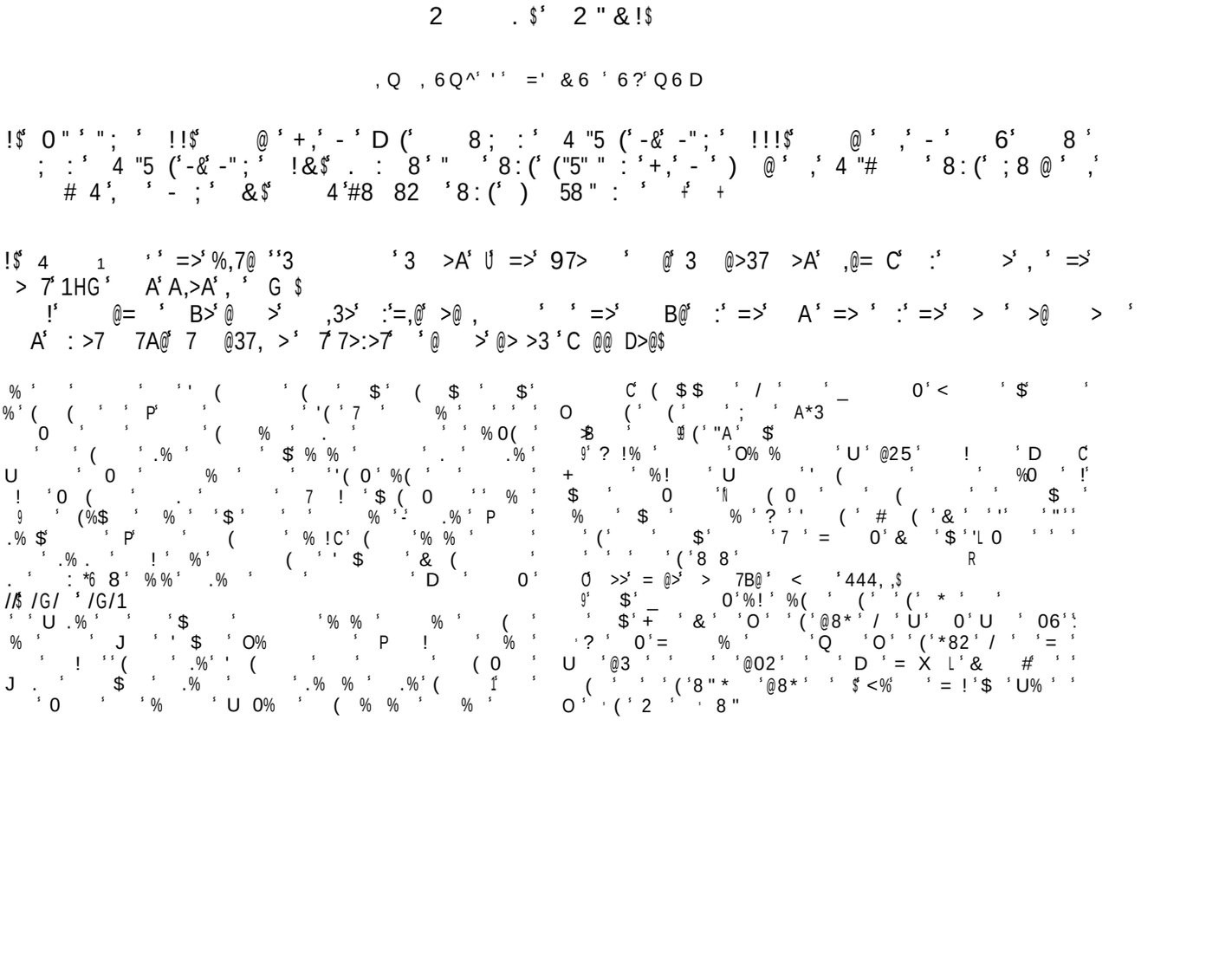
-$ @= , >A, > 7 @37, > + C 7 :#7$ (, ?@ @>75 , 4,@ <C =,@ @ , 3 , , D 7,>: >:< 3 :< , :, $ A! AA :> : , D @>75 , @$

& $

<% % $ 7 9 0 $! ! (I ($ 9 $.% (+ % $ # % (% % - .% 0 5 @ ! (I 7 - .% !% ! (% 7 .% $! (I ; % ("* + < .%C % 7 (%& 8 (8 & 8 (U = & *(U = F & 82(U = & (2@+ < ' .(% $P $ U $% % ($ C J ! .% ($ % & 2(" "8 + < (% - 6 (! .% $! % + (" (0O O (& 88 (3" 5% (; .% % 7%$.% 7 % (% 0 % $ 0 % % .% (%! % ($] (D .% 7 (% 0 & 83 (2 U (" " C 0 $P ; % 0 $.% O +E

Z & + $ + $% J O +! P (4 & ($!# + # 33 & W$ (@ 3 \ $ 0 U @"" D & + + - + (%! U ' (0 .% !$ C (($% % G % % 0 $ 0% U @ 3 * ; $ $ % % % % % $ 0 % % .% $ (%! % ($] % $.% .% $ % (% 0 $ $! %$ (.% (% % % 0 $.% O + F





GO ("-" @&' ,' - ' . # ' 0" "&

`/$a' !' @' , C @@, >' ' > C ' , ' =>' @,4 =' 3> <7 ' ' >7 , ' , ' =>?@> @>' 7' , ' >'
7A@' :' =>' D @C> @' 7' ' =>7' B@' :' =>' > ' >@ > ' , = < ' D7> ' ::> 3>' ' 2=7,@ , @'
, ' D> >7)' : 7 @ <3=' @' =>7>' >7>' ' = ' , >' , ' >5>7 ' C 7 ' :' =>' B ' 7 A ' , ' <7 C> '
@, ' A' :7,3 ' < >7 <@' 3 C,>@' :' =>' B@' :' =>' > ' >@ > ' , ' =>' 7,D, ' 97>>B '
A' , ' =>' 7, 3 ' " , ' A' =>7' D< D>@ ' , ' =,3=' => ' = A' >> ' 7 @ >A$
`E$a' = ' ' >7 , ' @' A>' , ' =>' D @C> @ ' 7' =>7' @ 37>A' B@ ' ,@' CC 7> ' => 3>'
= ' <7' C7>@> ' 3 C,>@' D7>>' , =' =>' K< , @' , ' 3,> ' 97>>B' A' " , ' < = 7@ ' A' , ='
=>' 7 @ , @' A>' >: 7>' =>' , >' :' @ @,<@$
`-$a' =,@' @ 7 ' :' &,3 7' A>@>75>@' ' 7>D 7A ' >3 <@>' =>' ,@' @, D< 7N' @' ,@' @>75>A' ' (, ' , '
=>' C 3>' 5>' 3, >A ' AV' ' =>7@$' =>7>' ,@' ' =>7' , >7' > , @' , ' >@,A>@' !@,A 7>' :'
>5, >' = ' 7 @37, >A' &,3 7)' =>7> @ ' , :' >5>7' @<3=' ' > C ' = A' >> ' A>' ' @ @,<@ '
A' ' B@' = A' >> ' C< ,@=>A' , =' >7 , @ ' , ' < A' = 5>' A>' ' D7> ' ,@>' , ' =>' 7 A '
A' < A' = 5>' 33 @, >A' ' D> >7 ' < 37 $' =>' > C>7 7' @ @,<@' @' : 7' :7 ' >, D'
C C< 7' , ' =,@' D 5>7 >)' A' =>7>' 7>' >4 ' 7, , D@' :' 3 > C 7 7,>@ ' @' > ' @' =>7@ '
, ' =,3=' O=>' ,@' :7>> ' A' D7,>5 <@ ' 7>C7 3=>A' N' >5>7 => >@@' =>7>' ,@' ' ,3>' B> ' :' =,@'
:: ,7' =,3=' < A' = 5>' D,5> ' D7> >7' A' 7>' D> >7 ' ::> 3>' ' 2=7,@ , @ ' = ' ' =>7$
` $a' =>@>' 3 @,A>7 , @ ' @' @>> @' ' >' 7>' @<::,3,> ' ' @=> ' = +' > 7 >A' > ' = 5>' , ='
D A' 7> @ ' D> >7 ' B>A' <C =,@' @ 7 ' :' &,3 7' @' : < <@N' !' =>7>: 7>' 3 > ' @> :'
, =' = ' = @' >> ' 7> A ' @>75>A ' , = < ' C7 3>>A, D' : 7 =>7N' +
`1$a' >5>7 ' @ >' > 7 >A' > ' = 5>' : 7 >A' 3 *>3 <7>@' 3 3>7 , D' =>' 33 @, ' :' =,@'
33 < N' C 7 ,3< 7 ' = ' D7> ' ' 7 ' ' ,3= 7A' > > ' , ' =,@' U' > 7B@+' <C ' ' >' #,@ '
Q3 <7@>' :' %7>>' =, B, D ? 7, > ' ' =, ' , ' =>' 77 >A' >' :' . =, > >< =>7<@' ",C@,> ,@ N'
A' ,B> ,@>+' . > >7' >@@> , D,<@' , ' ' #,@@>7 , ' <C ' =,@' 7 ,3 >' :' &,3 7?@' 2=7 ,3 >N' = @>'
3 *>3 <7>@ ' A' 7> @ , D@' , ' @<CC 7 ' :' => ' 7>' 7>:>77>A' ' =>' 3<7, <@' 7> A>7 $

2 . $' 2 " & !$

, Q , 6 Q^' ' ' =' & 6 ' 6 ?' Q 6 D

!$' 0 " ' " ; ' !!$' @ ' + ,' - ' D (' 8 ; : ' 4 "5 (' -&' -" ; ' !!!$' @ ' ,' - ' 6' 8 '
; : ' 4 "5 (' -&' -" ; ' !&$' . : 8 ' " ' 8 : (' ("5" " : ' + ,' - ') @ ' ,' 4 "# ' 8 : (' ; 8 @ ' ,'
4 ', ' - ; ' &$' 4 '#8 82 ' 8 : (') 58 " : ' +' +

!$' 4 1 ' ' =>' %,7@ ' '3 ' 3 >A' U' =>' 97> ' @' 3 @>37 >A' ,@= C' :' >' , ' =>'
> 7' 1HG ' A' A,>A' , ' G $
!' @= ' B>' @ >' ,3>' :' =,@' >@ , ' ' =>' B@' :' =>' A ' => ' :' =>' > ' >@ > '
A' : >7 7A@' 7 @37, >' 7' 7>:>7' ' @ >' @> >3 ' C @@ D>@$

% ' ' ' ' ' (' (' $' ($ ' $' C' ($ $ ' / ' ' _ 0' < ' $' '
% ' ((' ' P' ' ' ' (' 7 ' % ' ' ' ' O (' (' ' ; ' A*3
0 ' ' ' (% ' . ' ' ' % 0(' >B ' 9 (' "A ' $'
' ' (' .% ' ' $' % % ' ' . ' .% ' 9' ? !% ' ' O% % ' U ' @25 ' ! ' D C'
U ' 0 ' % ' ' ' ' (0 ' %(' ' ' + ' %! ' U ' ' (' ' %0 ' !'
! ' 0 (' . ' ' 7 ! ' $ (0 ' ' % ' $ ' 0 ' N (0 ' ' (' ' $ '
9 ' (%$ ' % ' ' $ ' ' ' % ' - .% ' P ' % ' $ ' % ' ? ' ' (' # (' & ' ' ' ' " ' '
.% $' ' P' ' (' % !C ' (' % % ' ' ' (' ' $' ' 7 ' = 0' & ' $ ' L 0 ' ' '
' .% . ' ! ' % ' (' ' $ ' & (' ' ' ' ' (' 8 8 ' R
. ' : *6 8 ' % % ' .% ' ' ' D ' 0 ' O' >>' = @>' > 7B@ ' < ' 444, ,$
//$ /G/ ' /G/1 9' $' _ 0 ' %! ' %(' (' ' (' * ' '
' ' U .% ' ' ' $ ' ' % % ' % ' (' ' $' + ' & ' ' O ' ' (' @8* ' / ' U ' 0 ' U ' 06 ' :
% ' ' J ' ' $ ' O% ' P ! ' % ' ' ? ' 0 ' = % ' ' Q ' O ' ' (' *82 ' / ' ' = '
' ! ' ' (' .% ' ' (' ' ' (0 ' U ' @3 ' ' ' ' @02 ' ' ' D ' = X L ' & # ' '
J . ' $ ' .% ' ' .% % ' .% ' (1' ' (' ' ' (' 8 " * ' @8* ' ' $' <% ' ' = ! ' $ ' U% ' '
' 0 ' ' % ' U 0% ' (% % ' % ' O ' ' (' 2 ' ' 8 "

!!$‘ /$ 97>D +‘ = @‘ : > ‘ K< >A‘ ‘ =>‘ B@‘ :‘ =>‘ A‘ >@ > ‘ >43>C ‘ < =‘ A‘ @ ,>7$

E$‘ >‘ = @‘ @>5>7 ‘ , >@‘ K< >A‘? =>‘ B‘ :‘ 2 ,3 >@‘ @‘ ?@$‘ A‘ =>7>‘,@‘ >4 ‘ ‘ 2 > 7 ‘<C ‘ = ‘ B‘ =,3=‘ = @‘ >> ‘ @37, >A‘ ‘=, ‘) =>‘D> <, > >@@‘ :‘ =,3=‘,@‘A> ,>A‘ ‘ U@ >‘ A‘ @@>7 >A‘ i‘ =>7@$‘ !‘ @= ‘ ‘K< >‘ ‘ =, D‘ < ‘ :‘, $

-$‘ 97>D 7 ‘= @‘ ‘K< >A‘ ‘ :‘ =>‘ C 37 C= ‘ B@‘ :‘ =>‘ A‘ >@ > ‘ ‘, ‘ =>‘ ;> ,@=‘ 3 ‘ >43>C ‘ =>‘ B@‘ :‘ , ‘ ,@A ‘ 33 >@, @ ,3<@‘ A‘ =>‘ :,7@‘ B‘ :‘ =>‘ (33 >>@$

$‘ A‘ =>@>‘ 7>‘ @ ‘@ ‘K< >A‘ @‘ ‘@=> ‘ = ‘ => ‘ >7>‘ ‘3 ,3 ‘ 7‘ :‘ < = 7, ‘ A A>3,@,5>‘ " :‘ =>‘ =, D@‘ :‘7> ,D, $

1$‘ => ‘=>‘K< >@‘ ‘ >4 @‘ :‘ , ‘, ‘,@‘ ‘ @+‘ =>‘ 7A@‘ :‘@ >‘ ,@>‘ 7‘D A‘ $ ‘ A‘>4 3 ‘, ‘ =>‘ @ >‘ >7‘ => ‘=>‘K< >@+‘ =>‘ B‘ :‘ ,@A $$

F$‘ ! ‘ ,B>‘ >7‘ 33 >@, @ ,3<@‘ U @‘ , ‘,@‘@ ,A‘, ‘ =>‘>33 >@, @ ,3 ‘ B‘ :‘ 7‘ U @‘T ‘3>7 ,) O ,@>‘ ‘@ @ :‘ =,3=‘ !‘ = 5>‘ C< ‘@>5>7 ‘, @ 3>@‘, ‘ =>‘ 7D, N =>7>‘? ‘, ‘,@‘ @ >M , >@‘ >4C7>@@ ‘A,@ , D<,@=>A‘ :7 ‘C7 C=> ,3 ‘ 7, , D@$

0$‘ ! ‘ ‘97>D 7 ?@‘ , 3@‘ =>7>‘,@‘ 5>7 ‘ , >‘ ,3>‘ B> ‘ :‘ =>‘ B@‘ :‘ =>‘ (33 >>@, ‘ =>‘ >‘C 3>‘ A,>7>‘ =>‘ :,7@/ :‘ = @>‘ B@‘,@‘ > , >A ‘ ,>‡K< >@ , ‘ ‘ @‘ ‘ <@>:<‘ B$‘ A‘ B>@‘ ‘B, A‘ :‘ C D ‘: 7‘K< , D‘ ‘ B‘ =,3=‘ @‘=>‘@ @‘ @‘ ‘3 ,3 $

H$‘ !‘@ ,A‘*<@‘ ‘ = ‘ =>‘ C 37 C= ‘ B@‘ 7>‘K< >A‘ @‘ =>‘ 7, , D@‘ :‘ ,@>‘ > ‘ ‘ ‘ ! ‘ 5 < A‘ ‘ AA‘ = ‘ B@‘ :‘ =>‘ ; > ,@=‘ 3 ‘ 7>‘K< >A‘ @‘ 7, > ‘ ‘C7 C=> @‘H @ ‘UA=>‘K< >@‘ N=>‘ . @ @‘5>7 ‘ :7>K<> ‘O A‘, ‘ ,B>‘ >7‘ U# ,> ‘ ^‘ @> ‘] @ BB<B ‘ ‘!@ , =‘ [>B,> ‘ A‘ =>7‘3 ,3 ‘ B@‘ :‘ =>‘ 2a A‘ >@ > ‘ ‘ = <D=‘ ‘ , >‘ >: 7>‘ 7‘@ ‘ : >7‘ N=>‘ B@‘ :‘ ,@A ‘ A‘ 33 >@, @ ,3<@‘ 7>‘K< >A‘ @‘ 7, > ‘ ‘ ,@>‘ > ‘ $$

/G$‘ = ‘ /‘= 5>‘ @ ,A‘ =>7>‘ ,@‘ D7>> >‘ ‘ =>‘ @> , > @‘ A‘ @>75 , @‘Z :‘ ; >@‘ @ D>‘<C ‘ =>‘ @ >‘C ,)‘ A‘, ‘ ‘ ‘ >‘ ,@@‘: 7‘ ‘ > ,5>‘ 7> A>7‘ ‘ 3 C 7>‘ 97>D 7 ?@‘K< , @‘ :‘ =>‘ C 37 C= ‘ B@‘ :‘ =>‘ A‘ >@ > ‘ , =‘ = @>‘ :‘ 7 @>‘‘ ,@= C‘ :‘ (, ‘ :‘ >7 ‘? B> ‘ ,3>‘ :‘*‘ = ‘@=> @‘ 7>‘7>D 7A‘ ‘ =>@>‘ C 37 C= ‘ B@‘ = ‘ =,@‘ ,@= C‘ :‘ >$

//$‘ ! ‘ ‘ 7A‘97>D 7 ?@‘3 ‘ :‘ =>‘ A‘ >@ > ‘ CC> 7@‘ ‘ >‘ =>‘@ >‘ ,=‘ = ‘ :‘ =>‘;> @N‘ A‘C>7= C@ =,@‘ ‘ >‘3 :,7 >A‘ ‘ =>‘D> >7 ‘A,5,@, @‘ :‘ =>‘ 3@‘ :‘@37,C <7T) ‘ >‘ @>75>A‘=>7> : >7$

!!!$‘ !‘C7 3>>A‘ ‘97>D 7 ?@‘>@ , ‘ ‘ =>‘ > ‘ >@ >)$

‘ $‘ P(‘ ‘ ! ‘7 !‘ ‘P P‘ ‘ *2‘ (‘2*8‘ = ‘O ‘ ‘ ‘ $ ‘ ‘@* ‘ (‘8 @‘ < ‘ ‘P ‘ ‘ 8) ‘ (‘323‘ + ‘ ! ‘ ‘ 4

B <% ‘ ‘! ‘ (‘ 8 ‘D ‘= X ‘ (‘@8 ‘? ‘ 0‘ = % ‘ ‘= ‘O‘ ‘ (‘ *A@‘ g‘ $‘= $ ‘U$ ‘ ‘+ ‘ P(‘O‘ ‘ ‘ ; (‘XWX‘ B * ‘ %‘ (‘ .% $ ‘ (‘$‘ ‘7 % ‘ $ ‘ O ! ‘P ‘ 2 ‘ ‘ 7‘ ‘ ‘ I ‘ ‘‘ ‘& ‘O ‘O ‘ ‘ 2* ‘U‘ +% ‘ .% $ ‘ (‘$ ‘ ! ‘ ‘ @‘ 2 S‘ ‘ 0‘ ‘ ‘& ‘ *3‘ O‘ g‘ (‘ 282‘ + K + ; ‘ ‘ (‘ .% $ ‘ % % ‘$ %‘ ‘ 5% $‘ !‘ ‘ $ ‘ ! ‘ ‘ $ ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ L O ! ‘ ‘ @ S‘ ‘ ‘7 ! ‘ ‘P ‘ ‘ (V *82‘

P ‘ A>‘C>7K<> A ‘@ C,> > ‘A,3, <7‘) ‘ > >3 <@‘> , ‘ 5> >7 , ,@>@ $?$$$‘c C$,5$ S‘ 4C @‘, $7 ! ‘ $ 0‘ +‘ A ` ‘ gU‘ >

‘ 5% ! ‘ ! ‘ (‘ % ‘ ! % ‘ $ % ‘ ‘ 7 T! ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ + K + ‘ % ‘ % ‘ (‘ % ‘ ! % ‘$ % ‘&% ‘ % 6 < % (‘ ((‘ ‘ (!%‘ % (‘ ‘ 4 ‘ % ‘ % ‘ ‘ % ‘ % ‘(L I ‘PPP ‘ 8 S‘ ‘ ‘7 ! ‘ ‘*8‘ ‘ @‘ (‘A3@‘ = ‘ + ‘ ; $‘ ‘ (‘.% $ ‘ (‘$ % ‘ ‘! ‘ ‘ 4 a‘ 8‘ (‘44 ‘ < K +% ‘ (‘.% $ ‘ (‘$ % ‘ 4 J ‘ 4 $ ‘ (‘ ‘ .% $‘ $ ‘ ! ‘ L ‘ #‘ 8 S‘ ‘ ! ‘ @‘ ‘@‘ (‘A32‘ = 49 $‘ C

4 < ‘ .%b‘ ‘ ‘ $ ‘ 0 % ‘ ‘ P‘ ! ‘ ‘ B ‘ $ ‘ ‘ @* ‘ (‘ 8 @‘ < ‘ ‘P ‘ ‘ 8) ‘ (‘323‘ + ‘ ! ‘ ‘ 4

B <% ‘ ‘! ‘ (‘ 8 ‘D ‘= X ‘ (‘@8 ‘? ‘ 0‘ = % ‘ ‘= ‘O‘ ‘ (‘ *A@‘ g‘ $‘= $ ‘U$ ‘ ‘+ ‘ P(‘O‘ ‘ ‘ ; (‘XWX‘ B * ‘ %‘ (‘ .% $ ‘ (‘$‘ ‘7 % ‘ $ ‘ O ! ‘P ‘ 2 ‘ ‘ 7‘ ‘ ‘ I ‘ ‘‘ ‘& ‘O ‘O ‘ ‘ 2* ‘U‘ +% ‘ .% $ ‘ (‘$ ‘ ! ‘ ‘ @‘ 2 S‘ ‘ 0‘ ‘ ‘& ‘ *3‘ O‘ g‘ (‘ 282‘ + K + ; ‘ ‘ (‘ .% $ ‘ % % ‘$ %‘ ‘ 5% $‘ !‘ ‘ $ ‘ ! ‘ ‘ $ ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ L O ! ‘ ‘ @ S‘ ‘ ‘7 ! ‘ ‘P ‘ ‘ (V *82‘

P ‘ A>‘C>7K<> A ‘@ C,> > ‘A,3, <7‘) ‘ > >3 <@‘> , ‘ 5> >7 , ,@>@ $?$$$‘c C$,5$ S‘ 4C @‘, $7 ! ‘ $ 0‘ +‘ A ` ‘ gU‘ >

‘ 5% ! ‘ ! ‘ (‘ % ‘ ! % ‘ $ % ‘ ‘ 7 T! ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ + K + ‘ % ‘ % ‘ (‘ % ‘ ! % ‘$ % ‘&% ‘ % 6 < % (‘ ((‘ ‘ (!%‘ % (‘ ‘ 4 ‘ % ‘ % ‘ ‘ % ‘ % ‘(L I ‘PPP ‘ 8 S‘ ‘ ‘7 ! ‘ ‘*8‘ ‘ @‘ (‘A3@‘ = ‘ + ‘ ; $‘ ‘ (‘.% $ ‘ (‘$ % ‘ ‘! ‘ ‘ 4 a‘ 8‘ (‘44 ‘ < K +% ‘ (‘.% $ ‘ (‘$ % ‘ 4 J ‘ 4 $ ‘ (‘ ‘ .% $‘ $ ‘ ! ‘ L ‘ #‘ 8 S‘ ‘ ! ‘ @‘ ‘@‘ (‘A32‘ = 49 $‘ C

4 < ‘ .%b‘ ‘ ‘ $ ‘ 0 % ‘ ‘ P‘ ! ‘ ‘ B ‘ $ ‘ ‘ @* ‘ (‘ 8 @‘ < ‘ ‘P ‘ ‘ 8) ‘ (‘323‘ + ‘ ! ‘ ‘ 4

B <% ‘ ‘! ‘ (‘ 8 ‘D ‘= X ‘ (‘@8 ‘? ‘ 0‘ = % ‘ ‘= ‘O‘ ‘ (‘ *A@‘ g‘ $‘= $ ‘U$ ‘ ‘+ ‘ P(‘O‘ ‘ ‘ ; (‘XWX‘ B * ‘ %‘ (‘ .% $ ‘ (‘$‘ ‘7 % ‘ $ ‘ O ! ‘P ‘ 2 ‘ ‘ 7‘ ‘ ‘ I ‘ ‘‘ ‘& ‘O ‘O ‘ ‘ 2* ‘U‘ +% ‘ .% $ ‘ (‘$ ‘ ! ‘ ‘ @‘ 2 S‘ ‘ 0‘ ‘ ‘& ‘ *3‘ O‘ g‘ (‘ 282‘ + K + ; ‘ ‘ (‘ .% $ ‘ % % ‘$ %‘ ‘ 5% $‘ !‘ ‘ $ ‘ ! ‘ ‘ $ ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ L O ! ‘ ‘ @ S‘ ‘ ‘7 ! ‘ ‘P ‘ ‘ (V *82‘

P ‘ A>‘C>7K<> A ‘@ C,> > ‘A,3, <7‘) ‘ > >3 <@‘> , ‘ 5> >7 , ,@>@ $?$$$‘c C$,5$ S‘ 4C @‘, $7 ! ‘ $ 0‘ +‘ A ` ‘ gU‘ >

‘ 5% ! ‘ ! ‘ (‘ % ‘ ! % ‘ $ % ‘ ‘ 7 T! ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ + K + ‘ % ‘ % ‘ (‘ % ‘ ! % ‘$ % ‘&% ‘ % 6 < % (‘ ((‘ ‘ (!%‘ % (‘ ‘ 4 ‘ % ‘ % ‘ ‘ % ‘ % ‘(L I ‘PPP ‘ 8 S‘ ‘ ‘7 ! ‘ ‘*8‘ ‘ @‘ (‘A3@‘ = ‘ + ‘ ; $‘ ‘ (‘.% $ ‘ (‘$ % ‘ ‘! ‘ ‘ 4 a‘ 8‘ (‘44 ‘ < K +% ‘ (‘.% $ ‘ (‘$ % ‘ 4 J ‘ 4 $ ‘ (‘ ‘ .% $‘ $ ‘ ! ‘ L ‘ #‘ 8 S‘ ‘ ! ‘ @‘ ‘@‘ (‘A32‘ = 49 $‘ C

G‘ D (")"V &‘ ,‘ " ‘ . # ‘ 0 &

/$! ‘ =>‘ :,7@‘ C 3>‘ , ‘ ,@‘ ‘ >‘ @>75>A‘ = ?‘ =>‘ 7>3>,5>A‘ : <7‘ D @C> @‘ A‘ @>7 @‘ =>,7‘ 3 C > >‘ = 7 ‘ℕ =>7>‘ =>‘ 3 @‘ =>‘ D @C> @‘ :‘ =>‘ @>5>7 ‘ >5 D> ,@ @‘ =>,7‘ B@N
E$‘ >‘ @ @‘ = ‘0 <7‘ " 7A‘ : >7‘ =>‘ = A‘ A,>A‘ A‘ @‘ 7,@> ‘ D , ‘ A‘ @3> A>A‘ ‘=> 5>:,‘ 7 >‘ =>‘ > ‘ >@ > ‘ ‘ =>‘ C @ >@$
-$‘ 33 7A, D‘ ‘ 97>D 7 ‘ @‘ > ‘ @‘ ‘ =>7@‘ =>‘ : <7‘ ,5, D‘ 37> <7>@‘ , ‘ [>B$‘ ,$‘ 1$$$ /G$‘ 7>C7>@> ‘?‘ =>‘ : <7‘ >5 D> ,@ @‘ A‘ =>,7‘ 3 C > >‘ = 7 $‘ (=> ‘ ‡=>‘ @<CC @>@‘ ‘ >‘ 7>C7>@> >A‘ ‘ =>‘ : 3>‘ :‘ ‘ ‘* (7B‘ ‘ = ‘ :‘ ‘ , ℕ "<B>‘ ‘ = ‘ :‘ ‘3 :ℕ A‘ ; = ‘ ‘ = ‘ :‘ ‘> D >$
$‘ ! ‘,@‘ >>A >@@‘ ‘7>:>7‘ ‘K< , @‘ :‘ =>‘ 3 @‘ :‘ =>‘ C @ >@*‘ 7‘ $‘ . < .@‘ >C,@ >@‘ =,3=‘ 7>‘ , < >7 >‘) !‘ ‘*<@‘ @>75>‘ = ‘ =>‘ ‘ >C,@ >‘ ‘ =>‘ > 7> @‘ ,@‘ :7>K<> ‘K< >A‘ @‘ =>‘ C @ >‘ . < ?@‘ , = < ‘ =>@, , $
1‘ A‘ , =‘ 7>D 7A‘ ‘ =>‘ 3 = ,3‘ >C,@ >@‘ !‘ @>75>‘ = T‘ >C,@ >‘ :‘ ; >@‘ ,@‘ : > ‘ A‘ >4C7>@@ ‘K< >A‘ ‘97>D 7
$‘ >‘ : > ‘K< >@‘0 =>‘ :,7@ ‘ A‘‘ =>‘ @>3 A‘ >C,@ >@‘ :‘ . > >7) !‘ C< ‘, ‘ =>‘ 7D, ‘ @>5>7 ‘ :‘ =,@‘ K< , @‘ = ‘ =>‘ 7> A>7‘ ‘ @>>‘ =>‘ >7‘ :‘ => ‘ A‘ ℳ* ‘ 97>D 7 ‘ 3 @‘ . > >7‘ =>‘ C @ 7‘ :‘ =>‘ 3=<73= ‘ A‘ :,7@ ‘ C @ 7‘ :‘ =>‘ 3=<73= ‘ @‘ > ‘ @‘ C @ >$
F$‘ A‘ , ‘ ‘ >‘ =>7>‘ @>,+5>A ‘ = ‘ =>‘ @ ‘ @C> B@‘ = <7 ‘ :‘ . < ‘ 3 , D‘ =, +]‘ ‘ >43> > ‘ C7> 3=>7‘ 7‘ , @ 7<3 7$
0$!‘ @= ‘ AA‘ ‘ C @@ D>‘ 7‘ ‘ 7> , D‘ ‘ $‘ . > >7?@‘ >C,@ >@‘ =>‘ @>3 A‘ >@C>3,) U =>O 0 @ >‘ . > >7‘ =>‘ :,7@‘ :‘ =>‘ C @ >@‘ 7, , D‘ ‘ =,@‘ A,@3,C >@‘ f, =,@‘ @>3 A‘ >C,@ > I‘ A‘ B , D U = ‘ =>7>‘ >7>‘ @ >‘ = ‘ A> 7 3 >A‘ :7 ‘ =>‘ >7, ‘ :‘ . < ?@‘ 7, , D@‘ @ @‘ ℕ V‘ 5>7 ‘ @‘ <7 0 > 5>A‘ 7 =>7‘ . < ‘ @ ‘ 33 7A, D‘ ‘ =>‘ ,@A ‘ D,5> ‘ < ‘ =, ‘ = @‘ 7, > ‘ < ‘ <ℕ @ 0 @ ‘, ‘ ‘ =,@‘ >C,@ >@‘ @C> B, D‘ :‘ =>@>‘ =, D@$^‘ E‘ . > $‘ ,,,$‘ /1‘ $I‘ >= A‘ . < , ‘ =,@‘ >C,@ >@‘ Q = A‘ 7, > ‘ = ‘ V‘ . > >7‘ @‘ ‘ >‘ >A^‘ f 9 $‘ ,,$‘ $ ‘ < ‘ . > >7‘ , ‘ =,@‘ >C,@ >@‘ @ @‘ = ‘ U‘ . < ‘ @‘ ‘ >‘ A ,7>A‘ : 7‘ = ‘ =>‘ = A‘ 7, >) 3>7 , ‘ ,:‘ . > >7‘ = A‘ ‘7> A‘ . < ?@‘ >C,@ >@ 0 =>‘ 3 < A‘ ‘ = 5>‘ 3 > A>A‘ => ‘ ℕ < ‘ ,:=>‘ 7> A‘ :,=> ‘ =>‘ : < A‘ , ‘ =>7>‘ 7, > ‘ = ‘ V‘ => U @‘ ‘ >‘ >A$?^‘ ' C ‘ =,3=‘ 9 , >D 7 ‘> 7D>@‘ @=> , D‘ . > >7?@‘ =< , , ? A‘ 5>‘ :‘ 7< = 7‘ @, 3>7, $ +
H$‘ = ‘ 7D< > ‘ A>C> A>A‘ <C ‘ =>‘ @<CC @, , ‘ = ‘ =>‘ 7, >7‘ :‘ = ‘ >C,@ >‘ @‘ =>‘ @ >‘ = ‘ = A‘ >> ‘ 7>C7 5>A‘ ‘ . < *‘ < ‘ @ >‘ @ ,A‘ = ‘ =>‘ C>7@ ‘ 7>C7 5>A‘ ‘ . < ‘ @‘ ‘ =>

‘ ‘ % ‘ ‘ + % ‘ *‘ + ‘ P ‘ 8 S‘ < ‘ ‘ (/‘ [4 ‘ %‘ P ‘ ! ‘ D ‘ ! ‘ D ‘ ! ‘ O% ‘ ‘ ! ‘ 7 ‘ ‘ ‘7 ! ‘ ‘ 2‘ ‘ 8‘ (‘ ‘ <‘ d . ‘ (‘ < %‘ (.% ‘ (‘ ! ‘ %% ‘ ‘ ‘ % P ‘ ‘ $‘ ‘ % ‘ % ‘O % ‘J M % ‘ ((‘ (‘ '! $‘ ‘ ‘ 3‘ (‘ 4‘ U 5% $‘ ‘ (‘ .% % ‘ ‘ .% ‘ . ; % ‘ ‘ :0 ‘ 0 % H‘ ' ‘ I ‘ ‘ ‘ & ‘ ‘ ‘ 3‘ (‘ b4‘ U ‘ 5% % ‘ 0 ‘ ‘ % ‘ % -‘ .% ‘ ‘ .% ‘ .% $‘ D % ‘ $‘ ‘ < ‘ ‘ ‘ % ‘ ‘ >.% $ D % ‘ % ‘ ‘7 ‘ ‘ .% ‘ .% $‘7 ‘ ‘ (% $%! ‘ .% $‘ % ‘ D % ‘ ‘ D % ‘ .% .% $‘ D % ‘ ‘ .% $‘ D % ‘ 7 ‘ ‘ % ‘ ‘ .% ‘ .% $‘ % ‘ ‘ .% $‘7 ‘ D % ‘ ‘ D % ‘ ‘ ' ‘ I ‘ ‘ ‘ & ‘ * ‘ %! ‘ ‘ ‘ 5% $‘ ‘ .% % ‘ ‘ (‘ ‘ .% % ‘ ‘ 0 ‘ $ 0 ‘ (‘ % % %‘% .% ‘ ! ‘ 0 ‘ P $ ‘ L‘ J ‘ .% ‘ ! ‘ % C‘ 0 ‘ (‘ % ‘ (‘ ‘ D % ‘ .% ‘ (‘ ‘ $ ‘ ‘ $ 0 % ‘ (‘ D % ‘ -‘ .% ‘ ‘ ‘ P % ‘ ‘ ! ‘ (‘ % % ‘ % ‘ -‘ .% ‘ ‘ ‘ $ ‘ ! ‘ (‘ [0 ‘ (‘ .% ‘ 0 % ‘ 7 ‘ / ‘ ' ‘ I ‘ ‘ ‘ & ‘ 8 ‘ ‘ 5% $‘ % % ‘ .% .% ‘ (% ‘ :‘ C 6 ‘ ‘ %$ ‘ L (‘ % ‘ % ‘ L‘ & ! ‘ ‘ * S‘ ' ‘ 7 ! ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ ℕ **‘ (‘ V ‘ > ‘ ‘ (‘ 7 !% ‘ (‘$ ‘ ' ‘7 ! ‘ ‘ ‘ *2‘ (‘ **‘ C &% % ‘ .% ‘ ‘ (‘ % % ‘ (‘ (A,3 A ‘ 3 >7> ‘ % ‘ A,3>7> :‘ 9‘ 7,,‘ >@ > ? / ‘ fE‘ ‘ ‘ $I‘ ‘ ;Q $‘ ‘ ‘ 3$‘ $ C$‘ $ j .7, <@ C @ 7

‘ ‘ ! ‘ ‘ ‘ @‘ (‘ ‘ + C % ‘ .% ‘ % ‘ ‘ < ‘ ‘ ((% ‘ ‘ ! ‘ ‘ ‘ 4‘ (‘ 3** ‘ < ℕ % ‘ ‘ ‘ % ‘ 0 % ‘ (% ‘ $ ‘ .% ‘ (‘ ‘ (‘ $:‘ 9‘ & ! % ‘ ‘ ((‘ ‘ % ‘ Ł / ‘ e ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ 5 ‘ ‘ ‘ 7 ! ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ (‘ ‘ = K & ‘ % ‘ (% ‘ $:‘ 4 U$ ‘ $ ‘ < ℳ ‘ % ‘ % ‘ B ‘ (‘ ‘ 6 ‘ ' ‘ I ‘ ‘ ‘ & ‘ ‘ ‘ ` ‘ ‘ ‘ (‘ < K & ‘ % ‘ 0 0 ‘ $ $‘ (‘ $ ‘ G‘ ' ‘ & ‘ ‘ (‘ @3‘ ; $ ‘ ‘ 0 0 % ‘ ($ ‘ ‘ P (‘ ‘7 ! ‘ ‘ * a‘ ‘ (‘ 8 ‘ U ‘ 5% ‘ ‘ ($ ‘ 0 0 % ‘ $ ‘ ‘ ! ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ $‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ (‘ A f ‘ g ‘ '$ ‘ ‘ ‘ (% ‘ (% ‘ % ‘ % ‘ $ (% ‘ $‘ ‘ .% ‘ ‘ .% !% $ ‘ $ ‘ $ ‘ % ‘ (‘ 0 [F‘ ‘ $:‘ 4‘ % ‘ % ‘ ‘ ‘ % ‘ % $% ‘ 4‘ $ ‘ ! ‘ (‘ (‘ ! L ‘ ‘ % % ‘ ‘ (‘ (‘ % ‘ (‘ % ‘ (‘ ! ‘ (‘ ‘ % ‘ ‘ (‘ % % ‘ ‘ .% ‘ ‘ (‘ ‘ $ ‘ $% ‘ + ‘ ‘ ‘ 0 ‘ % ‘ % ‘ (‘ ‘ %$$ ‘ ‘ % ‘ 0 ‘ .% ‘ ‘ (‘ (! ‘ $ ‘ % ‘ ‘ U % ‘ 0 ‘ ‘ %$ ‘ $ ‘ .% $‘ (% ‘ ‘ .% ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ (% ‘ (% ‘ ‘ .% ‘ ‘ $‘ % $ $ ‘ .% ‘ 9 $ ‘ ‘ % ‘ ‘ % ‘ % ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ (: .%$ % ‘ .% ‘ (% ‘ ‘ (% ‘ % ‘ (% ‘ ‘ % ‘ ‘ 0 ‘ ‘ ‘ .% ‘ $ ‘ ‘ -‘ .% ‘ ‘ (‘ %$ ‘ ‘ .% !% ‘ (% ‘ ‘ %(! ‘ ‘ ‘ ' ‘ ‘ I ‘ ‘ ‘ & ‘ ‘ ‘ 2‘ (‘ *"A‘ *"3

"(" - #' ,' 5" $ # $' 1H1$ F-
O
: " + %' @C> B@' A,@ , 3 :' =>' 7A, 7 ' A' >4 7 7A, 7 ' D,: @' :' =>' C,7, N' >' @ 7 '
>3>@@ 7 ' > ?@' ' @ 5 , N' =>' =>7' >@ >A' : 7' =>' > >:, ' :' =>7@$
0$ 97>D 7 ' 3> > 7 >@' ;,>' C7 D7>@@' :' =>' 2=7,@ , ' 7> ,D, ' @' C7>5 , , D' , ' =>' @ ' A'
=>' >@ ' C 7 ,3< 7 ' , ' 7, , $
H$ >' @>> @' ' 3B >AD>' = <D=' @ > = ' < , , D ' = + ,7 3< <@' C >7@' = A'
3> @>A' , ' =>' 3=<73=N' A' = ' => ' >7>' ' >3>@@ 7 ' D' > ,>5>7@' >@C>3, ', ', ', >' :'
> @>' A' C7 @C>7, NO' =>7> @ ', ' , >@' :'C>7@>3< , ' A' => '=> => ,@ ' C7>5 , >A' => ' >7>'
>4C>A,> N' A' 9 A' ,@> ' A' D7 3, <@ ' 5 <3=@ :>A' => N' A' =>' 3 ' >@ ' => * => M
>5>7' =>' >4,D> 3>' :' =, D@' 7>K<,7>@$

4 ; 8 > ' 4

! !# ' ! .' %' &!" " $

' "; '8 : (' 6 @ ' !!$' - ' ', '48 8 2 ' ,' - ') @ ' ,' 4 "# ' !! "' ' ; 8 @ '
' # :' - ; ' !&$' # 4 ', ' - ' 4 "# ' &$' 4 '#8 82

!$' , 'O @' ,@= C' :' >5, >', ' C , ': 7 ' > 7@N :7 ' =>' > 7' :' 2=7,@ '1P1 ' 7' 1P ' '
- $' >' @' =>' < = 7' :' ' 7B@' @ >' :' =,3=' 7>' =>@>)' ' 2=7 ,3 >' :7 ' =>'
>D, , D' :' =>' 7 A ' ' =>' > 7' :' 2=7,@ ' 7 B' ' B' :' 33 >@, @ ,3 ' 7, >7@' 7' ! <@ 7, <@'
(> ', ' - -' 3= C >7@N' > > 3>@', ' =7>>' B@N' 2 > 7,>@' <C ' =>' =,@ 7,3 ' B@' :'
=>' A' >@ > N' >D 7,>@', ' =>' 37,C <7>@' :' =>' A' A' > + >@ > N' :' 33 >@, @M
,3 ' ::,3>@', ' ' B@' NO ' B' :' . 7 > @' 7' . 7 >D > ' ' =>' @37,C <7>@' :' =>' A' A'
> ' >@ > N' 7,D, >@' 7' D,>@', ' EG' B@' >: ' < :, ,@=>A ' A' C< ,@=>A' : >7' =,@'
A> =' ' 7 < , ' ,@= C' :' 7 D @@)' A ', ' =>' =7>>' @' > , >A' 7B@' 7>' 3 D<>@' :'
=>' B@' :' =>' A' A' > ' >@ > 'N :' ' =,3=' !' @= ' B>' @ >' ,3>$
!!$' /$ =>' > : =' 3= C >7' :' =>' :,7@' B' :' 33 >@, @ ,3 ' ::,3>@' ,@' > , >A ' O :' =>'
7, >7@' :' =>' @ 37>A' 5 < >@N+' =>7>' : >7' = 5, D' @C B> ' :' =>' 7, >7@' :' =>' B@' :' =>'
A' >@ > ' =>' @ @)' U ! ' ' =>' > ' >@ > ' =>' : <7' >5 D> ,@ @' 7 >' @>5>7 ' =>

O $$$' (@<> <A ' ** K<>' =< , , @ ' C B , ' :,A>@' @C>@'
3 7, @' A ' >*<@ @<)' @>A' > ' @, >' K<, <@ A' 5, ' = , >@
C>75> ,7>' >K,, K< ' C @@< $ .7 C=> , >' < > ' 5,7 <@ 3<7 '
, <7 ' D> >7 ' , D< 7< ' , >7C7> , ' @>7 < ' A C '>*<@
@<C $ >A' K< >' 5,7 < ,@ >*<@ C7 >@> , ' C7 ' 3 77>3 , >' , '
<> ,< ' @ > A< ' J3$! ' ; ' /$ E$ 3$ 1 $ C$ F- ' $ $
33>> , ' C> >' 3< 3 7< '* ' D> ,< ' 3 7A ' C> > 7 5, $
33>' , ' < ,' :,A>' 7,> ,@ , , > ' 33,A> ,@K<>' 3 *< 4, $
33>' , D< ' 7, ,T ' K<T' , ' ,<A' 5>7 ' K< ' 7 7< '
:7> A>7>' * A<A< ' , ' A,5, ,@ <A, <@ > 7T<7 ' 3 >C, '
> <* ' 7>@ 7>$! ' ; ' /$ $ 3$ / /$ C$ $ 2$
+' < ' K<>' < ,' K<,' 3< ' ,7 ' C @ 7< ' C>7 '
<A,< ' K< A ' 33>C ' C,7, <' 3 ' 7 @ 5>7 ' @<@3, '
7> ' ' @>@@,@ A@ , ' C> >7> ' < 7,', :,7 , >@ 5> '
7> ' 5> <7 ' K<@K >' C7 C=> A ' C7TA,3>7> +$$$$' K<, ' = @
5,7 < >@ < 3' , ' >33 >@,' 5,A> ' @< 7 3 '* ' ' >33 > '
@, ' @<C>7 ' D7 , ' @<@C,3 <7' ' >@3,> >@ C> @ 7>' K< A' '
@37,C < ' >@) U *, < 7' , ' CC 7 < , , <@', ' 7, < , >5?
@$,4$ /G$' < 3' K<,CC>' @ 3 '> 3 >@, ' ,7 3< 7< ' A*< '
7,@ , A,D<, ' 3 ' > 7 ' 7, < , ' C>7@>3< , ,@ C7>@@, $ '
C @ K< ' @<C>7 , 7 ' , :,A> , ,@ >A <, ' ' * ' 5,7 < '
@,D ' @>A' @ ' >7, ' C>7< ' 7>K<,7, ' K< 5,@ > ', , ' C>7
< @' 3< ' CC 7 < , @ >4,D, ' @ > A $$' ' ,' >7D ' >@
A>B@ @< ' K<O' 3 <@ ' >@ ' < ' @,D ' @ 7> <7' _ 4C$,
% ' /$ $ 3$ $ C$ $ $
5 ,O$;

U &,A$. =$ " >' A>' 37,C 7$ 33$ $',$ C$ $$$' 1G '
2 5$ $ "$ $',$ C$ $ #<' ., ' , $ A>@ < $ 3$ $ 5,$
C$ ' J3$. D,' $ E1$ /O$ --$ $ - $ ' >@ , , '
A>' !@,A 7>' C$ % 7,3$, $ 3$.$,,$ C$ F ' 0$
+' # >' @>5,C 7, <@ @ 37 7,, '5 < , < $
:' ! ' 5 ' < > ' >@ > 'K< < 7' , 7 @ >5 D>, , '
K< < 7' >5 D> ,@ T' @, D< ,' @37,C@>7<)' K< 7< ' @ <@ (
=T @ > 7T ' @37,C@,@@>' C>7=, > <7' > K<, ' 3T >7,' 97 >3 $
. < <@ C @ <@ @< @ @> C@, ' >C,@ @' >4' K<, <@ 5> '
@>C > ' >33 >@,,@ A>@ , 5, ' 7> ,K< @ A,@3,C< ,@ @<,@ ,@, '
, => ' ' > ' . =, > ,$ A' > 7T @ < > ' >C,@ '
C >7,@K<>' " , ,@ >*<@ , 3>7 ' >@ $ C7 C >7' A,@@ , ' @>7 '
,@)' > A> K<>' ,,' 7 ' 3 @37,C@,@@>' ,,' ' 2 >M
> >' @37,C ' :<,@@>' @<@C,3 <7$. > 7<@@37,C@, ' A< @ ,,,>'
@< '>C,@ @' K<T' 3 = ,3T' , <7)' K< 7< ' @>3< A ' '
QK<, @A 7 ' >*<@ >@@>' ' 37>A, <7 ' C7 C >7' @ ,' @>7 ,@K<>'
A,@ , ' ; 3 <@ @< ' @37,C@, ' >C,@ ' K<T' > ' ,C@ ' '
< ,@ >*<@ >@@>' >D <7 '@>A' @< ' , >'>*<@ ' , A,3 '
?>4,@ , <7$; >@ >C,@ @ 7>@ >A,A, ' K< ' < '
C7, ' ' K<, <@A ' >*<@ >@@>' @@>7, <7 ' 7> ,K<T' A<T' ; ,@
3<*<@A ' C7>@ >7 ' >4,@ , <7' * ><*<@ *<4 ' ,>7 ,'
@> > , ' >7< ' @>C ,37< ' C<A' C=>@< ' A> @ 7 <*$
; <A @' < ' @37,C@, ' >C,@ $ 3 <@ C @: 7< ' ", @
3 C @<, ' @,3<' <A,5, ' 5>' 5,A, ' C 3 C@, ' ; >@
>5 D> ,@ ' @37,C@, ' > A> ' > C 7>' K< ' ' >5 D> ,' C7@>A,

= ,7 @ ' 3= C >7' +' =>' @,4 =' B' :' =>' @ ,A' 7,D, >@' ,' > , >A ' +' =>' A' A' =>' > ' >@ > $' >7> ' = 5, D' > < >7 >A' =>' B@' :' =>' A' >@ > ' =>' @ @ ' U ! ' V' =>' > ' U >@ > ' 7>' ' C 7 @' 7' 3 @@>@)' =>' :,7@ ' ,@' = ' :' =>' D @C> @N' , ' =,3=' 7>' (=> ' U' (7B ' "<B> ' A' ; =)' =>' @>3 A' ,@' = ' :' =>' C @ >@N' , ' =,3=' 7>' . < ' , ' : <7 >> ' U >C,@ >@N' . > >7 ' , ' N' ; = ' , ' =7>>N' ; >@' A' ;<A> ' > 3=' , ' >' >C,@ >N' =>' 3 ' :' =>' :' * @ > @ N A' =>' >5> , ' :' ; = $?

$' =>' @>3 A' 3= C >7' :' =>' @ >' B' ,@' > , >A ' :' =>' ,, >7@' A' . =7 @>@' :' => @ 37>A' B@$' >7>' =>' > < >7 >@' D , ' =>' B@' :' =>' A' A' > ' >@ > ' A' @C> B@' 7>' A,@ , 3 ' A' 7D> ' :' =>' 7, >7@' :' => ' A' =>,7' , >@' A' A>@,D ' N A' => ' 3 M 3 <A>@' =>' 3= C >7' , ' =,@' >7)' U U =>@>' 7>' =>' 7, >7@' :' =>' @ 37>A' B@ ' = ' @C> B, D' U ' =>' ' C,7, ' = 5>' 7, > ' : 7' <7' , @ 7<3 , ' =' =>' C7>3>C @' :' ' D A' ,:> ' A' =>' U 7< > :' : , =$O? => ' =>' AA@ ' U = ' >@,A>' =>@>' =>7>' 7>O' =>7' B@ ' 3 >A' C 37 C= ' U =>' 7, >7@' :' =,3=' 7>' < 3>7 , N' , ' =,3=' =>7>' 7>' @ >' 7< =@ ' ,4>A' , =' : @>= AN' < ' U =>' 7>' :' ' < = 7, N' A' =>' @<CC @>@' => ' ' >' 7, > ' ' =>7> ,3@)' = ' @<3=' B@' U =>7>' >7> ? =>' @ @ ' U =,3=' = A' >> ' :' A' 7, > ' , ' =>' >@' :' C7 C=> @ ' A' @, 3>' :' U C @ >@N' < ' : >7' 3 7>:<' >4 , , ' => ' = A' >> ' 7>*>3 >A ' A' ' >A' ' >' :' U 3 ,3 ' < = 7, $? $ O

1 ' >: 7>' !' C7 3>>A ' !' < A' @>75>' =>7> ' = ' ' =>' >D, , D' :' =>' @>3 A' C 7 ' :' =>' >D 7,>@' :' =>''@ 37>A' @37,C <7>@' =,3=' 7> >' ' =>' > ' >@ > ' =>' : <7' >5 D> ,@ @ ' , =' =>,7' @ @ ' 7>' >4C7>@@ ' > , >A$

$' D , ' , ' =>7' C 3>' @C> B, D' :' =>' : <7' >5 D> ,@ @ ' A' =>,7' D @C> @ ' =>' @ @ ' U :O' Q ' =>' >5 D> ,@ @ ' "<B> ' ;=>' =,7A' , ' 7A>7 ' ,@' 7>3B >A' ' = 5>' >> ' @ ' @B, :5A' , ' =>' U 9 7>>B' D<>N' : 7' =>' @' C= @,3, ' A' 7 >' =,@' D @C> ' , ' 9 7>>3>$?

! ! !$' >' ' ' B>' @ >' 7> 7B@ ' A' => ' 7>' >43>>A, D' > @ ' A' 5, <@$

/$!@,A 7>' :' >5, > ' 7>3>,5>A' ' =>' @ >' B@' :' =>' > ' >@ > ' =,3=' >' A $

E$' < ' @ >' :' =>@>' =>7>' >7>' => ' 7' = A' : 7 >7 ' >> ' A < @N' C 7 ,3< 7 ' < ' =>' >C,@ >' ' =>' > 7> @ ' =>' >C,@ >' :' ; >@ ' =>' @>3 A' >C,@ >' :' . > >7 ' =>' @>3 A' A' =,7A' :' ; = $' =,@' =>' > , @' :7>>)' , ' =,3=' !' =, B' =>' ,@' , ' =>' 7,D= N' : 7' , ' ,@' 5>7 ' :, ' = ' =>' 7< =' :' =, D@' @= < A' >' B ' A' 3B >AD>A$

-$' =>7>' >7>' ' ' 2=7,@ , ' 7, , D@' = >5>7 ' >@,A>' = @>' :' =>' C @ >@' A'>5 D> ,@ @ ' ' 7>3>,5>A' ' <@ ' =,3=' >7>' :' < = 7,)' =>7>' >7>' , A>>A ' @ >' B@ ' 3 >A' C 37 C= N' < ' => ' >7>' @ ' <3=' A,@ ,B>A ' A' >7>' @ ' 3 > C , >' A' @ ' < ,5>7@ ' 7>*>3 >A' A' A,@7>D 7A>A ' = ' =>' A,A' ' =, B' , ' >>A:<' ' > , ' >4C7>@@ ' =>' >@' 7' , >@' :' ' :' => N 7' = @' =>' , ' ' >' :' =>' 3 D<>@' :' =>' B@' :' @37,C <7>' > , >A' ' 7, , D' : >7' =>' B' :' =>' >5> , ' =,3=' A>' ' 3 , ' ' >' ' C 7 ' :' =>' > ' >@ > ' 7' ' >' >@ >> >A' :' 3 ,3 ' < = 7, $

$' =>' 7A>7' :' =>' B@' :' =>' > ' >@ > +' @' > , >A' ' !@,A 7>' A>@>75>@' @ >' ,3>$' =>7>' >7>' ' C 7 @ ' 7' A,5,@, @N' >' 3 >A' =>' D @C> @' 7' >5 D> ,@ @ ' =>' =>7' =>' C @ >@N' A' , ' =,@' @ ' =>' B' :' =>' 3 @',@' C 3>A)' 7> 5>7 ' , ' ' =>' 3 D<>@' >' @>>' =,@' 7A>7N' :,7@ ' =>' D @C> @ ' => ' =>' >C,@ >@' :' =>' C @ >' . < ' => ' =>' 3 = ,3' >C,@ >@ ' : >7' => ' =>' 3 @ ' A' @ ' =>' >5> , N' @ ' , ' ,@' , ' >5>7 ' 3= C >7 ' =>7>' =>' B@' :' =>' > ' >@ > ' 7>' > < >7 >A' ' =,@' 7, >7$

' 1$' => ' = ' 7>' A>@,7 <@' ' @>>' !@,A 7>+@' 3 D<>@' :' =>' B@' :' =>' A' >@ > ' C 3>A' D> =>7 ' , =' 7> 7B@' <C ' => ' ' 3 @< ' $' A $' = @>' 3 D<>@' < A' = 5>' >> ' =>7>' ,B> ,@>' A' , =' 7> 7B@ ' ,:' !' = A' = A' 7)' @' !' = 5>' ' !' <@ ' : 7 > 7N' : 7' , ' ,@' , >' ' = @ > ' ' ' 3 3 <@, $

T! ' 5 ' < > ' >@ > ']A<' @< ' 7A, >@*' C7, <@' >5 D>C><@' , ' K<' @< ' (= ><@' (73<@' "<3 @' >' ; >@N' @>3< A<@' C @ ,3<@' , ' K<' @< ' . < <@ , ' K< < 7 ' A>3, ' >C,@ , ' .> 7<@ , ' A< <@' ; >@ , ' 7, <@$; 3 <@' > ' ;<A @ , ' @, D< ,@$ 3 <@' C @ 7< ' > ' C 3 C@,@' ; ,@$ 7,D, $' !' $' 3$' /$' C$ $

!:>' @37,C 7, <@' > ' 5 3 < ,@' @ 3 7< ' , 7 7< $ +' ' @< ' @37,C 7>@' @ 37 7< ' , 7 7<7, ' K<,' C>7' C,7, < ' 3 < ' , K<> >@' A'>7<A, , > ' @ 7 ' > ' C7 *3>C ' 5,5> A,' > ' 37>A> A,' 7>D< ' 3A @37,C@>7< $ j .7 > >7' = >3' > ' , ' 5 A:, , ' C 37 C= ' < 3<C <7$' C 37 C= ' < > ' A,3 ' ,A' >@ ' @>37> ' K<, ' , ' A< ,< ' &> ,< $' @ ' > , ' > 7< ' 7,D ' +>3' C >' C 7, <@' >4' K<, @' <@K<>' A' @ <3 7, @ 5>7 3,< ' @37,C <7 , ' 3>7 ,@@, ' > ' ,@@, ' @< ' 3>@@, >' C>75> , $! ' ,,@ C 37 C=,@' > @,' , 5> , <7' ,K< ' &>7, @' 7 > ' C7 C >7' < ' : @ ' < ' >@ ' , ' >,@ 3 ,3 ' <3 7, @$ ' < ' > ' @< ' , , <@ C7 C=> 7< ' > ' 7>3> , 7 ' @< ' , , <@' C @ 7< ' ' = >7> ,3,@' C7 :>7< ' <7$ S<@>' , ' @< ' , >' C 37 C= 7< ' <3 7, >' 3 ,3 ' A, ,D> ' , >4 , , >' 7> ' @< $' ! $' 3 C$ C$ $' . $ - 1 / $

T >7 ,<@' "<3 @' , >7' >@' >5 D> ,@ @' 97@>3,' @>7 , ' >7<A, ,@@, <@' K<,CC>' < ' >A,3<@' , ' 97 >3,' >5 D> ,< ' @37,C ' @, $' 7,D$' /$' $' 3$' E$' C$ 1$ +

U #>' , , 7$ >4 $' 7,D$' 2 $' D$$$' $' C$ ' 1 $

! & $' ' 7A' 7' ' , ' @<::,3>' : 7' @=> , D' =>' 7>@C>3 ' =,3=' =>' = A' : 7' =>' :> 3 > B@' : ' @37,C <7>$' ! ' CC> 7@' , ' = ' = @' >> ' 7> A ' 7 @37, >A' =>7>' =>' @C> B@' :' =>' ' C,7, ' @' >,7' < = 7 ' => ' = 5, D' >> ' 7, > ' ', @C,7>A' C7 C=> @' A' C @ >@N' A' =>' >4C7>@@ ' @ @' = ' => ' 3 , ' 0 =>' C7>3>C @' :' ,:>' A' =>' 7< >' :': , =$? (7> 5>7 ' !' @= ' 7>:>7' 0L ' ' 3= C >7' , ' =>' :,7@ ' B' :'@> > 3>@N' =>7>' =>' @ @' = ' ' =>' ' 7,D= ' < A>7@ A' >' 3 >' ' 2=7,@ N' A' =>' @=> @' = ' =>' @37,C <7>@' ' >' C7 :, ' 7> A' ' ' @ 7 @' :' > $

& $' /$! ' =,@' 2=7 ,3 >' < A>7' =>' 7>,D ' :' =>' > C>7 7' 2 , @' 2 ,D< ' = ' A,>A' , ' =>' >D, , D' :' =>' > 7' / ' !@,A 7>' @ @' 0 ' ' =,@' , >' =>' C @ >' (=> ' 7 >' =>' :,7@ ' =,@' U' D @C> ' , ' ;<A> $?

E$' ' A>7' =>' 7>,D ' :' 2 <A,<@' = ' A,>A' , ' =>' > 7' 1 ' =>' @ @' U ! 'U =,@' "2 :' =>' C @ >' U' . > >7' > ' ' >' ' CC @>' , ' (D<@$' =>' >5 D> ,@ ' (7B' @ ' C7> 3=, D' 2=7,@ ' 0 >4 A7, ' 7 >' =,@' D @C> N? >5>7 => >@@ ' >: 7>' U=>' @ ,A ' = ' (7B' 7 >' " :' ! $

' ' A>7' >7 0' = @>' 7>,D ' > A>A' , ' :,0 ' =>' @ @' U ! ' 0 =,@' , >' , ' (D<@ ' = ' = A 0C7 C @>A' ' A,@C< >' , =' =>' C @ >@' . > >7' A' . < ' A' = A' C7 7 ,@,>A' ' : ' <C' ' => 5> ' ' U =>' C7 >7@' :' . > >7' A' . < ' @' ', ' A ' =7 ' A N ' ' =>' A > @' = ' = A' 3 77,>A 0=, ' <C' , ' =>' ,7) ' 33 < ' :' = @>' A> = ' ' 7A>7' :' >7 ' . > >7' @' 37<3,:,>A' A +' . < ' >=> A>A$?

$' !' <@ ' ' @ ' ' B>' ' 7> 7B@)' !' ' @>75>' = ' =,@' <@ ' >' 7>3B >A' ' ' 5>7 ', 33<7 >' A' @ ' , 3 @,@ > $' . > >7 ' @' >: 7>' @ ,A ' > ' ' >' , ' =>' 7>,D ' :' 2 <A,<@ ' ' CC @>' , ' (D<@$' >7>' =>' A,@C< >' , =' , ' (D<@ ' A' =,@' A> = ' 7>' C 3>A' , ' =>' 7>,D ' :' >7 ' A' > 7' =>' > A' :', N' : 7' < ' = ' , >' =>' 7 7A @' :' =>' ' : 7> > , >A' C @ >@' 7>' @<CC @>A' ' = 5>' = CC> >A$

1$' :' # , , ' = @>' 7 >, ' ,@' 3 C< >A' :7 ' 0/' ' H ' =>' @ @' U >' +77 ,@>A' ' C>7@>3< , ' U D , @ ' =>' 2=7,@ , @$' ! ' =,@' , >' =>' C @ >' ; = ' = 5, D' >> ' ,@=>A' , ' =>' ,@ A' U . @' 7 >' =>' >5> , $O

2 . ' 2 " & ! ! "

" ! ' $

, $' + ' @' : 7' @ >' , >' ' A5 3 >' ' 2 @ , C >' A' ,@' D> >7 ' @<CC @>A' ' = 5>' >> ' ' ,5>' :' = ' 3,)' =>' : >7 7A@' 7> ,7>A' :7 ' >' 7 A ' A' ,5>A' ' B' , ' . >@ , >$' ' T@ >' =>' ,@' 7>3B >A' ' 7, >7' :' =>' @,4 = ' ' =>7@' :' =>' @>5> =' 3> <7 N' 7' 0 @ ,A' ' = 5>' ,5>A' C 7 ' , ' =>' >' C 7 ' , ' =>' =>7$ 2 5>' U C 3> =' =, ' @' " -": 2' < ' =>' > 7' 1HGN' % 7,3,<@' ' / G ' ' = ' !' 7>:>7' : 7' 33 < @' :'=,@' 6 @

E$' = <D=' =>' >' @ ' >' ' ,, >7 ' =>' A>@>75>@' <7' ,3>' @' =>' = @' >: ' ' 3 C > >' 3 D<>' :' B@' :'@37,C <7>' 7>3>,5>A' ' 2=7,@ , @' , ' = ' C 7 ' :' =>' 7 A' =>7>' =>' ,5>A$

' U =>' 0 B@' 7>3>,5>A' ' =>' 3=<73=' @ @' =>' 7>' =>' B@' :' =>' 3,> ' A' :' =>

W &, ' C>7' K< ', <7' A' 2=7,@ < ' >4' >@ ' C>7' K< *5 A< ' A' >< ' =, ' K<, ' < '>@ ' , > ,D< ' > 7 ' $$$$$$$$$$

37 C <7 ' @ 37 ' C7 ' < ,<@3<*<@K<>' >3 7,@' , > ,D> , ' 5 7, ' <7 ' @,3< ' ' K< A' C C< ' 5> >7,' C7 ' @, D< 7< ' A> >3 ' , >' 5 7,< ' A ' @ C 7>7 $;<4 ' @> @<< ' 3 C 3, > ' @, D< ,@ @>7 ' # , ,' 3 D7<, $ > > $ /$ $ 3 ' /0$ A' @>>' ; $ @< D>' ,@ ' A>' !? D $ I$ $ 3 $ -$ @>3 $ $

@ (= ><@ C @ <@ >5 D> ,< ' C7, <@ , ' ;<A > ' @37,C@, ' !@,A$ 2=7$ C$ $

' 7>D >' . > 7<@ C @ <@ ' 3 7 ' , > ' (D<7 ' ' C>7D, $ (73<@ K<KK<>' >5 D> ,@ ' >4 A7, >+ 2=7,@ < ' C7 >A,3 @' >5 D> ,< ' @37,C@, $! ,A$

' >>' C$ $+

@ C*<@ > C 7, <@ , ' (D<@ ' 3< ' 373 , > ' C7 ' C @<,@@>' 3< ' . > 7 ' > ' . < ' C @ ,@' A,3>,,@ @>' K< A

5,7 < > ' >@@>' # >,' D ' >A, ' A,>' A< ' A' C 7> ' 5 7>' C7 , ,' , ' 3 > < ' ' A > , <@' ' K<, <@ , ' 37>' :>7> <7*' A*<7 >' > @ . > 7 ' C>7' #><' . < ' 5>7 ' 7 >' A, ,@@<@ 37>C<, $ ' 3<*<@ >3> ' ' >7 >' . > 7<@ 37<3,:,D, <7' . < <@ D A, ' 3 >A, <7$ $ C$ E 0$

' ,@' C @' >7 > ' @>3< A<@' @<C>7 , ' >4@>37 , , ,' #>,, ,' @>' CC> 7,'*<@@, ' 2 7,@ , @' C>7@>K<,' C D ,@' , @ , <, $ < ' K< ' C @ <@ ' ; >@' , ' . = ', @< *> >D <@' C ' 3 C@, ' @37,C@, $! ,A$

' &,A$ #<' . , $, $ A>@ < $ 3$ $ $ C$ 01$ CA ' A ' ' , $ >4 $ 7,D$ C$ O$;$ @$, , =$ 37$

@ $ @ D$,@ ' A>' !? D ,@>' /$ $ 3$ 4$ C$ 1, '

0 $ "$ $,$ C$ 1 -$

$ 97$, $ 5,,$ C$ 1 / $'

? $$$$' 7 , '5 *%0C:8 /3Z i

; &' ,<<% C "8 "< & 8' "' &' *8%=' 8

F0‘ M (")"V &‘ ,‘ - ‘ . # ‘ 0 " &

0$ >5>7‘ =>‘ C7>@> ‘ : >7 7A@‘ > , @‘ V ‘ > 3=>7@‘ A‘ : =>7@‘ r m ` ,<@‘ !7> @<@‘ ;<@ , ‘ A‘ =>7@‘ >: 7>‘ A‘ : >7‘ 2 @ , >J < ‘ =>,7‘ 7, , D@‘ >7>‘ ‘ < = 7, N‘ => ‘ = A‘ ‘ >> ‘ 7 @ , >A‘ A ‘ :7 ‘ =>‘ >D, , D‘ , =‘ = ‘ 3= 7 3 >7$ $

H$! ‘ ,@‘ @>75 >‘ = ‘ "> ,<@‘ A,5,A>@‘ =>‘ @37,C <7>@‘ :‘ =>‘ > ‘ >@ > ‘, ‘@,4‘ B@)‘ =,@‘ ,@‘ ‘C 7 ,3< 7, N‘ >5>7 => >@@‘ >‘ @ ‘ ‘ ,B>‘ A,5,@, ‘ : 7 >7 ‘ , ‘ =>‘ C@,@‘ @37, >A‘ ‘ = @,<@)‘ =>‘ ‘A,::>7> 3>‘ ,@‘ = ‘ =>7>‘ =>‘ : <7‘ D @C> @‘ 7>‘ > 3=‘ 7>3B >A‘ >‘ BN‘ A+‘ =>‘ 3 D<>‘ :‘ 9 > @,<@‘ ,@= C‘ :‘ >‘ < ‘ H ‘ 5>7 ‘ <3=‘ 7>@> >@‘ , ‘ =,@‘ 7>@C>3 ‘ = ‘ , ‘ =>‘ C@,@$

/G$! ‘ @= < A‘ ‘ >‘ > ,7> ‘ 5>7 B>A‘ ‘ <@‘ = ‘ =,@‘ 7, >7‘ @ @‘ O : >7‘ =>‘ 7> <7 ‘ O ;>7<@ > ‘ [7 ‘ C>73>,5, D‘ = ‘ =>‘ @ 37>A‘ B@‘ = A‘ >> ‘ <7 ‘, ‘ =>‘ , >‘ :‘ =>‘ 3 C ,5, ‘ U , ‘ @‘ 7>C 7 >A‘ = ‘ =>‘ 7 >‘ => ‘ D , ‘ < ‘ :‘ =,@‘ ‘ > 7 ‘ >5> ‘ ‘ =>‘ ‘ A‘ > B@‘ :‘ =>‘ 3,> ‘ @37,C <7>‘ >: 7>‘ > , >A$? => A 7> ‘ @C> B@‘ ‘ =>‘ ,B>‘ C<7C @>N‘ @ >‘ =>7‘ > 7 >A‘ 2=7,@ , ‘ 7, >7@‘ , ‘ : 7 >7‘ , >@‘ = 5>‘ >> ‘ :‘ =>‘ @ >‘ C, , ‘N =,3=‘ ‘ >‘ @>> ‘ >4 , >A‘ A‘ 3 :< >A‘ ‘ # 7$ 7,A> <4‘ ‘ , ‘ =,@‘ 2 >3 , ‘ :‘ =>‘ ,@ 7 ‘ :‘ =>‘ A‘ A‘ > ‘ >@ > $ ‘

/ /$!‘ @= ‘ C< ‘ A ‘ < ‘ >‘ @> >3 ‘ C @@ D>‘ ‘ , ‘ =,3=‘ "> ,<@‘ @ @‘ U = ‘ T <7‘ " 7A‘ U @‘ C ,[>A‘ => ‘ =>‘ @‘ =,7 ‘ > 7@‘ :‘ D>‘ A‘ = 5, D‘ 7 <D= ‘ ‘ ,7 3 >@‘ A‘ <D= O =>‘ ;> @‘ =>‘ @‘ 37<3,:,>A‘ , ‘ =>‘ =,7 A=,7A‘ > 7‘ :‘ =,@‘ D>$? => 3>‘ , ‘ ‘ >‘ 7D<>A‘ = =>‘ 3 C< >A‘ ‘ 7>‘ = ‘ =7>>‘ C @@ 5>7@‘ , ‘ <7‘ " 7A?@‘ , ,@ 7 ‘ 33 7A, D‘ ‘ $‘ ; = ?@ D @C> $

2 . $‘ 2 " ! 6 $

& " ‘ # $

/$) ‘ >A>‘ ,@‘ C 3>A‘ ‘ 2 5>‘ @‘ : <7,@=, D‘ < ‘ =>‘ > 7‘ FG/O‘ >‘ @‘ ‘, ‘ D A‘ , ‘ => 3 < ‘ :‘ #<7= ‘ ‘ FE‘ @‘ \‘ @ >‘ @ N‘ , ‘ F- ‘ 7‘ F ‘ @‘ ‘ =>7@‘ J =>‘ A,>A‘ , ‘ F-1$

E$ >A> ‘ >@,A>‘ ‘ =>7‘ 7B@‘ 7 >‘ 2 > 7,>@‘ <C ‘ ‘ =>‘ B@‘ :‘ =>‘ > ‘ >@ > ‘ ‘ D> >7 ‘ 7>3>,5>A$

-$ >‘ @>> @‘ ‘ ‘ = 5>‘ = A‘ , ‘ =,@‘ 3 C,>@‘ =>‘ A 4 D ‘ =,3=‘ >‘ ‘ = 5>‘ ‘ =>‘ 3 3 <M @, ‘ :‘ =>‘ " 7A?@‘ . 7 >7‘ , ‘ $ (=> ?@‘ D=@C> N : 7‘ =>‘ = @‘ ,3>‘ >4C , >A‘ >5>7 ‘ =>7‘ C 7‘ C :‘ =>‘ C7 >7 ‘ , = < ‘ B, D‘ ‘ ,3>‘ :‘, $

$ 2 5>‘ , ‘ =,@‘ 7 ,3 >‘ :‘ >A>‘ = @‘ C< ,@=>A‘ :7 ‘ ‘ 3,> ‘ <@37,C ‘ ‘ # 2 ‘ ‘ - ‘ @>5> ‘ 3 = ,3‘ >C,@ >@‘ , D‘ , ‘ ‘ =>‘ >A, , @‘ :‘ >A>?@‘ 7B@$

1$ >A>‘ =>7>‘ > < >7 >@‘ =>‘ @>5> ‘ >C,@ >@‘ , ‘ =>‘ 7A>7‘ ‘ <@>A‘ ‘ < @ J =>‘ @ @‘ U = ‘ O

Y< . ‘ ‘ 1 ‘ ‘ ‘ 6 ‘ ‘ 6 ‘ : = ‘ &#‘ , &# , % ? ?];‘ 8+/% 4<B * R& & "&8‘ 0%‘ 5` < -#Z ‘ ! $‘ 3 $‘ ,,,$ C$ 1G -$ 2$ O >>‘ 5 $ ,,$ C$ G $ O >>‘ , ‘ =,@ 5 < >‘ 3=$ ‘ 1$ C$ E$ + ‘ ‘ *$ #44 ‘ $> 6 &#8 8 ‘ $K " 85 5 85 "5‘ ' 84‘ ‘ > :‘ $%/" # ` %5," 8 ‘ <<" # "&‘ -‘ A84#&-< ,8 ‘ " %"8‘ &>885 <8 ‘ -& 8 ‘ 7*5,4 ‘ A'>%#8% "-C 8 8&‘ 8 ; ‘ # & ># >, %"& 8" 5&&#8 ‘ 388 P8‘ ,8‘ < ‘ " %"8‘ 8 ; #‘ 5‘ , "B‘ 8& " :,*C :,$,*37 V4$> ,O$ 3 $ E$:, $ C$ 1GE$ #$

T >>‘ 3=$ / -/$ C$ /G$, ‘ =,@ 5 < >$ ‘ >>‘ C 7‘ ,$ B‘ 5$ ‘ =>‘ > 7‘ >: 7>‘ 2=7,@ ‘ $ O &8#‘ $$$‘ <8" <8" & & # 5 B‘ 65‘ %/‘ 8"$ -, >‘ <8" ,> 8‘ , ‘ : ,7F,Q7\4 ‘ ,"# 8 ‘ , >,>2 8 H ; " "&‘ <8" " 84 < "& 7@:‘ !@: ,@: ‘ <8‘ , 6‘ %&‘ " /85#6 ‘ < ‘ %‘ ! $‘ 3 $‘ ,$ C$ $ 2$ U WZ&,A$‘ 2 5$ $‘ "$U "$ $‘ # <‘ . , ‘ , $ $‘ 5,$‘ > ‘ >AT‘ ,@ $‘ 3$ ‘ ; $‘ , =$ 2 7$ $ O 2 5$ < ,‘ @<C7 $

‘ &,A$‘ . D,‘ $ $‘ 5,,,$ > ‘ F- /$ $ 5$ ‘ . D,‘ $‘ F- /$ $‘ , $ 5$ 5,$ 4C @, $! ‘ (=$ 5 D$ 3 C$ 5,$ C$ / 0$ ‘ 2 :$ C$!$ $ ‘ 2 $ $ J ; 3 <@‘ . > 7<@‘ ; >@‘ ; <A @‘ @>C > ‘ >C,@ @ >A,A>‘ 7< ‘ K< @ >33 >@, @ ,3 ‘ 3 @<> <A ‘ 3 = ,3 @‘ $‘ >$ < ,5>7@ >@‘ 3 D , $! ‘ K<, <@ ,A> ‘ C7, ‘ >C,@ ‘ ; ; ‘ C ,,, <7‘ K<, ‘ ,C@>‘ ; >7 @ 7< ‘ 7>D> A 7 ‘ @<@2>C, ‘ >33 >@, 7$$ $‘ 5>‘ 3>7 >‘ K<, ‘ ,C@>‘ A< A>3, ‘ 7, < <@ !@7 > ,@‘ K< >‘ C7,, >‘ 37>A, ‘ A>7< ‘ @< ‘ >C,@ 7 ‘ ,@, ‘ >7, ‘ C7, ‘ C ,‘ A> <, $ (>7, ‘ .> 7,‘ @>3< A ‘ K<, ‘ ,C@>‘ U > >3 ,@‘ A5> ,@? @37,C@,7‘ K<‘ A>‘ 9 > , , >‘ A‘ ; <A ,@ < ‘ A>‘ ; <A ,@ ‘ A> >3 , ,@‘ >5 , ‘ D> 3 >‘ D7 , ‘ 3 5>7@‘, @< $ (>7, ‘ ; ; ,@ >C,@ >‘ >7 , ‘ 3 ‘ @< ‘ C @, >‘ K,,, ‘ =,@‘ @37,C@, ‘ ,C@>‘ K 9 > , <@‘ 37>A,A> < ‘ 3< ‘ >3‘ C7 :>@@, >‘ >4@ , ,@@> $ #> ,K<>‘ < ‘ @37,C 7< ‘ >33 >@, @ B 7< ‘ , ‘ K<, <@ >@‘ $ = ,$,@,<@‘ >4 A7, >‘ C7 >@<‘ >33 >@+ >‘ C7, ‘ >*<@ >C,@ 7 ‘ @@ , + A‘ . 7 = @‘ >@@>‘ >@ <7$ (>7, ‘ ; <A >‘ C @,, ‘ >@‘ < < ‘ ‘ K<, ‘ K< 5,@‘ > ‘ ,C@>‘ D <@‘ >@ ‘ 7, <@ > ‘ C7 >3>A> <

,> :,>5> , ‘ , >A‘, ‘ =>‘@ >‘3 N‘ A‘: 7 =>7‘ =>‘ B>@‘ ‘C 7 ,3< 7‘ ,3>‘ :‘ =>‘ ‘>C, >@‘ :‘2 > > ‘ 7‘ :‘ =>‘2 @ , < , @‘ =,3=‘ B>‘ ‘C 7‘ :‘ =>‘3 D<>‘ , ‘ =>‘ @‘ 3 ‘ :‘ =>‘ C @ >@$ = ‘@= ‘ >‘@ ‘ ‘ =,@‘_ 2 ‘ >‘ =, B‘ : >7‘ * ‘ = ‘# @3> <@‘= A$ ‘C 7 ,3< 7‘7>D 7A‘: 7‘ =>‘ C @ ,3 ‘2 @_‘ 7‘@= ‘ >‘@<CC @>‘ = ‘ =>‘01 =‘3 ‘ @‘ , D‘, ‘=,@‘>A, , ‘ :‘ =>‘ C @ ,3 ‘2 @‘_ 7‘@= ‘ >‘ ‘ >‘ ,D>A‘ ‘ A , ‘ ‘@<@C,3, ‘ = ‘ =>‘ @‘3 <@>‘, =,@‘3 D<>‘ :‘# @3> <@‘ Ú =>‘2 @‘ :‘ =>‘= ‘ C @ >@‘ ‘ 2> > Ó‘,@‘ ‘, >7C , ‘ 7‘ ‘ AA, , ‘ A>‘ ‘@ >‘ ::,3, <@‘ 97>>B‘ ‘ # @3> <@?@‘ 7,D, ‘ 7B_

=>7>‘,@‘ =>7‘A < ‘ = ‘ ‘ 7,@>‘, ‘ =>‘ , A‘@<CC @, D‘ =>‘D> <, > >@@‘ :‘=,@‘3 <@>‘) => =>7‘ ‘ =>‘2 @‘ :‘ =>‘ C @ >@‘# @3> <@‘ > @‘ C @ ,3 ‘2 @ , < , @‘ 7‘ C @M ,3 ‘2 @‘7 !‘C>73>,5>‘ =,@‘A < ‘ ‘= 5>‘ 7,@> ‘, ‘?2 > >7,<@‘ @‘, ‘= A‘, ‘ >‘ >: 7>‘ !‘= A‘ @>75>A‘, ‘, ‘ =, $

!&$!‘@= ‘ @>75>‘ < ‘ ‘:> ‘C 7 ,3< 7@‘ 7>)

/$ ‘ =>‘ >D, , D‘ :‘=,@‘ 7B‘ #>‘ 7 = A 4‘ %,A>‘ =,3=‘,@‘ ‘B, A‘ :‘@ @ > ‘ :‘A,5, , ‘ A‘7>3B >A‘ ‘ >‘ =>‘ :,7@‘7>D< 7‘@ @ > ‘ D‘2=7,@ , @‘@C> B, D‘ :‘9 A‘=>‘@ @‘) Ú ‘ Ó =, D@‘ =,3=‘ 7>‘A> ,5>7>A‘ ‘<@‘ ‘ =>‘ ‘ A‘ =>‘C7 C=> @‘ =>‘ C @ >@+‘ A‘ >5 D> ,@ @‘ >‘ U 7>3>,5>‘ 3B >AD>‘ A‘ 5> >7 >‘ @>>B, D‘ ‘ ‘ =, D‘ > A‘ = ‘ = @‘ >> ‘ <D= Ó ‘ => $?

E$ D ,)‘ Ú >‘Ú 3 ‘ =, B‘ 7‘@ ‘ 7 ‘ =, D‘ :‘9 A‘ >@,A>‘ = ‘,@‘A,5, > ‘ <D=‘ A‘ Ú 7>5> >A‘ ‘<@‘ ‘ =>‘A,5, >‘ 7 3>@‘ :‘ =>‘ A‘ A‘ > ‘ >@ > $? ‘ = ‘Ú=>‘A> ,>@‘ =>‘ <@>‘ :‘7> @ ‘ 7‘ = ‘ =>‘ => ‘C> C >‘ , = <‘7>5> , ‘ ,D= ‘ ‘ =>‘ ,D=‘ :‘ <7>‘ > 7 ‘ =>‘>4,@ > 3>‘ :‘9 A‘:7 ‘=,@‘ 7B@Ñ = >5>7‘, ‘ =>@>‘C @@ D>@‘ >‘@>>‘ =>‘D> >7 ‘A,5,@, @‘ :‘ =>‘ B@‘ :‘@37,C <7>‘ A‘ =>‘D7> ‘7>@C>3‘ =,3=‘ @‘@=> ‘ ‘ => ‘ ‘2=7,@ , ‘C> C >$

-$ # @3> <@‘@>> @‘+ ‘ ‘= 5>‘= A‘ =>‘=> 5> ‘$, >@@>@‘, ‘=,@‘3 C,>@‘ :‘ $‘; = ?@‘ :,7@‘>C,@ >$

$ >‘@>> @‘ ‘@ ‘ = ‘ ‘ =>7>‘ >7>‘ => ‘ ‘>4 7 7A, 7 ‘D,: @‘, ‘ =>‘2=<73=Ñ @<3=‘ @‘ =>‘ D,: ‘ :‘B >AD>‘ 7‘ =>‘D,: ‘ :‘ ,,? 3 >@Ñ ‘ > @‘=>‘ 3B >AD>@‘ = ‘=>‘= A‘ ‘@<3=‘D,: @$

2 . $‘ 2 " 6 !$

. ! ' ‘ . ! 2 ‘ %‘2 ! ." $

/$. ,3@‘ @‘,@‘ D> >7 ‘7>3B >A‘ @‘3 @ , < >A‘C 7, 73=‘ :‘2 @ , C >‘, ‘010‘Ñ < ‘ Ó. D,‘C 3> =‘ =>‘3 > 3> > ‘ :‘=,@‘C 7, 73= >‘, ‘01FO‘ ! ‘ ,@‘ D> >7 ‘@<CC @>A‘ = ‘ !*>‘ A,>A‘, ‘OH/‘ 7‘OHE$

E$ =>‘=,@ 7‘ :‘=,@‘ ,:>‘ A‘=,@‘3= 7 3>7‘ A‘D A‘ 33 < @‘ :‘=,@‘ 7B@‘ ‘ >‘@>> ‘, ‘ A,5>7@‘ < = 7@‘ ‘ = ‘ !‘7>:>7$ =>‘ 33 < ‘ =,3=‘% 7,3,<@‘ Ó= @‘D,5> ‘ :‘=,@‘ , , =>K<> ‘ A‘ =>‘ @>5>7 ‘ 7 ,3 >@‘ =>7>, ‘ A>@>75>@‘ =,D=‘ 3 > A , @$$!‘@= ‘ ‘ A‘ ‘ B>‘@ ,=>‘ : 7 =>7‘ ,3>‘ :‘ . = ,<@?@‘ 7B@‘@‘ : 7‘ @‘ => ‘7> >‘ ‘ =>‘, >7C7> , ‘ :‘@37,C <7>$

Ó 24 > < ‘ ‘ ; >@‘ # @3> <@‘ 7 = A 4T‘%,A>,‘ , $,5$ 3$ /0$ K< A‘ 2 >@‘ C @ 7< ‘ C>7‘ 2 > > > ‘ >A, @‘3< ‘A,5, ,@‘5 < , , ,@‘ > < >7 ‘2 ,,@ , < , >@‘5>‘ $ 5 '*4 $ #>‘ $‘ 7,@ D$@>3 $,5$ $,$ C$ 0 $ 2$ A< 4 ‘2 >@‘2 @ , ' , , <@‘ < >4 @ , > ,D ‘K<@7,‘ Ó 1@ ,‘)‘7 ‘ $*' [/* % $ (' +)‘7 ‘ *7‘ /(% / ' C >@$ ‘ (, ‘ 33,C>>‘A>‘@ ,@‘3 , <@‘K< ‘ *C7,‘C 7>‘ 84'<5 '& 8#'C#8‘ #>‘%,A$ 7 =$;$,$L3$ E$ C$ /E1$ #$ >77 7,@ 5,7‘@ 3 <@>‘A 3 <@ >5> <7‘>‘K<, ‘7 7, 7‘C7, ‘ 3‘ @ 27, $, ‘ 7 $ $ 00 $ $ 5$ 010$ $ 4,,,$ 4,5$ 1H$ 3>C , ‘ J3$ 2 >>7‘ ;<A,3$ A>‘ 2 @ , $ C$ C$. ,7$ C$ $ 4,,$ $,$ Ó‘&,A$! $ /‘ ,$ 3$ /$ >‘3$ -$ >‘ , ,$ Ó: j& <‘ " >5‘ 8‘ ,* ,5‘ -"‘7@ 5 :, ‘ :8" : ‘OWP‘)‘) / ‘ %‘+=1 * / P/)8‘ %‘ / ‘ %‘/ =(/(.!‘ % & /›"&‘ <4 ‘(/ /! "&‘ <8" $58&& !" 5‘ fg @1 ‘<4 ‘& &6" ‘ <4$ "&‘ <4 ‘C d›Z&‘ 8&‘H; 8"8#ℝ 8 6&Z;Ÿ 85/- ‘4‘ $ #>‘ %,A$ 7 =$ /$,$ 3$!$ $‘ ,$ C$ /E-$ $ Y ‘ /‘ ‘ *%29‘%+‘ &‘)/ ‘)$2/) /&% $) / ‘C $‘ + ‘ & F+& !$!& !$ 2 +‘ ‘ * U3 (Z / ‘ $‘- :d ‘ ›‘ ! "‘ 55 ,*,7 ,$; $ 3 C$,,$ C$ /E1$ $ ‘ ''

‘ &,A$! $ /‘ ,$ 3$ /$ >‘3$ -$ >‘ , ,$ ‘OWP‘)‘) / ‘ %‘+=1 * / P/)8‘ %‘ / ‘ %‘/ =(/(.!‘ % 1@ ,‘)‘7 ‘ $*' [/* % $ (' +)‘7 ‘ *7‘ /(% / ' 84'<5 '& 8#'C#8‘ #>‘%,A$ 7 =$;$,$L3$ E$ C$ /E1$ #$ @ 27, $, ‘ 7 $ $ 00 $ $ 5$ 010$ $ 4,,,$ 4,5$ 1H$ $ 4,,$ Ó‘&,A‘ (7 , $ B‘ A>‘ >7$ [$ 37,C $.$,$ 3 C$ /0$ 2 5$,@ $ ", $ $,,$ C$]$ % 7,3$, $ 97$, $ 5$ 3 C$ -0$ $,4$ C$ ‘ J3$ #<‘%, $, a$ $ 5,,$ ' ‘ 2$!:%‘. >:$ ‘ >3A‘ 97$ $,$; $ @ D$,@ ‘A>‘!? D ,@>‘/$ 5,$ 3=$ 5,$ $,$ C$ ‘ J3$ Ú , $ 97$ $,4$; 4 '

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(, 4 ; :" ' /' /! ' #$' H1G ' '

A + A', ' =>,7' <7 ' 7A>7N' < ' => ' > 7' =>'3 3 <@, ' :' = ' > >7' =>@ @'É Ú =>7>'
ÚU 7>' ' ,B>'> ,C ,3 '>4C7>@@, @', ' >7' ,, 3=<@' 7,@ C= >@' =<3 A,A>@' .
Ú A'#> @ => >@' A', ' @' ' =>7'C > @' A' 7 7@$? >' '=>7>'7>3 >3' = '!7> ><@'
@ ,A' D' D '0 = '^ =>' C @ >':7>K<> '<@> ='= C>7 ' >3 <@>' :' =>'7 C,A, ' :'=,@' 7A@'
Ú A' >3 <@>' :' =>' ,D= ': 73>' :' =>' C,7,', '=, $?
0$' !'@= '@> >3 ' ':> '>4C ,3 , @' :' >4 @' :'@37,C <7>$ =>':,7@',@', '0 '>C,@ >' :'.= ,<@'
=,3='@' @ O' ' C=, 3=, 'K<>@ , $ =>' >4 ',@' "<B>'44,,$ $' >'@ @' U = + 'V'@ >
0 A ^' @' 'C7 5>7 , '>4C7>@@, ' 3 3>7 , D'@<3=' @' >7>', ' 'D7> ' D ' :' , AO'
0 ,B> ,@>', ',@ @ ,A' :'@<3=' @' 7>', ' ' D7> 'D7,>:' = ' => ' >>C' > 7@' :' A)' 7'A >@' $
0!@<B>'@ ' = ' 2=7,@' A,A' @ > 'A7 C@' :' AN' < ' = ' V'=,@' @ > ' @' @' , ' >7>'A7 C@' :
0 A '@,D ,: ' = ', ' @' ' ' @ ,D= '@ > ' A' = ' <7' " 7A?@ = >' A ' @'3 5>7>A'
5>7' , =' 7D>' A' =,3B'A7 C@' :'@ > ' ,@@<, D':7 ', ' A': , D'A ' ' =>'D7 < A$? !
-"' > >7' , ',@' ,B> ,@>' = '=>' @>75>@' =>' ,@@, ' :' =,@'C 7 D7 C=' :' $ "<B>?@'D @C>', '
@ >'3 C,>@' :' =,3=' ,3>' @' > ' '<@0': 7 >7 $
H$' ! ' =>7' >C,@ >'3 @,A>7, D' $',4$ -$' V' % 7' !'3 < A' ,@=' = ' @> :' >7>' 33<7@>A'
:7 '2=7,@ ^' =>' @>75>@' Ú =>T' C @ >'A >@' '@ 'V' !' ,@= ^' < 'V' !'3 < A' ,@= ^', :', ' >7>'
UC @@, >)O' A' : >7 7A@' Ú!' '3 < A' ,@=', :', ' >7>', ' , :', ' >7>' :< ' A', :' ' : ' A'
Ú ,@>7 ,D= ' >' > >:,3, ' ' =>7@$? =,@' !' B>' ' >'7,D= N' A' @ ': 7' @' !'3 ' @>>' =,@'
>4C ,3 , '7> 5>@' ' =>'A,::,3< ,>@' :' = '>4 $
/G$' =>7>' 7>' '>43> > '3 < @> @' A' @>75 , @' ' >': < A', '.= ,<@?@'>C,@ >@$
`/$a' ! ' =>':,7@'>C,@ >' =,3=',@' AA7>@@>A' ' (,3= > 'B, D' :' < D 7,)' Ú ! O',@' >' :' =>
3 A@' :'2=7,@ ' <7'3 ' " 7A' = ' >'@= < A' 7, D': 7 =':7<, @' :'7,D= > <@ >@@' A'
Ú 'A,@D7 3>' <7': , =' ' <7' 7B@N' @ ' ,B> ,@>'A,7>3 @' . < ' =>'D7> ' @ >7' :' =>'3=<73='N'
Ú @ '.> >7' =>'3=,>:' :' =>' C @ >@' =>' @' > 7<@ >A' , =' =>'B> @' :' =>'B, DA ' :'=> 5> N'
Ú A'@ ' =>' = >'3= ,7' :' =>' C @ >@' <D= ' =>' 7 A$?
`E$a' ! ' =>'@ >'>C,@ >)' Ú >'G@ ', ',@' =>' , ' ::,3>' :' 'C7, 3>' ' B>' '@ '3, '
7'3 > ='D7> N' < '=>'@ @'=>'@= < A'>@ >> ', ' 'D7> >7' =, D' ' B>', 'D A$?
`-$a' ' =>'@ >'C7, 3>)' Ú !:O' <'7>3>,5>' ' > >:, ' >'@<7>' '7> > >7', N ,:' <'3 :>7'
Ú ' > >:, ' <' , 'A ' > '@ ' ': 7D>', $' =,@',@' ', A,3 , ' :' 'D7> ' , A' A'7 ,@> ='
Ú =>'5 <>' :' =>' > >:, '3 :>77>A$?
` $a' !'7>:>7' ' ' =>'C 3>@'3 3>7 , DT':7,> A@=,C' A], D7 , <A>$

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6 + ; D J ' ;

/' ']@C> B@' :' >3< > ,<@' @' 7, , D' <' =>' > 7'HHG' < ' , = < ' >, D'3>7 , ' :'=,@'
, >)' A' = ' =>' = @' 'C 3>A' =,@' < = 7' ' @ ' ' >' 7D<>A':7 ' (: <3 ?@'
, , =>3 '2 ,@, , ' = '0 =>7', : 7 @'<@' :' ' <@37,C '3= , ' 7'3 > ' ' $. < ?@'
>C,@ >@' :' =>' > =' 3> <7 ' , ' =,3=' =>' >' :' >3< > ,<@',@' > , >A' D' =>7

' \'% /'%'G'/*1"<' % + 'B) / %%*( ) */' %', % / %*', +6 @' ,;@ &8#' "*:5' G5&#'> 8' P ? 8
*4 *$* '1 ' - %; / / '%<0*/% / '$/ 'K# ' : 'U ' ? ' G'5' '-5 " & ' '4' $ C$'E/ C $
'U' C$' / S$C$'E G$ 0 # >& ' '" 5 9 & ' '" & 4 2 "' F', "B' S5 8" 8 ; '
0' >>'5 $,$ C0'- C$ "$ ' P 'U' ! '('* 2
U' C$' / -0$'C$ $ ' (' ' (' (' ' ('*2
C 5%'$N ' (' = ! ' + ! ' (' **3 4' '! ' ('*8' W' '
' G /)% $)"$!' 'G ' - *'%. % /' *% / ! *?' / ' / * *N' \' + % % ' (' $ $% ' ' ' $ ' .% '
65/ 8',' =" "9#64 5' 3 7>C'4 ' "8' 65' 6"<# ",' # # "5 "5' % ' (%$' ' % ' '$' $ ' ' (' % '
8 8<'" <%8" "' ' -B' 8 ' " # / " 8 > 8-"' "*" 5' 8' 322' 'U$ % ' ' ' (% ' (' $' % '
8 "##&8-' 8 # 8 ,' 4$' $ =(' / -0$'C$ /H-$ 4 '$ ' ' % ' ' P(' ' & ' 'O '
>>'5 $,$ C$'1/G$ ('
' = ! '+ ' (V *' D
(' 7

- #-& 84 ‘ $ #$! $

@ 7,,>‘ 7D< > ‘ ‘ =>‘ :,7@‘ >C,@ >‘ :‘ . > >7‘ @ @‘ Ú , ‘ ,@‘ Ó 7, > ‘ ‘ =>‘ > ,>5, D‘ ;> @‘ Ú @3 >7 ‘ 7 A‘ , ‘ @>5>7 ‘ C 3>@$? $

/ æ$. C ‘ E‘ . > $‘ ,,,$‘ /‘ =>‘ @>75>@‘ @‘ !‘ < A>7@ A‘ =, ‘ ‘ =,@‘ >::>3)‘ Ú > 3> >‘C>73>,5>‘ Ú = ‘ .> >7‘ 7 >‘ ‘ ‘ >C,@ >@$?

/1$! ‘ ‘ >‘ <C ‘ =>‘ >D, , D‘ :‘ $‘ ; = ?@ @>3 A‘ >C,@ >‘ =>‘ @ @‘ Ú >‘ Ó = A‘ = <D= ‘ Ú = ‘ =,@‘ A‘ =>‘ : , D‘ >C,@ >‘ >7>‘ ‘ 7, > ‘ ‘ ; = ‘ =>‘ C @ >‘ < ‘ ‘ , =>7‘ :‘ Ó =>‘ @ >‘ >‘ = ‘ 3 @‘ =, @> :‘ A>7$Ó <7‘ < = 7 ‘ = >5>7 ‘ 7>3>,5>@‘ =‘ =>@>‘ @‘ > ‘ @ =>‘ :,7@ $

$;<A>?@ ‘ >C,@ >‘ ,@‘ @ ,A‘ ‘ >‘ 7, > ‘ ‘ > ,>5>7@$$

;FÓ ! ‘ ‘ >‘ <C ‘ =>‘ :,7@ ‘ >C,@ >‘ ‘ =>‘ 2 7, =, @‘ =>‘ Ó >5> , ‘ ,@‘ K< >A‘ @‘ 7, > ‘ ‘ ; = ‘ =>‘ >5 D> ,@ $ Z

/0$ @‘ ‘ : 7 =>7‘ C7 : ÷ = ‘ >3< > ,<@‘ 7>3>,5>A‘ =>‘ B‘ :‘ =>‘ >5> , ‘ !‘ 7>:>7‘ ‘ >3A >‘ C< ,@=>A‘ ‘ (: <3 ‘ :‘ =,3=‘ ‘=>‘ @C> B@‘ 5>7 ‘ D ,:,3> ‘, ‘ =,@‘ C7>: 3>‘ ‘ =>‘ 2 ,@, , ‘ , 7 7 N‘ < ‘ => ‘ =>‘ @> @‘ < ‘ 7 @ , D‘ =>‘ C @@ D>‘ =>‘ @ @‘ , ‘ Ť,@‘ 7, > ‘ , ‘ @ ‘ @3<7>‘ ‘ @ >‘ @‘ ‘ >‘ @3 5 3>‘ , > ,D, >$‘ ‘ \

! ‘ ,@ @ ,A‘ ‘ >‘ Ú =>‘ Ó C@,@‘ :‘ =>‘ <7@‘ :‘ =>‘ >@@>A‘ >3< > ,<@‘ ,@= C‘ :‘ 7,33 ‘ ‘ <C ‘ =>‘ >5> , ‘ :‘ ; = ‘ =>‘ A,5, >N? A‘ , ‘ >D, @‘ , ‘ =,@‘ >7N Ú = ‘ Z =,@‘ 7, , D‘ ,@‘ Ú =>‘ @ ,3 ‘, @ 7<3 , ‘ :‘ =>‘ A,@3,C >‘ = ‘ 7>@ >A‘, ‘ =>‘ @ ‘ :‘ ; >@<@‘ A‘ ,@‘ A,5, > ‘, @C,7>A ‘ Ú A‘ <@>:< ‘ @‘ = @‘ >> ‘ A,@C< ‘C7 5>AN‘ A‘ = ‘, ‘ ,@‘ ‘ @C<7, <@‘ @‘ @ >‘ = 5>‘ C7 : > ‘ Ú @ ,A‘ < ‘ ‘D> <, >‘ 7, , D‘ :‘ =>‘ @ ‘ :‘ =< A>7)? A‘ =>‘ < = 7‘ => ‘ C7 3>>A@‘ ‘ 7D<>‘ =,@‘ :7 ‘ =>‘ >@ , ,>@‘ :‘ = @,<@‘ @, ‘ 9 7>D 7 ‘ (> = A,<@‘ 2 7,‘ :‘ >4 A7, ‘ ,CC <@‘ A‘ :7 ‘ =>7‘ 3 @,A>7 , @$‘ ‘ Ó

$!‘ @= ‘ ‘ B>‘ ‘ :> ‘ 7> 7B@$‘ ,7@ ‘ :7 ‘ =>‘ C @@ D>‘ 5>‘ 3, >A‘ :7 ‘ =>‘ 2 M > 7 ‘ <C ‘ =>‘ >C,@ >‘ ‘ =>‘ 2 7, =, @‘, ‘ CC> 7@‘ ‘ >‘ C7 >‘ = ‘ >3< > ,<@‘ 7>3>,5>A‘ =>‘ B‘ :‘ =>‘ >5> , N‘ A‘ =,@‘ C @@ D>‘ ‘ >‘ >A‘ ‘ : 7A‘ @ >‘ AA, , ‘ >5,A>,,3>$ >5>7 => >@@‘ @>3 A ‘ =,@‘ 7, >7‘ >, D‘ < B ‘ A‘ <@‘ = ‘ =>‘ @ @‘ 3 ‘ >‘ A , >A‘ @ :,, '‘ C7 :‘ = ‘ >3 < > ,<@‘ >5>7‘ 7 >‘ ‘ 3 > 7 ‘<C ‘ =>‘ >5> , $‘ =,7A ‘ =>‘ 7D< > ‘ : 7‘ =>‘ D> <, > >@@‘ :‘ =>‘ >5> , ‘ =>7>‘ @37, >A‘ ‘ >3< > ,<@‘ ,@‘ <3=‘ >‘ @ >‘ , =‘ = ‘ ,@‘ ‘ >‘ : < A‘, ‘ =>‘ C7>: 3>@‘ :‘ V A7> ‘ A÷ 7> = @‘ ‘ =>,7‘ 3 7 > 7,>@‘ <C ‘ = ‘ B$

2 . $‘ 9 " 6 ! ! ! $

. 8 " 2 $

▫ 73= ,@= C‘ :‘ =>‘ 3=,>:‘ 3, ‘ :‘ < D 7, ‘ 7 >‘ 2 > 7,>@‘ <C ‘ =>‘ ▫ D @C> @‘ =>‘ 3 @‘ :‘ =>‘ C @ >@‘ A‘ $. < ?@‘ : <7 >> ‘ >C,@ >@$ >‘ ,@‘ @C B> ‘ :‘ ‘2 5>‘ V @‘ : <7,@=, D‘ < ‘ =>‘ > 7‘ ;GFFR‘ ‘ % 7,3,<@‘ ^ < ‘ ! 4$,@‘ 2 > 7,>@‘ ï 7>‘ 3 >3 >A‘ < ‘ :‘ 2=7 @ @ ‘ A‘ =>7@‘ , =‘ @>75 , @‘ ,B> ,@>‘ < A < >A ‘ :‘=,@‘ $

Ó ! C FH

/f ‘&! ;)‘ ,!6F!)%,$#)$ 56% ‘ ‘ &(‘ ‘) ‘ * ‘ -8 ‘ C$ 1 0$ #$

$:‘ .$ ‘ $

÷‘+ ‘ 858& % >‘ -885 >‘ QR;3 ‘ 5‘ ,&‘ $‘ ,$ C$ ‘2

:‘ &,D>@, < ‘K 7 < ‘ >4‘ > A> ‘3 A,3>‘C7 A, ‘>@ K >‘ D>‘ ‘C7@>@ ,<@ C<@3< < ‘ 2 3 > ,,‘ >C,@3 C,‘ 7,33 >‘, ‘ =>@ ‘ @ , $ >@‘ 5> , ‘ >= 3‘ 3<*<@ 3,5, ,@ >C,@3 C<@ >@@>‘ 2 3< > ,<@‘,D < ‘ :<,@@>$!@‘ <3 7, >‘C 7< ‘, > <3 ‘ , , <@K<>‘ 7D< > ,@‘ C7 ‘ C 3 C@, ‘ >@@>‘ 5>7 ‘ > ‘ 3 ,3 +@37,C <7 $ .7 >:$ ‘ >‘ @K<> @‘ < > ‘ C<@3< < ‘ @ ‘ ‘C>7C >4 ‘@37,C < ‘ +>@ < 7,4‘ , > ,,D,‘ CC@@, $,K< ‘ > , ‘ , ‘ 3,@‘ 5, , <

5,A> <7$!C@< ‘ > Ó C7 ‘ : 3< >‘ > ‘ " , >‘, >7C7> 7,‘ @ <A<,$, $ 2 ,@ $ C$

Y * , ; ‘D"<8 5"6‘ 3» 8<8# 5‘ ,", *D",8‘ #"<< > ‘ b #% 6! ! ‘ #"% S ‘ ;# @%6&=< 6 ;)‘ " ‘ , >5 !", <8%5 /"5‘ 4 8&&8‘,8‘ % &8‘ < +,nN 6$ 6$! $ C$ EFF %$

Ú .$ $ %$ > ‘ $

>>‘ >: 7>‘ , ‘ =,@‘ 7B‘ 5 $‘ ,$ C$ - G ‘ A7> ‘ 3, >A‘ :7 ‘ .7 D‘ A‘ C 3$ C$ -$ ‘ A‘ 2 3$ $ 5,,,‘ GCC$ $ 2=7 @ @ $ A$ (7> $

÷ &,A$ 7> =$ C$ >3< > $ $ $ C$ G$

R $ "$ $,,$ C$ /1-$

, $+9 7$ $ 5,$ C$ E0 ‘ J 3$

T # <‘ . , $, $ $ 5,,,$ C$ $ / / - ‘ $, ‘ ,@ $ 27 $ A>@ 2 > ‘ A<‘ $ $ 3 $ E0$ C$ - HG ‘ 3$ % 7$, $ 97$ $ 5,,$ C$ F0F$

e' =>'@>3 , '3 3>7 , D' =>' B> ', ' A< >7 ' =,3=' >'= 5>', '; = ?5,,,$:' =>' >D, ,, ' ,@' '>4C , >A' 'ZZ => C= 3 $
0E$!' '>D' > 5>' ' > , ' 'D> >7 ' @>75 , $ => C= 3 ?@ 2 > 7,>@' 7>' 5>7 '<@>:<' A'5 < >N <', '@>> @' ' >' = ' ' <3=' 7>@C>3 '= @ >> ' @=> ' ' =,@ C7>M : 3>@ ' =>' : <7 D @C> @' =>7>' =>' A> >7 , >@' =>' , >@' :' =>'@>5>7 '>5 D> ,@ @? 7, , D$;<@ ' A'<@>:<' @>75 , @'7,D=' 7 C7 >', >7C7> , @' :'@37,C <7>' ' >'7>3>,5>A':7 ' ' ' > '=, ' ,5>' => ' =>' , ' < ' @' ' =,@ 7, ' =>' >@ , ' :' ' ' = '@C> B@' :' =, D@ A >' ' = <@ A' > 7@' >: 7>' =,@' , > ',@' :' , >'5 <>'< >@@', ' >'A>7,5>A':7 ' 7>' 3,> ' 7, >7@$ (, ', '=,@ . 7 >D > '@ @' = => C= 3 ',@' =>':,7@' = '= @ @@,D >A' =>' C7>3,@>' > 7 , ' =,3=' > 3=' >5 D> ,@ 'C< ,@=>A'=,@' D @C> N A' > '=>'= @' C 3>A' => C= ' 3 ?@ C7>: 3>@' =>7>' = @>' A> >7 , , @' 7>' A>' ' =>' => A' :' =>'@>5>7 ' D @C> @' , '=,@' >A, , ' , = <' '7> 7B@' N A' '= 5>': >A' => C= 3 ' , ' = 'C , ' = <D=' (, ' = A' 7>'*<AD >)' <' =>' > 7 'A >' :' =>' D @C> @' ,@' C C< 7' A' , '= @' >3 >' @' ' D> >7 ' C, , $ 'C ' , @' C , '@ >' @>75 , @' e5>7>' > , >A'+', ' =>' 3= C >7' :' <@>M ,<@ :'2 >@ 7> $

' : 7$' 2 ' !&$

' 8 (!' $

/$ \' 8 (,<@ ? @ ' B' = ' ,5>A' '2 @ , C >', ' =>' >7' C 7' :' =>' > >5> =' A' =>' >D, , D' :' =>' > : =' 3:> <7 $ >' 7 >' ' 7B' > , >A' . C , ' D , @' '=>7> ,3@N 2 > 7,>@' <C ' =>' .@ @' A'<C ' =>' D @C> @' 3 >3 >A' 3=,>: ' < ' :' 2=7 @ @ ' A' =>7' 3,> ' 7, >7@N A' @' @ ' >' =>7' B@$,@' 7B@' 7>' ' > ' C< ,@=>A', ' =>' 7,D, ' 97>>B' =]' !' B ' :' < ' ', ' " , '5>7@, @N = <D=' (, ' A' $, ' A' @ >' =>7@' = '= A' 33>@@' ' <@37,C @' = 5>' K< >A'@>5>7 'C @@ D>@' :7 '=, ', '97>>B$
E$! '=,@' C7>: 3>' ' $ (=> ?@ D @C>' =>' @ @' Ó = 'Ú (=> ' 7 >' ' =>' 7>K<>@' :' Ú =>';> ,@=' > ,>5>7@', ';<A> $? >'@>> @' '@ ', '=>'@ >'C 3>' = ' (7B' 7 >'=,@' D > ' ' =>' 7>K<>@' :' =>$ > ,>5>7@', ' D C $ >', B> ,@>'@ @' = ' (=> ?@ D @C>' @' :,7@' Z 7, > ' A', ';<A> ':7 =>';> ,@=' > ,>5>7@', ' > 7> ' >,D= ' > 7@ : >7' <7 " 7A?@ @3> M @, N : >7 7A@=,@' D @C>' @' 7 @ >A', ' =>' 97>>B' D< D>$
-$ =>'Ó>5 D> ,@' (7B' =>' @<CC @> =' ' >' =>' >C=> ' :' 7 @' : > ' > , >A', $ - ' !4 ' A' $. < ?@ >C,@ >@N' =>'@<CC @> =', ' ,B> ,@>' ' >' =>'@ >' = ',@' > , :,>A)' ' .> >7' ' =>' > A' :'=,@' :,7@' >C,@ >$ >'@ @' =,@' D @C>' @' 7, > ' < ' > ' > 7@' : >7' <7' " A?@ @3> @, ' ' >' @' @ >'@ ,A' 7', ' D C ' 33 7A, D' ' =>7@$ >'@ @' = ' ' =>

?&,AC $ '
Ó => C= 3 <@=,>' @ >7' ,< ' `K< A'@3, á C7, <@' A>@,D ',C@< 'C7@>3,@>' < 'K<' >5 D>=@ >', D<',@<' 3 @37,C@>7, '>5 D>, $ (= >< '>5 D> ,< '@<< '@3,AC' @,@@>' , ' C @' @3> @, > ' 2=7,@',' 3 5 N (73< ' A>3, M "<3 'A>3, K<, ' ; > ' 7,D>@, '@>>< A $ ' A' 5,*<@ 3 3A<7 '@>'3 C <' ($C<7, ',' ,@ A'3 3> '>5 D>, , $ (, $ .7 $ $ _ $
5 e'6% ' ' ,' DD$
ŒK"(' !6' '"$ ' $ 9 ' 'H$K''" # ' 3$ $ ' ,$ ' !4&' * 4$:&' '6'4' ' '6 I',' BF $'T3' *$ 5 (% ' # $' & 3$ " # 3% ((! ' " ' ? ' $' ' , $' 2' T3' $
?=8 -< ;'> , 'K<,'>4';<A >,@37>A,A>7 ' @>37 5>7< ' <' @37,C ' 7>, K<>7>' ,C@,@' >5 <D>,' =,@ 7, 7 ' K< ' > @ 5>7 'A 3<>7 $, , , >7'>' (73< 'K<',' * D C '>A 3,' '0 +!23' < $', ',5$ 5 D>,' C$, $ . .$ (4$ $'4,4$, 'BFH' :
/' & (#' ! &!'#3& ,# ' <! !# #'<2 >' 3',&!' (! 4 #M' 5 7$' $

>@' >5 D> ,< ' C @' 3 ' @ 2=7,@,' , ' 3 > @ @@< B' 37,C@,' < > ' A', @' K<,'>4' ;<A @,@37>A,A>7 '<C7 >A,4, ' <@' > 7 > ' <@<@ , D< ' 3' 3 >4 <7 $' . @ > ' 5>7 ' , ' @7 ' , D< ' 7 A<3 < ' >@ $!A$, $ C' 0$ $ 9 :$ >@ , , C$ (, $' $' $
Ó (73<@*$:, ,<@ (7, >'K< >', 'A >'@< ' > ,D >' C @ @' >43,C,> $ & 3 <7' < > '>'; >@'K<> A A< ' , ' 3 ,@' C @ 7< ', 5> , <@$$' $ ' 3,7>' C7, 3,C ' K5 ,A> ' 3 : *< 3,<@>@' 7 @ 5< 3< '@< '>' . *< ' @,3< ',' , >7' 3 7< '>@ <7'>'. , @', '>C,@ ,@ >,* , > ':>>,> @$ $ $ #>, A>' 3< ' . > 7 ' >' 3 5>7@ <@ >@ ' K<> A A< ' C7, 7'>*<@>C,@ 'A>7 @ 7 ' K< '>, ' :, ,< ' @<< '*<4 ' @C,7, < ' (73< ' CC>' 5B$ ' K< ', @<C>7' '>5 D>,' @>7 > 'A,A,3, '>'C @ A< '>5 D>,< '>: 37,C@,' @>M 3< A< ' 2 > > > ' 7 ,3< ', ', ,C@ ' 'N *<4 ' 2=7 @ @ < ' < > ', ' $ D C ' 7 D <@' :7 7, <@' K<,' , ,A> ' 7 <7'C @'A>3, < ' ' 5 7'' @@< , >' M < $! ,A$ C$ $ 9$ $

(")" " &' ,' - ' . # ' 0 " &

:,7@ ' (7,>' @' <3=' , =' =,@' < 3 >' 7 @' A' . < @' : >7 7A@' =>' @' , =' . > >7' ' "& '
@' =>' :,7@ ' >C,@ >' :' = ' C @ >' @=> @' ' = ' =>' @ ' =>7>' 3 @' =,@' @ N' :7 ' = ,' @ '=>'
7>3>,5>A' =>' = >' =,@ 7 ' :' =>' D @C> $

$' ! :' (7B' @' ' :,7@ ' <3=' , =' 7 @' A' . < ' A' ' , =' . > >7' , ' : >7 7A@' = '
A >@' ' : 5 <7' =>' @<CC @, , ' = ' =,@' D @C>' @' 7, > ' 5, =, ' > ' > 7@' : >7' <7' " 7A?@
@3> @, ' N' : 7' 33 7A, D' ' =>' D> >7 ' A' @ ' < ,5>7@ ' 3 3<77, D' >@ , ' :' 3,> '
? < = 7@ ' (7B' 7>3>,5>A' =,@' D @C>' :7 ' =>' C @ >' . > >7 ' @',@' @ ' @ ,A' ' =,@' 7, >7' =, @> :$
5, D' >4C , >A' $' (7B?@' D @C>' ' ' =>' > A' :' 5>7$' 0 =' :' =>' =' 3= C >7 ' =>' @ @
U' >? >4C @, 7@' ::,7 ' =,@' ' >' =>' 3 3 <@, ' :' (7B?@' D @C> ' A' = ' = ' : @' = @
U' >> ' AA>A' @, 3>)' >5>7 => >@@' , ' <D= ' ' >' >4C , >A' ' <@ ' @' , ' 3 , @' =, D' 3 7 7
O' ' 7< =$?

$' "<B> O?=>' @ @' @' ' ,5>' :' , 3= ' A' ' C= @,3, $' >' @' ' => 7>7' :' 2=7,@ '
A ' @' @ >' @ ' >' :'=,@' @>5> 'A,@3,C >@' @' e > ' @' (7B' N' =>' @' : >7 7A@' 5>7 ' , , >'
, =' . < $' >' 7 >' =,@' D @C> ' , =' . < ?@' C>7 ,@@, ' :,: >> ' > 7@' : >7' <7' " 7A?@' @3> @, $
F$' >' @ @' = ' $; = ?@' D @C>' @' ' 7, > ' < , ' ' > 7@' : >7' =>' A>@ 7<3 , ' :'
;>7<@ > $

D ' D , ' - ' : ('6!& % #'& !" 8' '5 ' %+ A# 8%#, ' + ' . , & ## +' + (# '! &' + #' (! &'
!6 8' <# 8": ('3+' 6 ' - ' !""#$ >' ' % M+ ' %' 4 ' %4# &6 "$' +! ' ; +! ' % % ; #' - ' ' +%#
; %&"#$ _' - :' #8@ ' # #' !8! ' %' + ($' #!) 8$' ' ! (' + ' 8+ ' % ' - ' 6 (O' !& ' + &
U' 68 : ": 2¯, ' =>' 7>' <84 ' 3 C,>@' 7' 7B>A' , =' ' A DD>7' , ' =>' 7D, ' A> , D' => ' ' >'
U' @C<7, <@' A' , >7C >A)' :' =,3=' , ' ,@' @ >' 7D< > ' = ' =,@' C 3>' ,@' '>4C , >A'
U' : 7 >7' , >7C7> >7@' N >5>7 => >@@' @' , ' ' >' <@>:< ' 6 '@= '>4C , ' , $

2 . $' 2 " 6 & $

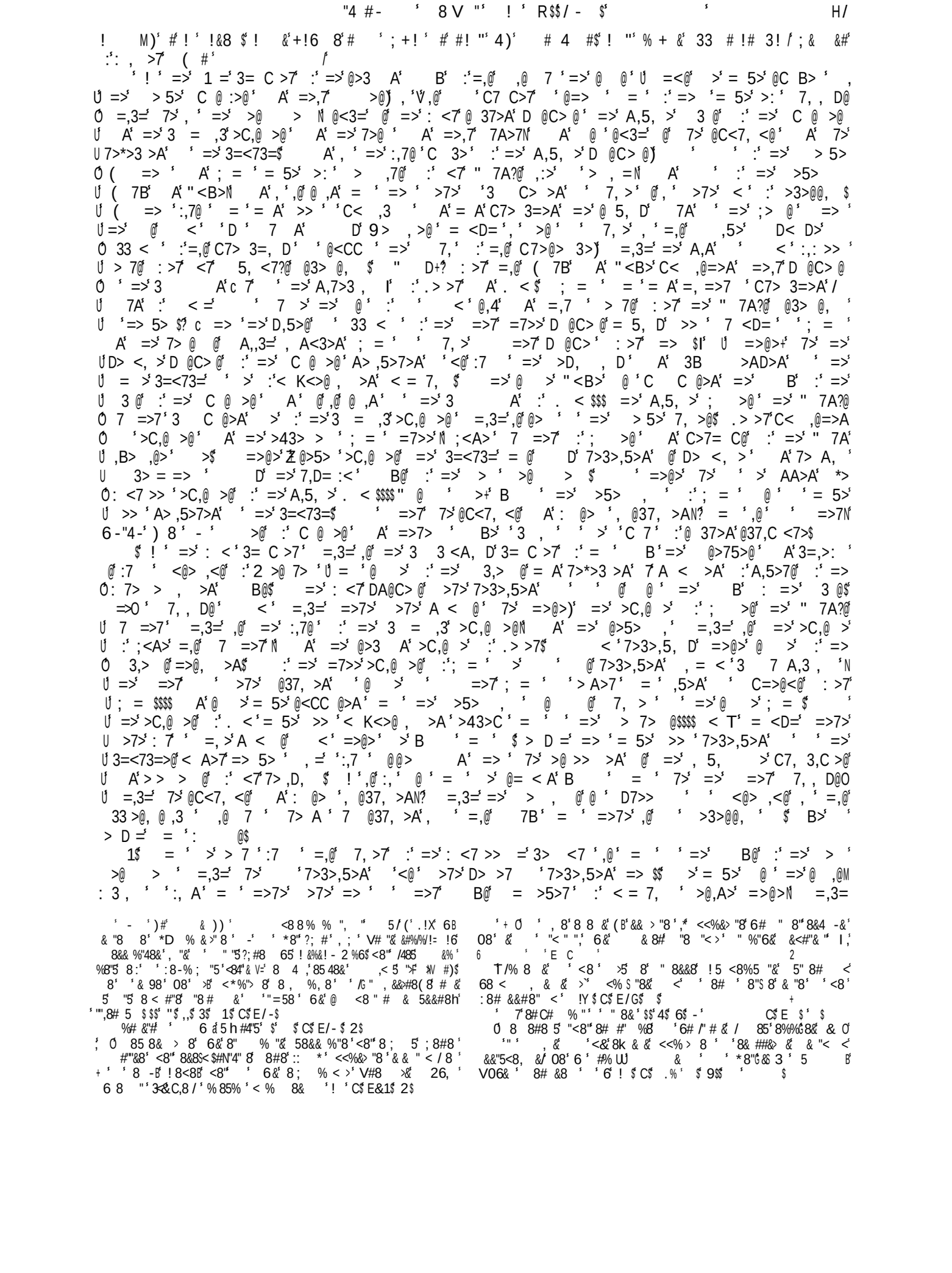
! 2 . ' ' 2 " " ! $

p' ½

' " ' @ ' :' 2 ,@ <@' 6 = C< <@ O' ' > 7 >A' B' :' 2 @ , C >' ,@' C 3>A' '
' = 7 0 ' , ' =,@' CC> A,4' ' 2 5>' ' =>' > 7' / - - 0N' < ' @' =>' > C>7 7' ' = ' !:,@
7B' ,@' A>A,3 >A' ,@' T 3 C< >A' ' = 5>' A,>A' , ' / - EF' !' #+! ' C 3>' =, ' ' :> ' > 7@' @ >7'
, ' / - E1 0
>' 7 >' , ' =>' 9 7>>B' D< D>' ' 33 >@, @ ,3 ' ,@ 7 ' , '>,D= >> ' B@' :7 ' =>' ,5, '
:' 2=7,@' ' =>' > 7' / G' 3 >3 >A' @' =>' @ @' ?? C<' :' <@> ,<@' :' 2 >@ 7> ' 37 >@' [> '
. =, @ 7D,<@' => A 7> ' < D7,<@' A' =>7@$
E$' %7 ' =, ' !' @= ' 7 @37, >' ' 7 ,3 >' 3 3>7 , D' =>' B@' :' =>' > ' >@ > ' , M
, D' @ >' C 7 ,3< 7@' =,3=' 7> A>7' =,@' 77 , ' C7 ,4' A' =,3=' 7>' ' ' >>A:<' ' >

Z0 S$,A ' < > ' , >7C7> < ' @@>7< ' = 3' ' 3 ' 3 '
C > < ' '>@@>' (73,' >5 D> ,< ' K< @' 5>7 ' @>K<<# <7' 7>3> '
, 7> ' '>@@>' AA, , > $' C 7 > ' >,' > ' = 3' >4C 7>'
K<< ' 5>5, ,' ,=, '7>C<D > $' C$' $' $
U' > <@' "<3 @' , 3=> @,@' :<, ' D> >7>$' > ' < > '
@>7 ,@' A,@3,C , ' A>C <@' >A,3, ' > , '3 7C 7< '
A,A,3, ' 3' C @ ,:, A< ' , 7< ' K< K<>' >A,3, ' @@>'
K<< <@' >@ $' .7, < ' K<, A> ' 2=7,@ ' A=@>@, ' > ' ' > ' C,> '
,@' @> , ' @<@3>C, $' . @ > ' 5>7 ' . < ' A<3,' 3 *, 3 <@'
4, >K<>' : ,*<7,@' >::>3 <@' >@ ' 3' A,@3,C< <@' >*<@' 3 >@'
K<>' , , >7,@$' #,3< ' < > ' K<,A ' > ' 4, >' 7,D> >@'
K< A' (73<@' > ' "<3 @' >' A , ,3 ' C @@, > ', >7' @>C '
< D, ' A,@3,*<, @' 3 < >7 ,' @< $' . @ ' K<, A>3, ' 5>7 '
@' ' @ 5 A@' @@< , >' C>7 ,@@<' . < ,' 3 @37,C@, '
, 5 D> ,< ' A' ! ,> C ,, < ' :,A> ,@@, < ' #>,K<>' ,@@, '
* ,< $' ! ,A$' C$' PX ' G

O' .7 >@> @' < > ' >5 D> ,< ' < ,@' ,@' C @ ' 3 C ' ;>7 '
@ ' 3 @37,C@, $' ; $' C$' Q ' $
3,7>' < > ' C 7 > ' K< A' > ' K<@>' ' = 3' 3 ' = > <7'
<@K<>' A' >< ' K< ' A,3, <7) I' ! >7< ' >7D ' K<< <@' >@' , ,@
+' ;>@<@' A,3> @') D ' <4' < A , , '>4 3 , 7, <@' >4> C 7, <@
< ' ', 5> ,< 7' <' > ' 3 : @@ ' @ , ' > ' K< A' $$:+ &'
, '5,A> <7' > ' @,AA, $' ' =<*<@' 7D< > < ' >@ ' K< A'
< <@' > ' @, ' , >7C7> <@' J3$' ! ,A$' DG$' 9 $
>' &,A$' . D,' $' G$' $ 5,,$' % 7,3$' , $ 97$ /$ 5$ 3 C$' $
$ 5,$ C$' / - G ' J3$ # <' . , ' , $ A>@' < $' 3$' $ 4,$ C$ D $
' /* ' $' "$' , ' CC$' C$' - - $
O' ,3>C= 7<@' 2 ,@ <@' 6 = C< <@' 2 ' ,@ ,A>@' @,5>' 2
,@ ,' 6 = C< ,' : ,<@' =,@ 7, ' @< ' < ,' A7 ,3 '
. > D '! C>7 7,' * '@> ,' K<,' $ 2$ / - EF ' @>C < D> 7, ' *
* 7' ,, $' % 7$ < ,' @<C7$ C$ / - G$ U
WR &,A$' $' $' "$,$ 3 C$ / ' C$ -1 ' - G$. 7,@$ / G - G$



*R (%) " & , - . # 0 " &

>7>,CD >> >A , >, 5,3: >C7, 3,C >@ A> > > @ :<7 7> ,D, N? 7 =>7< > ,$, @< , > ,>:, ,,A C7 3 ,3>N Y 7 @ =>3 >A => > >: 7> A D , Ó ,B> ,@> Ú => B@ , > >@ Ó Ú > ? 7A >K<,5 > 3 ,3 @ @ : 7 >7 @>75>A < @$ (7> 5>7 , :: 7A@ 7> @m4 > ,>5> = =>7> >5>7 >7> => 7 7, , D@ 7>3>,5>A 7 K< >3: 2=7,@ , @ @ : < = 7, >@,A> =>@N =,3= ≠ => @ 3 @ =>D> <, >@37,C <7>@ :=>3=<73=) : 7 =,@ @ <A, <@ B 7>C7>@> @ =>7> =>D> <, > >@@ :: 7 >7 , >@ @ > @ :=,@ $ =>D> <, > >@@ :@ > : =>@= A >> A < >A :N < =>7> >5>7 >7> => 7 @ :< = 7, >@,A> => $

$ =,@ 7 ,3 > : ,3>C= 7<@ => >D, , D :=>: <7 >> =3> <7 @< * , >A => 7>@ @>75>: 7 3 3 <@, : =,@ B @ 3 , , D @< 7 33 < : = = @ >> @ ,A A 7>C7>@> , D = @ > C7 5>AN =,3= ! = C> > = 5> C7 5>A A 7> @ C< A J 7> S$ $ # $ 0

. . # ! 6 $

: 8":":2 8:844 : , - 44 "8 "48 0" " , 4 8 X ; : 8 : (- (

!$ 6 . 1 <C 7>5,> = != 5>=, =>7 D,5> A,@ , 3 33 < :=>33 >@, @ ,3 =,@ 7, @ 37 >@ A [> = <D= => = 5> >> K< >A @>5>7 , >@ @= A , 7,>: N 7>:>77, D @ @ >3 > 7 >A A>7 @ = > 3 @< >A - 6 - -85 >,@<7>$ 0

=> = @> 7, >7@ A => A 7> 7> 3 , < 7@ :<@> ,<@ :2 >@ 7>) =7>> : <7,@=>A , => , > :=> A @,<@ =>< D>7 = @> 7>,D 3 > 3>A , G0 A$> A>A, 1GN A =>,7 =,@ 7,>@ >7> C< ,@=>A > 7 =>> A :=7>,D $ => 7> 5>7 5 < > < > @ :,K<, N < =>7> 7> , => @ 7,>@ :,7 3 >@ > >@ >A A , C7 >, =>,7 3,73< @ 3>@$

& >@,D@ A =>7 > 7 CA > = 5> @<CC @>A = =>@> =7>>=,@ 7, @ 7 > : >7 =>7 :,7@ 37 >@ => [> A @ => A 7> A = =>7) 6 (:7 =>> =>7 A , >A @<CC = = A >> , >A) < > => C, , :. D, CC> 7@ 377> C7 >N =,3=,@ = ≠ => @> < =>,7 7B@ @>5>7 < =>@ > , > A C< ,@=>A C D7> A,@ 3> :, > :7 > 3= =>7 > 7 =>> A :=> 7>,D :=> A @,<@ @ >: 7> @ ,A$

!!$ 37 >@ @ 7 A >A<3 >A 2 @ , C >) =>@ <A,>A T< A>7 =>D7 7, @ > A,<@ A ,<@ =>=> => @ = => =>,7 > C >@ >7> A>@ 7 >A >4 A7, , -H/ >: = 3, A 2 > 7>@,A> 2 @ , C >$ % 7 =, > 4 8 C > A>A 3 <@>@) : >7 7A@ > 5, D =>7 =>@> < 7, , D =,@ 33 >@, @ ,3 0" &=,3= 3 M C7>=> A@ , @>5> B@ =>@C 3> : < =< A7>A A =7>> A =,7 > 7@ :7 =>> 7 -G => 2 @ , > @ A>3 7>A > C>7 7 => @>5> >> = 3 @< @=,C : => A @,<@ 7 => > 7 :2=7,@ -HN A =>,@ @C B> : 2 5> @ : <7,@=, D , = > 7$

$ ' ' &! ' A / F /) #6$ #))# 0
/ & / (,)+ $ 3&) + 2 4)) 3 I
! ,A$ C$ h! $ $ @& $,,$ C$ $
) ' &! /!= W ') % *(+ &% & =) &+ 6 ! ,A
Ó 2 5$,@ $ ", $ % 7$, $ 97$ /$ 5$ 3 C$ $ 5,OC ! ! $$$$' $ $ & >@ A>, &, $ > @37,C ,@ 37 $ [$ > => A 7> $. D, $ $ $ 45$ 45,$ $ $,4$ 4$ 4,$ @ D$ $ -D$ $ 5$ G$ 5,,$ -G$ $ 5,$ #<. , $, $ $,,,$.$,,$, > $ ($ $ /1$ => A 7> $;$ " > 2 >73$, $ $ > ($ 45,$ C$ /G-YYY /1 $
37 >@ [> <@ > => A 7> <@ < > A> K<> C 7>7>7< >3A>@, @ ,3 7< =,@ 7, @37, >7> D7>@@,@< N ,A> >@ @37, > A, C7, 3,C,< @< @>7> >< A> K<> :>7> > =@ 7, >@< >, C @<>7> ,,@ > C 7, <@>4 7@, K<, @ <@> ,<@=,@ 7, @< >7 , 5>7 $. D, 27, ,3 , 7 $ EF$ $ *

$$$ &>7< => A 7> <@ A> 37 ,@ > [> ,=,@ 7,3 @<CC > A 3 D, 5, >A 3< < 7 K<> ; D> A 3 , 7 >@@> > , 7,> >5>7 7> <7 , K< >< >7K<> , 3,A, 5, 5, > K<, 7>@ , 7,> >K< K' > , <7 > >D, J D>@ > ,<@ 3 > ,A> , , ,@K< ,@ ,@ :<@, 7 > A, ,D> , 7 >@ $ 2 7 5>7 37 >@ > [> <@ > @A> >5, >7 ,D>7>$ S< 7> A< , K<, 7 7>@ ,@ ,@37,C 7>@ K<, >@@, , ,A> O 7D< >= < C7 C @<>7> @ < D< >4 7> ,@ => A @,, ;< , 7,@ > C 7, <@ K< A A> 37 > > [> , ,:7 5,A> , <7 @>A > , > A> > C 7> =,@ 7, @@< @ >33 >@, @ ,3 @ , <3> > ,@>7, $$$! <A,>, A<@ & >@,<@ , > K< A < < >4 7, <@ =,@ 7,@> >33 >@, @ ,3@> @37,C 7, <@ >7< >7,<@ @37, , 3 C, @@> > >4 , @ >< K<, >7 ,K<,A AA,A, < >7< , >7A< > > A 5, =< 3 C @ >7, 7> 5,A>7, @37,C@,D@>$!A$, $ $ 45,$ g
N 37 $ /$ 3 C$ E $ Ó ! $ 3 C$ $
' $ ' ' (%

X ; : ' - ' 9 ' G$ #-
> >@' /-' C 7 ,3< 7 '>@ >> >A'O: :' =,@'*<A,3, <@' @>75 , @'<C ' > ' A' =, D@$$' 5>7 '
7> A>7' : =,@' 7B',@' >' ' : 7 ' @ >' , ' :' =,@'*<AD > ' '7>3 >3 , D' =>' C @@ D>@'
= ' = 5>' >> ' >D>A' :7 ' =, ' <C ' A,5>7@' 33 @, @N' =>7>, ' =>' @=> @' =, @> :' ' = 5>'
>> ' ' ' :' D7> ' A>7 , ' A' ' > > ' ' C>7@>3< , ' =,3=' @ ' =>' A>:, >@ , ' =,@'
>7)' =>' ,@ @C> B, D' :' ;< ,)' =>' @ @' U' = 'U' > C>7 7' 5 ,A>A' =>' >43>@@,5>' 37<> ' = '
U' @' C7 3 ,@>A' , ' =>' , >@' :'#, 3 >@,)' >5>7 => >@@' =>' C>7@>3< >AN' : 7' = ' !' 3 ' C>7@>3< '
Q , ' => ' 'A,@ <7 3>' ,@' D,5> ' C' > ' = ' ,5>' C> 3> ' A' K<,> $' =>' C 7 ,3< 7', '
U' =,3=' =>' , @ 3> = ' ,@' ;< , ?@' >A,3 ' C7 =, , , D' 2=7,@ , @' ' 7> A' =>' 3,> ' 9 7>>B' A'
O' ' < = 7@$? A' =>7>' 7>' , ' =, ' =>'7' C 3>@'Z' > ' 7 = ' :' @>75 , N , '
@ >' :' =,3=' =>' B>@' 5>7 ' :7>>' 7> 7B@' <C ' =>' @K< >@' A' 3 > , @' :' =>' 2=7,@ , '
3 >7D ' :' = @>' , >@$
37 >@' @' @C> B@' , =' D7> ' 7>@C>3 ' :' =>' @37,C <7>@' :' =>' A' A' > ' >@ > '
A' = @' >4C7>@@ ' K< >A' ' =>' 3 @' :' =>' C @ >@' ' >C,@ >@' ' =>' @' T' =>' 2 7, =, @'
=>' V' 9 , @' 2 @@, @' A' > 7> @' ' =>' ,B> ,@>' B>@' ,3>' U' :' ' 5 7, <@' 7> A, D' , '
/' ; = ',5$ - ' 7' U' ; = ?@' 3 = ,3' >C,@ > ?' @' =,@' >4C7>@@, ',@N' <C ' =,3=' (, ' A' =>7@' '
>' 3 @< >A$
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>A<3 >A' , ' ' @ >7 N' : >7 7A@' =>' @ <A,>A' =>' ' ' >7 <@' A' => ' > ' ' 2 @ M
, C >' =>7>' =>' @' ' A5 3 >' A' 3 , <>A' ' C > A' 3 <@>@' =, @ ' U' ' =,@' >,@<7>' = <7@' =>'
7 >' =,@' 33 >@, @ ,3 ' ,@ 7)' =,3=' 3 , @' , ' , >' B@' ' 33 < ' :' :: ,7@' :7 T' =>'
=,7A' 3 @< @=,C' :' 27,@C<@' A' 2 @ , >' 2 >@ 7@' ' =>' @>5> >> =' 3 @< @=,C' :' => A M
@,<@' > C>7 7', ' = @>' , >' =>' 7 >' A' ' = ' =,@' 7B',@' A>A,3 >A' = ',@' :7 ' =>' > 7'
-E ' ' =>' > 7' -H ' 7' >' =< A7>A' A' :,: >> ' > 7@$ >' ,@' C 3>A' ' 2 5>' @' : <7,@=, D'
< ' =>' > 7' G$
$ >@,A>' =>' =,@ 7 ' :' =,3=' !' = 5>' >> ' @C> B, D' [> ']= A' >: 7>' 7, > ' , ' '
B@' ' @< 7 ' 33 < ' :' =>' :: ,7@' :' =>' 3=<73=' : ' =>' @3> @, ' :' 2=7,@' ' =>' A>:> '
:' '',3, ,<@N' < ' = ' 7B',@' ' '>4 $
[> ' "@ 6" ' 8 ' > ' @' 37 >@' @' ' ' :' A>7 , ' @7 3,@' = 5>' >> ' C>73>,5>A'
' ':7 ' @>5>7 ' C @@ D>@' >D>A':7 ' =, ' I' , ' =,@' 7B$
! ' ' >' @ ' @>75>A' :' =, ' = ' ?=>' @' @C> B@' , =' D7> ' 7>@C>3 ' :' =>' @ 37>A'
@37,C <7>@$
1 +! ' + ' #!)# % ' + ' 6 ! % ' % ' &' ! '"' + ' 6 ! % ' % ' ! $' ; !# !2 ' % 3 ' % 'A'
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5>7@ ' 7' =>7>' <@> ,<@' >:' ::N ' =>' A> =' :' => A 7>' ,@= C' :' (C@<>@ , ' = ',@' :7 '
=>' > 7' :' 2=7,@' -E ' ' EH O >, D' =>' @C 3>' :' >' =< A7>A' A' :,5>' > 7@$
=> A 7> ?@' >@ , ' ' =>' @37,C <7>@' @' >4=, , >A' U' : 7 >7 $

' A> ' 5>7 ' *>3 '3 <@,A,3, ' A'@37, > A '>33 >@, '
@ ,3 7 '=,@ 7, '@>'3 <, $ S< ',C 7>' > '*<A,3, ' > ' A, ,D> '
, ' '@<@ >@' @, D< 7,$ = 2' *<A,3,< ' K<,A> ' A>3 7 ' '
@>75 , >@ > ' @> > , >' C @@, ' , ' , 7,@ >'<@ , >4 >' K<, <@'
> ' *<A,3, ' ,=, '>@' , <@ 7,<@$ $ & >@' A>' 5, ' > '@37,C ,@
37 $ > ' [> $
>A' K< < 'A,3 , ,@' > >D A' 5, 3, ' [> <@' < '
37 >@ *<A,3, ' 5, 3, $' ' 37 >@ K<,A> ' <7 ' A>' 5,7,@'
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@R >>' 5 $,$ C$ X ('VV(' 1F ' -GD ' -1E ' EO$
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&,A$' [$ .7$ C$ -HF '
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T' >>' 5 $,,$ C$ 1 - ' 1 ' -1E$
7' &,A$' [$ /$ 5$ 3 C$ /1$ C$ $ 3 C$ E /$ C$ $ #$ /$ 5,,$
3 C$ /E$ C$ F /0$ 2$ /$ 5,,$ 3 C$ $ C$ F -1$ $'
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Z&,A$' => A 7> $' $' $ /$,$ 3 C$ / > ' E$ > ' /$ 5$ 3 C$ < $ $
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ˢ " # 8 ˢ % ˢ + #ˢ ; % 2$ˢ &% (ˢ + ˢ 4 8 8$ˢ ! "ˢ ! ˢ ! % 8$ˢ +!#ˢ 4 ˢ %ˢ #+ ;ˢ + ˢ & +ˢ % ˢ + ˢ 6! 8 3! ˢ + # %&) $! "ˢ + & 4) ˢ + ˢ & +ˢ % ˢ + ˢ +& # ! ˢ & 8 % Lˢ %&ˢ ˢ + ˢ !3 #ˢ & ! "ˢ ˢ + ˢ 8%#, #$ˢ ! "ˢ 3% & ("ˢ 4) ˢ + ˢ , # #ˢ % ˢ + ˢ ? ;ˢ # ! ($ˢ (!) ˢ 4 ˢ & "ˢ ,% $ˢ + ˢ +& # ! ˢ & 8 % ˢ #ˢ &% (ˢ !6

+ ˢ + 8#ˢ + & ˢ & ! "ˢ %ˢ +!6 ˢ 4 ˢ "% ˢ 4) ˢ # #$ˢ ! "ˢ) &ˢ - "ˢ " #3 , #ˢ 4) ˢ 6 & ˢ % ˢ ,% ; &#ˢ " & 6 "ˢ &% (ˢ + ($ˢ (#ˢ 4 ˢ ! % ; "ˢ %ˢ ! %&"ˢ 8%% "ˢ ,&% % ˢ + ! ˢ + ˢ 3! (ˢ &% (ˢ : %"$ˢ ! "ˢ +! ˢ + #ˢ "%3 & ˢ #ˢ & ˢ ! "ˢ " 7] f ! "ˢ !#ˢ # #$ˢ ˢ + ˢ 3 &3 (# ! 3 #ˢ % ˢ + #ˢ 4 & +$ˢ $ˢ ! "ˢ " ! +$ˢ ! "ˢ .! ! % $ˢ ! "ˢ ˢ + ˢ # 33 ##ˢ ! "ˢ ,&%8& ##ˢ % ˢ + ˢ ,& 3 , #ˢ ! 8+ ˢ 4) ˢ + ($ˢ ! # ; &#ˢ + ˢ " #3& ,f % ˢ % ˢ + ˢ 8& ! ˢ , &#% ˢ %& % "ˢ ! "ˢ ,&% (# "ˢ ˢ + ˢ "ˢ # ! ($ˢ + ˢ #ˢ ! ˢ + ˢ #! (ˢ (ˢ #+ ; ˢ %ˢ 4 ˢ + ˢ < ## !+

ˢ + ˢ % &ˢ , ! & ˢ % ˢ + #ˢ ; %&2ˢ + ˢ !3 #ˢ %33!# % !) $ (% "ˢ ˢ + ˢ ? ;ˢ # ! (ˢ ; & ˢ 3% & ("ˢ 4) ˢ , !##!8 #ˢ % ˢ ! 3 ˢ ! +%&#Lˢ ! "ˢ ! ˢ % 8ˢ " " 3 % ˢ + & ˢ # ˢ +! ˢ , ! & ˢ % ˢ 6!& % #ˢ , ! & 3 !&#ˢ 3% 3 & 8ˢ + ˢ # ! ˢ ! "ˢ 3+!&!3 &ˢ % ˢ + ˢ ,& 3 #ˢ ! "ˢ 8%6 & %&#$ˢ ˢ ; +%# ˢ (ˢ + # ˢ + 8#ˢ !& ˢ #! "ˢ %ˢ +!6 ˢ +! , , "$ˢ ! "ˢ 3% 3 & 8ˢ + ˢ # ! ˢ % ˢ + ˢ ; #ˢ ! ˢ +! ˢ (ˢ " !$ˢ ! "ˢ % ˢ % ˢ $ˢ ! "ˢ + &ˢ & 8 % #ˢ %, % #$ 3 # % (#ˢ ! "ˢ ,&!3 3 #$ˢ !#ˢ ! #%ˢ % ˢ % + &ˢ , %, ˢ %ˢ ; +% (ˢ + ˢ ! ,%# #ˢ ; Lˢ ! ˢ % "ˢ %ˢ 4 ˢ !8& !4 ˢ %ˢ + ˢ !33% #ˢ % ˢ %# , + #ˢ ! "ˢ + %$ˢ ! "ˢ (!) ˢ + ! + ˢ ! +%&#ˢ % ˢ + ˢ 4 #ˢ % $ˢ ! "ˢ 3% (,%&!&) ˢ ; +ˢ % &ˢ 5!6 % &ˢ ! "ˢ + #ˢ ! ,%# #$ˢ %&ˢ 6 8ˢ 6 &) ˢ !&ˢ + &ˢ (

1 ˢ +!6 ˢ # , ,%# "ˢ + #ˢ %ˢ 4 ˢ !ˢ 6 &) ˢ 3%8 ˢ !&8 ($ˢ +! ˢ + ˢ 4%%2#ˢ % ˢ + ˢ ? ;ˢ # ! (ˢ ; & ˢ ; & ˢ 4 %& $ˢ %&ˢ #%% ˢ ! &$ˢ + ˢ " # & 3 % ˢ % ˢ & #! ($ˢ ; + 3+ˢ +! , , "ˢ ˢ + ˢ FG +ˢ) !&ˢ % ˢ + ˢ +& # ! ˢ # &!

- "ˢ ˢ + # ˢ 4%%2#ˢ ; & ˢ ; & ˢ 4) ˢ , &#% #ˢ ; +%ˢ 6 "ˢ 4 %& ˢ + ˢ " # & 3 % ˢ % ˢ & #! ($ˢ +! ˢ #$ˢ ˢ +) ˢ ; & ˢ ; & ˢ ! ˢ + ˢ (ˢ ; + 3+ˢ +) ˢ !& ˢ # , ,%# "ˢ %ˢ +!6 ˢ 4 ˢ ; & $ˢ + ˢ + 8#ˢ & ! "ˢ ˢ + (ˢ !& ˢ & ˢ ! "ˢ 3% # !4 ˢ + ˢ %&3 ˢ % ˢ + #ˢ !&8 (ˢ (!) ˢ 4 ˢ # ˢ & f ,& # "ˢ ˢ + ˢ 3% 3 # % ˢ % ˢ +! ˢ , !&

% # 0) ˢ + ˢ %& (&ˢ , ! & ˢ % ˢ + #ˢ ; %&2$ˢ +% 8+ˢ ˢ ((" !) ˢ ! "ˢ " & 3) ˢ 3% 3 & "ˢ %) ˢ +%# ˢ !3 #ˢ ; + 3+ˢ ! & ˢ %33!# % !) ˢ (% "ˢ ˢ + ˢ ? ;ˢ # ! ($ˢ ! %&"#ˢ ! ˢ 6 Mˢ 4&3 4 ˢ !&8 (ˢ %&ˢ + ˢ & +ˢ % ˢ + ˢ ,& 3 , ! ˢ !3 #ˢ % ˢ + ˢ ? ;ˢ # ! (Lˢ 4) ˢ ; + 3+ˢ ! ˢ 2 % ; ˢ %ˢ 4 ˢ " "ˢ + ˢ (&!3 % #ˢ +% 8+ˢ (! ˢ 4 & +ˢ % ˢ # #$ˢ ! "ˢ ! ˢ + ˢ ; % " &#ˢ % ˢ + #ˢ ˢ ! "ˢ (# &) $ˢ + #ˢ " ! +$ˢ & # && 3 % ˢ ! "ˢ !#3 # % Lˢ + ˢ # % ˢ % ˢ + ˢ %) ˢ : +%# ˢ , % ˢ + #ˢ ! ,%# #ˢ ! &f ; !&"#$ˢ + &ˢ , & !3+ 8ˢ ˢ + #ˢ ! (ˢ + ˢ "%3 & ˢ & 3 6 "ˢ &% (ˢ + (ˢ ! "ˢ 3% & (8ˢ ˢ 4) ˢ (&!3 f % #ˢ ; %&2#$ˢ ! "ˢ , ! 8ˢ + ˢ 8%#, $ˢ ! "ˢ %& (8$ˢ ˢ !ˢ #+%& ˢ #, !3 ˢ % ˢ ($ˢ 3+ &3+ #ˢ % ˢ " #3 , #ˢ ! ˢ & #! ($ˢ ! "ˢ ˢ ! ˢ + ˢ , ! & #ˢ % ˢ " !$ˢ ! "ˢ ˢ (!) ˢ % + &ˢ 3 #ˢ ! "ˢ 3% & #ˢ

: ˢ + #ˢ # 3% "ˢ , ! & ˢ ; ˢ +!6 ˢ , &%3 " "ˢ %ˢ #+ ;ˢ (%& ˢ " & 3) ˢ + ˢ & +ˢ % ˢ + ˢ 6! 8 3!

=,@ 7 ' 'C7 A<3, D' >@ , ,>@' ' =>' ,K<, ' D> <, > >@@ ' A' < , 7, :' =>' B@' :' =>' > ' >@ > ' ' D> >7 ' 7>3>,5>A' ' 2 ,7,@ , @ ' @' 3 , , D' ' < => ,3' 33 < ' :' =>' 7> ,D, ' <D= ' ' 2=7,@ ' A' =,@' C @ >@$

A' , ' =,@' B' ,@' ' =,@ 7 ' :' ' 7' @ ' ' =>' 3 = ,3' 7, >7@' :' =>' :,7@ ' : <7' 3> <7,>@ ' A' :' =>' C7, 3,C ' 2=7,@ , ' 7, >7@' :' =>' : , D' 3> <7,>@ ' ' =>' >D, , D' :' =>' > : =' N , =' ' 7 ,3 > ' ' ' ' :'3 3 <@, ' :7 ' ,3>C= 7<@' 2 ,@ , ' ' > 7 >A' < = 7' ' =>' >D, , D' :' =>' : <7 >> =' 3> <7 ' 3 , , D' ' @< 7 ' 33 < ' :' ' = ' = @' >> ' @ ,A ' A' 7>C7>M @> , D' = ' @' ' >' C7 5>AN' =,3=' !' = C>' = @' >> ' C , >A$

A' = >5>7' ,@' A>@,7 <@' ' B ' = ' B@' >7>' 7>3>,5>A' @' @ 37>A' @37,C <7>' ' ' 7, >7@' :' =>' 3=<73=' , ' C @ ' D>@ ' '=>7>' :, A' ' A,@ , 3 ' 33 < ' :', ', ' =>' 3= C >7@' = ' > 7' =>,7' >@$

/$ @' >' 7>' ' ' 7>5,> ' =,@' B ' =>' :,7@ ' @>75 , ' =,3=' ::>7@' ,@' = ,@)' >' = 5>' @>> ' ' D A ' 3 D<>' :' > , > ' > ' = ' = 5>' > ,>5>A' , ' ;>@<@' @' =>' 2=7,@ ' A' =>,7' " 7A' A' (@ >7 ' = @>' 7> ,D, ' @' ' @> ' <C' , =' 7 A ' <7> > @N' @' ;>7 ' , ' =>' C7 D<>' ' =,@' B' :' 33 >@, @ ,3 ' 7, >7@' U " > ' V =>' > > ,>@' :' <7' 7> ,D, ' = ' @ ' =>' U 3=<73=' = A' ' C=, @ C=>7@ ' 7' > K<> ' A' > 7 >A' > ' @>75>' = ' A' = ' => ' >7>' U = ' : < A>A ' >@ ,@=>A ' A' A 7 >A',) > ' => ' 3> @>' ' 33<@>' <7' : , =' :' 7<@ ,3, ' A' U 3 :>@@' =>,7' ,@ B>$O ' ' ' @ ,A' ;>7 ' , =' 7>D 7A' ' 2> @<@ ' . 7C= 7 ' A' ;< , ' = ' = A' >> ' =>' @ ' >A' A5>7@ 7,>@' :' =>' 2=7,@ , '7> ,D, ' , ' =>' :,7@ ' : <7' 3> <7,>@$ =>' @ >' >' @ , ' @ ,A' ' = @>' 3 >A' A>,@ @' , ' <7' , >$ A' ' ! ' AA$ " > ' = @>' 3 3>, >A' 2=7,@ , @' = ' < > @<7 ' A>@C,@>' =>' C7, , ,5>' , >@' :' 2=7,@ , , ' > 7 ' ' C ' @ >' 7>@C>3 ' ' =>,7' 2=7,@ , ' 3>@ 7@' , ' = ' =' > 7 , D ' A' ' = >@ ' :>75> ' [> ' >7>' < , >A$ => ' 7>' ' =>' 7< >' :' <7' : , = ' < ' => ' = 5>' A,7>3 >A' <@' ' =>' @ 37>A' @37,C <7>@' =>7>' , ' ' >' : < A)' A' => ' = 5>' 7 >' >@ , ' ' =>' 7< =' :' =>' =, D@' 3 , >A' =>7>, ' ' ' C> ' A' @ >A: @ ' C7 :>@@, ' ,A@ ' ' D7> ' 5 7,> ' :' A,::,3< ,>@' A' A,@3 <M 7 D> > @ ' 7>C7 3=>@' A' @<::>7, D@$

A' = <D=' >5>7 ' >' = ' = @ 7> A' =,@' 7B' ,@' >' ' @<CC ' ' :< >7' 3 D<>' ' !' @= ' @ ' 7>=> 7@>' , ' C 7 ' A,>' >@' :' > , > ' 2=7,@ , @' :' =>' > 7 ' D>@ ' :7 ' ' >C,@ >' :' =>' @ >' @ >7 ' = A' ' (D <@ ' ' ' 7 7 ' <C ' ' A,::>7> ' 33 @, ' U ;>7 = 5, D'

? #,@3 '>7D ' 2> @<@ ' . 7C= 7,<@ ' ;< , <@ ' 7 ,A,' A5>7@<@ 2=7,@ < ' 3 >@N A,@3 ' > 7< ' @>3 7>@ ' K<,' C< ' >33 > ' @, ' < @' C=, @ C= @ ' > ' A K<> >@ ' < , @' = <,@@>' A 3 ' ' 7>@' K< ,' > ' K< >@ 5,7,' > 7 ' :< A 5>7, ' >4@ 7<4>7, ' > ' A 7 5>7, N > ' A>@, ' :,A> ' @ 7 ' 7 @ ,3 >' < ' @, ' C ,3, ,@ 7D<>7>' @< K<>' C , @ "7 C>7, , ' D @3 $ .7 >D$, , 7$ A>' 37$ 3$

R2 77 ' C>7 @ D @$ S< A7 >' C @ 7< ' A,@3,C< <@' > ' => ,> @,@ C ,:>4' >33 >@, >' >' A7, ' C7, 3,C, ' ;>,;@, >' @ 27 ' 5,@> , ' ' 7< ' C7 ' @ 7 ' 7> ,D, >' 7 A,A, ' R > ' @ ' A ,7 , ' , <@ :<, ' < ' C>7@>3< , > ' D7 5,@@, 7 ' , ,<$@ @>A 7>' ,AD> ,< $ 7,@ ,A>@ C=, @ C=<@' 5,7 > K<> $,@@, <@' >,A>7 ' C7, 3,C,' C D> ,3< ' C7 ' 2=7,@ , @ <*, ' 3A >4 < ' C: , @ C= 7< ' @> > ,,@)' S > ' ,7 , A <@ C @ > ' ;<@ , <@' > ' ,C@>' C=, @ C=<@' , ' ., ' > ' :, ,,@ >*<@ @> ' <,K >' , , ' 3 7 ' 9> , >@ 7 A,A, ' A>:> A> @ ,D , , ' \37<3,@' > ' 7>@<77>3 , > ' 2=7,@ ' ' C7 >A,3 @ , >7 >$ S<,A' K< 7 A>' (> , >' A> @,' >C,@3 C ' _ S<,A' A>' C ' , 7, ,>7 C , @ >33 >@, >' @ 3>7A >' #, K<>' 2 7, ' =, 7< ' $>C,@3 C ' > ' , ' > ' 7A>@ >' > ' !7> > ' Z. =, ,' (7 7,@ @<33>@@ 7>' K<,' 7,D, >@ = >7>@> ' @, D< ' 7< ' > ' >4' K<, <@ C=, @ C= 7< ,' : , <@' > 7, ' , ,@ 5 < , , <@ >4C ,3 7< ' . > <@ ,3 >@>3 >' C=, @ C=<@' ' C7 @3,C< >' >7<A, , ,@ D 7, ' ' #> > 7, ' >4 A7, >' >C,@3 C ' ,@@<@ >@ ', ' ! A, ' < ' 2=7,@ < ' C<A' 7 3= @ > ' ,@ ,<@ D> ,@ C=, @ C= @ C7 >A,3 7> $ 2 > > @' >4 A7, >' >C,@3 C ' ,@ C=, @ C= @ C7 >A,3 7> $ 2 > > @' >4 A7, @ >33 >@, >' C7>@ >7' ' *<A,3, ' ,< ' >7<A, ,@@, <@' 3 ' @37,C@, ' 7 <* 0 , 7 @$$ $$' S<,A' , ' ,@ , A 3 <7=' , ' K<,A' ' A>' >A, ' C=, @ C=, ' >@ ' < 3' , , <@' 7,D> >@ A>3>7 ' @37,C@, ' 7 > @' 2=7,@ , 7< ' > ' C=, ' @ C= ,' , >7 @>' @> > , @ 3 C 7 @ >' ,' @ 7 @ 7> , ' D, ,@ A D ' A>' . >' > ' 7,@ > >' < > , ' 2 7 < ' K<>' 3 :,7 7,@$ 37,C@, '> ' (, , A>@ 3 7 ' 9> >@ 5 < > ' >D7>D,< ' ,CC <@ K< K<>' > ' C ,<@' >' <7 ,@ @> 7>@' C7 C7, ' C<@3< ' 3 A,A>7< $ 4 ' > ' ;< ,' :7,3 ' , 7, ' K<,' > C 7< ' @37,C@, ' ,,,@ 7, @ ' > ' ,> A 7, ' K<,' C @ > ' 97>D 7,<@ CC> <@ >@ ' 5,7,' C @ ,3 7< ' @,D ' 7 ' K<>' 5,7 < < ' ' #, @,,' >4 A7, ,' >C,@3 C,N M , ' K< K<>' " A,3> >' >33 >@, >' @ 3>7A ,@' >3 ' C7>@ > ' 7 7< ' . C=, , ' . ,>7,,' !$<3, ,,, ' (B , ,@' < > ,' 2 >@ 7, ' > @,@' >C,@4 C, ' > ' <@ =,' , 3=> , ' > ' = @,' >4 M A7, ,' N <@> ,' K< K<>' >@>,@, ' > ' 7,C= ,' 2 C7,, ' > ' @ >7,,' 3 = C , @' > ' >7 C, ,@ 3 :>@@ 7,@N , ' K< K<>' @ 7> @,@ >C,@3 C, ' 2 CC A 3< K<> @, ,,' 97>D 7,,' C=, ' 3 ,,B S<,' >@ , ' < ' C , @ C= 7<7 '' A 3 7, ,@ K ' >' @> > ,,@ @< @ 7>: 737< , 7 @' < ' ,,>@3, @ K<,A' , ' , 7@ C7: < ' A:: ,7 7,' A> > @' >7<A, , > ' @>>< , ' ' @A>,, , ' @37,C <7 ' 7< ,$

&> , ' A'$" , @$ S<,A' +7>7 < , ' >7<A* ,<@' K<,A+ 3< ' , @' C D> ,3 @' >*<@' > ' 3 7 ' 9> >@ , >7' 3< 3 ' @>3<_' , > ' A,@3,C , $ (, <A,,@ %> ,4 ' 3 <@,A,3<@ ,' : 7, ' , ' 7 ' 3<,' , < <@ 3 5,<@ >@ $ $ $K<,A' D> ' ,< ' , >7 7< ' 7> ,K<, ' ,A> K<>' A,@3,C< <@ >*<@" 3 ,<@' 9> >@ 7 ,<@ >A,A, ' ,A> K<>' A,@3,C< <@ >*<@" 3 ,<@' K<,' A>' !7 ' K< K<>' > ' C,:,3, ' #>,' A< ' 5 < , ' 3 A,A, $ S< @ @,' >D>7>' 5 <>7,@ ' #,K D 7<, ' 2,3>7 ,@' , ' >,@ "" &@5 7>C>7,>@$ &,3 7, ' (7 7,' , ' , 7,@ @<,@' ,3>' A>@, ' >7<A, , ' > ' A>>@ ' >7<A, , ,@ 5 < @$ 2 C7, <@' K< A' ,A ' A,,' ' @< ' K<:' 7>5, >' K<A' =,@ 7, 7< ' ,< ' @3,> ,A' K< 7< ' 5>7 7< ' > ' @> @<< ' @C > A 7>' C>7@ 7,<4, ' 7 , 7,<@' > 7< ' 3 :>@@ 7' > C 7< ' > ' >C,@3 C<@' A< A>3, S<,< , ' , ,' , 7 @ > ' @ ' , , <@ >@ ' > ' < >7 $$$' $$;<5> 3<@ C7>@M >7' @< ' 2 @ , ' ,@ 7, ' # , ' 5 7,@ 5>7@, <@ >4C ,3 5, N >3' C>7 ,: <, ' >5 D> ,' *>@ > ' @ ' ' > 7,' >D>@' , >7>$ # >' 3 > >7,@ 5>' 7 <,@ 5>' 5,5> , <@' 3> ' K< 7< ' , ' @37,C ,@ @<,@ > ' 5,7>@ ,:>@ >' @< ' > ' 5 < @$ A' (D ' 7 $ >C$ - ' $ $ $ $ $

‘ 2 . ! ' " !

' *

2 #‘ .

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2 #! !"! 8‘ %‘ ‘ 9 . "‘ ! 8$

2 . ‘ 7$

! ‘ =>‘ >C,@ >‘ :‘ $‘ 7 @‘ =>7>‘ ,@‘ ‘ ‘ >4C7>@@‘ > , ‘ A>‘ :‘ ‘ B‘ :‘ =>‘ > ‘ >@ >)‘ < ‘ =>7>‘ 7>‘ , +, ‘ @ >‘ >4C7>@@, @‘ =,3B‘ 7>‘ , ‘ $‘ (=> ?@‘ D @C> ‘ A‘ 7>‘ , 7 A<3>A‘ , =‘ =,@‘ 7B‘ :‘ K< ,)‘ V , ‘ ,@‘ 7, > $^‘ =>7>‘ 7>‘ , ‘ , ‘ ,B> ,@>‘ =>‘ >4 3 ‘ 7A@‘ :‘ @>5>7 ‘ =>7‘ >4 @‘ :‘ =>‘ > ‘ >@ >)‘ AO‘ =>7>‘ ‘ >‘ = <D= ‘ ‘ >‘ <@, @‘ ‘ @ >‘ =>7@$‘ >5>7 => >@@‘ !‘ =, B‘ , ‘ 3 ‘ >‘ @ ,A‘ , =‘ 3>7 , ‘ = ‘ =>‘ 7>:>77>A‘ ‘ ‘) @ ‘ , ‘ - ‘ > ‘ >@ >)‘ 7‘ <D= ‘ , ‘ ‘ >‘ 7>3B >A‘ @ 7 D>‘ = ‘ ‘ ‘ = ‘ @‘ 3 $‘ > C 7 , ‘ , =‘ =>‘ C @ >@‘ A‘ = A‘ =>‘ @ >‘ @C,7, ‘ A‘ ,B>‘ D,: @‘ , =‘ => ‘ , :‘ =>‘ @‘ ‘ =‘ C @ >‘ =, @> :‘ @= < A‘ : > ‘ 7> @ ‘ A‘ 7D<>‘ ,B>‘ => ‘ , = < ‘ K< , D‘ =>,7‘ 7, , D@‘ 7‘ 7>:>77, D‘ ‘ => $

2=$! !$ 2 > > ‘ O ,@= C‘ :‘ >‘ 7 >‘ ‘ >C,@ >‘ , ‘ =>‘ >‘ :‘ =>‘ 3=<73=‘ 5>7‘ =,A=‘ =>‘ C7>@,A>A ‘ ‘ =>‘ 3=<73=‘ :‘ 2 7, =$! ‘ =,@‘ >C,@ > O‘ : ,>‘ :,7@ ‘ >C,@ >‘ ‘ =>‘ 2 7, =, @‘ ,@‘ K< >A‘ , ‘ =,@‘ >7)‘ U B>‘ , ‘ <7‘ = A@‘ =>‘ >C,@ >‘ :‘ =>‘ >@@>A‘ . < ‘ =>‘ C @ >$ O = ‘ A,A‘ =>‘ ‘ :,7@ ‘ 7, >‘ < ‘ <‘ , ‘ =>‘ >D, , D‘ :‘ =>‘ D @C> ‘ _ &>7, ‘ =>‘ A,A‘ ‘ =>‘ C,7, O A ,@=‘ <‘ 3 3>7 , D‘ =, @> :,‘ A‘ 2>C= @‘ A‘ C @‘ >3 <@>‘ = ‘ >5> ‘ => ‘ <‘ A,A‘ U : 7 ‘ C 7 ,>@$O 2 C 7>‘ /‘ 2 7$,$ E7 ‘ >‘ = @‘ ,B> ,@>‘ C @@ D>@‘ < ‘ :‘ =>‘ >C,@ >‘ ‘ =>‘ @‘ A‘ @ >‘ =>7‘ :‘ =>‘ C @ ,3 ‘ >C,@ >@$‘ A‘ C @@ D>@‘ :‘ =>‘ D @C> @‘ :‘ $‘ (=> ‘ A‘ ‘ " <B>‘ = <D=‘ , = < ‘ , D‘ =>‘ >5 D> ,@ @‘ 7>‘ , 7 A<3>A‘ , ‘ =,@‘ 7>@C>3 :< ‘ >:‘7‘ U A‘ > ‘ <@‘ A ‘ @‘ , ‘ ,@‘ 7, > $$$$$% 7‘ =<@‘ @ , =‘ =>‘ ‘ C,7, $$$ @C>3, ‘ 7> > >7, D‘ => U 7A@‘ :‘ =>‘ " 7A‘ ;>@<@‘ =,3=‘ =>‘ @C B>$?$$ D ,)‘ V‘ > > >7‘ =>‘ 7A@‘ :‘ =>‘ " 7A O ;>@<@$^$$$ 7 ‘ @‘ , ‘ ,@‘ >4C7>@@>A ‘ C$ ‘ U =>‘ :,7@ ‘ >C,@ >‘ ‘ =>‘ 2 7, =, @‘ ,@‘ >4C7>@@ ‘ @37, >A

O @‘ (7$; 7 , +‘ , ‘ =>‘ :,7@ ‘ 5 < >‘ :‘ =,@‘ > 7B@‘ ‘ 33 >@, @ ,3 ‘ ,@ 7 ‘ C$ ‘ -$_F$ U 2 > > @‘ >C,@ $ $ $ O @ a @ +‘ , ‘ ‘ ! :,*C‘ "& 45& 43 * ‘ " #8 $$$$] ‘ C7 C >7 > < , > ‘ C >7‘ @ >7‘ ; 3 <@‘ <:<D, $^$ $ ‘ => 3>‘ ! U :, A‘ @ >‘ C>7@ @ = 5>‘ > ‘ A,@3 5>7>A‘ A‘ 3 3 <A>A ‘ U = ‘ 2 > > @ @‘ ‘ ;> $!‘ =, B‘ =>‘ C @@ D>‘ , ‘ ‘ M C7 5>0, $ => C=, <@ A‘ < $, $ E - $$$$$‘ ‘ + & ‘ ?‘ - "8‘ & 8‘ 8‘ 8‘ =6"& 8" ‘ ,*: +‘ 58‘ =>‘ ‘ @‘ D,5> ‘ +‘ ‘ <@‘ @ @‘ => C=, <@‘ A‘ > ‘ =>‘ A‘ >> ‘ 3 5>7 >A‘ :7 ‘ U . D ,@ ‘ ‘ 2=7,@ , , $ =>7>:, 7>‘ => ‘ ‘ 3,> ‘ +‘ 2=7,@ , ‘ 7, >7@ <@>‘ $@<3=‘ >4C7>@@, @‘ , ‘ ,@ ‘ ‘ >‘ , O :>77>A‘ => 3>‘ , = ‘ B, A‘ :‘ 3>7 , ‘ = ‘ => ‘ >7>‘ :‘ U ;> ,@=‘ >4 7 3 , ‘ 7‘ >5> ‘ = ‘ => ‘ = A‘ >> ‘ C7 @> >@‘ ‘ +‘ ;<A ,@C,$! A>>A‘ =, D‘ ,@ 7>‘ <7 ‘ = ‘ : 7‘ 2=7,@ ‘ 3‘ , @2 ‘ @C> B‘ @ ,:‘ => ‘ >7>‘ 7 = &3=, A7> N @ ,:‘ =>‘ U ‘ A‘ =>‘ C7 C=> @‘ A‘ =>‘ C 7, 73=@‘ > D>A‘ ‘ => +‘ W > ‘ @ ‘ =>‘ ;> @$! ‘ =>‘ @ >‘ B ‘ @>3 $ E $ => 0 U C=, <@ @ @)‘ :: C$ ‘ A; # #& >‘ # "5‘ M ‘ ! 85 ‘ 9 /‘ 1 %)4)%‘ EH ‘ ! #88#‘ 8‘ 6# *4"‘ # ‘ S# *O @<CC @>‘ (7$; 7 , ‘ ‘ , > A‘ (7$ >7‘ , ‘ =,@ ,@ 7 ‘ :‘ =>‘ . C>@$ & $,$ C$ /1$ + ‘ > 7 >A‘ : 7>,D >7‘ ,B> ,@>‘ = @ 5>7 ‘ > ‘ 7D<>A‘ = ‘ 2 > > ‘ :‘ >‘ @ ‘ ‘ :‘ ;> ,@=‘ >4 7 3 , $$$‘ 3< ‘ 2 > > @ :<>7, ‘ 7,D, >‘ ;<A ><@‘ < ‘ C7 , >‘ 3@ ‘ >4‘ > ‘ K< A‘ + ; 3 A ‘ C 7> ‘ @ 7< + CC> ‘ @‘ @>‘ ,,@ A*< D>7>‘ 5,A> <7‘ K< 7< ‘ C >7‘ :<, ‘ ; 3 ‘ @>3< M A< ‘ 3 7 > $ $‘ &> >7 $ C$ @>3< A$ A>‘ D> <, , >‘ >C,@ ‘ 7$ 2 > > ‘ ‘ 2 $ > @ > $ C< ,3 $ C$ F=?‘ ! ‘ =, B ‘ = ‘ (7$; 7 , ‘ = @ > ‘ 3 :< >A‘ = ‘ 7D< >)‘ >5>7 => >@@ !‘ @= ‘ =>7>‘ 7>:>7‘ ‘ @ >‘ C @@ D>@‘ : 7 >7 ‘ K< >A‘ :7 ‘ " > *$,<@ ‘ 3 5>7 ‘ :7 ‘ 9> , ,@ ‘ =>7>‘ >‘ @C> B@‘ :‘ =>‘ ;> ,@=‘ C> C >‘ @ =>‘ 3>@ 7@ :‘ 2=7,@ , $ >>‘ 5 ‘ H$ C$ $

G‘ E

:‘ =›‘ : <7‘ D @C> @‘ =>7‘ :‘>C,@ >@)‘ < ‘= ‘:< ‘ =,@‘ @ ‘ 3 A›‘ @‘ ›‘3 < ‘A> >7 , ›‘ , =‘ 3>7 , $

! ‘ @= < A‘ ›‘ @>75>A‘ = ‘ , ‘ ›‘ C 3›‘ :‘ =>@›‘ >C,@ >@‘ :‘ !D ,<@‘ =>7›‘ = @‘ >> ‘ @<CC @>A‘ ‘ ›‘ ‘ 7>:>7> 3›‘ ‘ =›‘ D @C>‘ 33 7A, D‘ ‘ =›‘ > 7> @)‘ >5>7 => >@@‘ ›‘ 7 =>7‘ =, B‘ = ‘ =›‘ C @@ D›‘ 3 , @‘ ‘ ‘ @›‘ K< , ‘ :‘ @ ›‘ 7A@‘ :‘ $ " <B>?@‘ D @C> ‘* @‘ = @‘ >> ‘ ‘ 7D›‘ 7D<>A‘ > 7‘ =›‘ > A‘ :‘ =›‘ 3= C >7‘ :‘ !D ,<@$

2=$‘ & !$‘ =›‘ >4 ‘ 7, >7‘ ,@‘ . 3 7C‘ ‘ A,@3,C ›‘ :‘ $‘ ; = ‘ A‘ CC , >A‘ ,@= C‘ :‘ =›‘ 3=<73=‘ :‘ 7 ‘ ‘=, ‘ ,:‘ ‘ @ ‘ ‘@ ›‘ =>7‘ C @ >@‘ * , , D‘ , =‘ =,)‘ A‘ , ‘ ‘ ›‘ @<CC @>A‘ = ‘ =›‘ = A‘ 3 5>7@>A‘ , =‘ @>5>7 ‘ = ‘ = A‘ @>> ‘ =›‘ " 7A$‘ ›‘ = A‘ =›‘ = <7‘ ‘ A,>Ú ‘ 7 7‘ : 7‘ 2=7,@ ‘ ‘ 7 ‘ , ‘ =›‘ > 7‘ / 0 ‘ @‘ @ ›‘ =, B ‘ 7‘ , ‘ a‘ 7‘ / H ‘ @‘ =>7@‘ =, B$‘ < ‘ =,@‘ >C,@ ›‘ ‘ =›‘ . =, ,CC, @‘ =›‘ ‘ =, D‘ 7> ,77, D‘ A‘ 3>7 , ‘B ‘ ‘ ›‘ =,@‘ @>> @‘ ‘ = 5›‘ >> ‘ 7, > ‘ , ‘ /G0$‘ ! ‘ =,3=‘ =›‘ K< >@‘ ‘ =>@›‘ . =, ,CC, @‘ => @> 5>@‘ =›‘ >C,@ ›‘ 7, > ‘ ‘ . < ‘ ‘ => ‘ A ‘ @‘ !‘ CC7>=> A‘ =›‘ ‘ >C,@ >@‘ ‘ =›‘ =>@@ , @‘ , ‘ =›‘ @ ›‘ 3 < 7 ‘ :‘ (3>A , ‘ @ , D)‘ Ú % 7‘ >, =>7‘ ! ‘ 7‘ ‘ ›‘ ,B›‘ >‘ 3 ‘ 3 ›‘ <C‘ ‘ Ú =›‘ ,@A ‘ :‘ =›‘ >@@>A‘ A‘ 7> >A‘ . < ‘ = ‘ => ‘ @> ‘ 7 ›‘ ‘ <‘ > >7@)‘ , ‘ Ú$ =,3=‘ ,:‘ <‘ B ‘ <‘ ‘ ›‘ ›‘ ‘>A,: ‘ <7@> 5>@‘ , ‘ =›‘ : , = ‘ =,3=‘ = @‘ >> ‘ A> ,5>7>A$ Ó< ‘ <$? ! ‘ =>7‘ : , D‘ 3= C >7‘ =›‘ @C> B@‘ D , ‘ @‘ C , ‘ @‘ =>7›‘ :‘ =›‘ C @ ›‘ . < ?@‘ = 5, D‘ 7, > ‘ ‘ => $ ‘ B‘ :‘ =›‘ > ‘ >@ > ‘,@‘ K< >A‘ ‘ . 3 7C‘ >4C7>@@ ‘ A‘ >)‘ = >5>7‘ =>7›‘ 7›‘ K< , @‘ :‘ C @@ D>@‘ :‘ =›‘ :,7@‘ >C,@ ›‘ ‘ =>$ 2 7, =, @‘ =›‘ >C,@ ›‘ ‘ =›‘ C=>@, @‘ =›‘ >C,@ ›‘ ‘ =›‘ . =, ,CC, @‘ A‘ =›‘ ‘ >C,@ >@‘ ‘ =›‘ =>@@ O‘ , @$ 7A@‘ :‘ <7‘ " 7A‘ : < A‘ , ‘ $ (=> ?@‘ A‘ $ " <B>?@‘ D @C> @‘ 7›‘ K< >A‘ @‘ @C B> ‘ ‘ =,)‘ A‘ >@,A›‘ =>@›‘ =>7›‘ 7›‘ 7>:>7> 3>@‘ =,3=‘ ‘ ›‘ 7>3B >A‘ < A < >A ‘ ‘ =›‘ 3 @‘ :‘ =›‘ C @ >@‘ =›‘ >C,@ ›‘ ‘ =›‘ @‘ =›‘ :,7@‘ A‘ @>3 A‘ ‘ =›‘ 2 7, =, @‘ 9 M , @‘ C=>@, @‘ :,7@‘ A‘ @>3 A‘ ‘ , = ‘ =›‘ :>@‘ :‘ $‘ . > >7‘ =›‘ :,7@‘ :‘ $‘ ; = ‘ A‘ ‘ C7 ›‘ 7>:>7> 3›‘ ‘ =›‘ >C,@ ›‘ ‘ =›‘ > 7> @$ A‘ =›‘ ‘ >4= 7 , @‘ A> ,5>7>A‘ , ‘ =›‘ 7A@‘ :‘ 2=7,@ ‘ A‘ =,@‘ C @ >@‘ , ‘ ‘ @= 7 ‘ > >7 ‘ 7›‘ ‘ 3 5, 3, D‘ >5,A> 3›‘ :‘ =›‘ 7>@C>3 ‘ =,3=‘ 2=7,@ , @‘ => ‘ = A‘ : 7‘ =>@›‘ B@‘ A‘ = ‘ => ‘ >7›‘ A>>C ‘ > D7 5>A‘ , ‘ =>,7‘ > 7,>@$

2=$‘ & !!$‘ =›‘ >4 ‘ 3= C >7‘ = @‘ =›‘ 7> , ‘ :‘ . 3 7C?@‘ 7 7A ‘ A‘ D> >7 ‘ @>75 M , @‘ <C ‘ =›‘ >@ , ‘ :‘ =›‘ C @ ,3 ‘ : =>7@$ ›‘ :‘ => ‘ !‘ =>7›‘ 7>3, ›‘ D , ‘ A‘ B›‘ @ ›‘ AA, , @$ 7

@$ /$ 7 @‘ = @‘ ‘ 7›‘ C @@ D>@‘ < ‘ :‘ =›‘ A‘ >@ > ‘ = ‘ =›‘ > ‘* =,3=‘ ›‘ 7>3B >A‘ , D‘ ‘ =›‘ , ›‘ A‘ 3= 7 3 >7‘ :‘ =›‘ 7, >7$ (7> 5>7‘ =›‘ 7D<>@‘ 3=,>: ‘ , =‘ ;> @$

@$ E$ 2 > > ‘ = @‘ 7›‘ C @@ D>@‘ < ‘ :‘ =›‘ A‘ >@ > ‘ A‘ : > >7‘ <A>@‘ ‘ , ‘ = ‘ ‘ =›‘ > Ñ < ‘ > ‘=›‘ K< >@‘ =,@‘ 7›‘ = ‘ 3>‘ A‘ : > ‘ 7>:>7@‘ ‘ , $

@$ -$ >7 @‘ K< >@‘ >, =>7‘ =›‘ A‘ 7‘ =›‘ > ‘ >@ > $‘ =›‘ 7> @ ‘ ,@‘ >3 <@›‘ =›‘ ‘ 7> >@‘ =,@‘ 5,@, @‘ A‘ A> ,5>7@‘ C7>3>C @‘ @‘ 7>3>,5>A‘ :7 ‘ D> @$

@$ $‘ !D ,<@‘ = @‘ <A>A‘ <3=‘ : > >7‘ ‘ =›‘ > ‘ >@ > ‘ = ‘ ‘ =›‘ A$

@$ 1 ‘ . 3 7C‘ = @‘ <A>A‘ 5›‘ > ‘ , >@‘ ‘ >4 @‘ :‘ =›‘ > ‘ >@ > ‘ 7‘ 7>3, >A‘ =›‘ 5>7 ‘ 7A@‘ :‘ => ‘ A‘ @3 73›‘ 3›‘ 7>:>7@‘ ‘ ‘ ›‘ C @@ D›‘ :‘ =›‘ A‘ >@ > $

@$ $‘ ! ‘ =›‘ 7, , D@‘ :‘ =>@›‘ C @ ,3 ‘ : =>7@‘ =>7›‘ ,@‘ ‘ =›‘ ,3›‘ B> ‘ :‘ =›‘ B@‘ :‘ =›‘ > ‘ >@ > ‘ = ‘ 3 < A‘ ›‘ >4C>3 >A$ 7 @‘ = <D=‘ @ ‘> 7 ‘ ‘ 7, >7 ‘ CC> 7@‘ = 5›‘ >> ‘ 3K< , >A‘ , =‘ =›‘ D @C> ‘ :‘ $ (=> $ 2 > > ‘ 7, , D‘ ‘ =›‘ 3=<73=‘ :‘ 2 7, =‘ ‘ 33 @, ‘ :‘ ‘ A,@@> @, ‘ =>7> ‘ A>@,7>@‘ => ‘ ‘ Ú B›‘ , ‘ =>,7‘ = A@‘ =›‘ >C,@ > Ú :‘ =›‘ >@@>A‘ C @ ›‘ . < ‘ 7, > ‘ ‘ =>)‘ ? A‘ C 7 ,3< 7 ‘ 7>:>7@‘ => ‘ ‘ ‘ C 7 ‘ :‘ = ‘ >C,@ > ‘ , ‘ =,3=‘ =›‘ = A‘ A ,@=>A‘ => ‘ D , @ ‘ @ 7,:›‘ A‘ 3 > , $ ›‘ = @‘ ,B> ,@>‘ , ‘ =,@‘ >C,@ > ‘ A,5>7@ 3 > 7‘ A‘ < A> , ›‘ <@, @‘ ‘ $. < ?@‘ >C,@ > ‘ @> ‘ ‘ =›‘ 3=<73=‘ 5>7‘ =,3=0=›‘ C7>@,A>A‘ A‘ , ‘ = @›‘ ›‘ =›‘ 7 >n‘ ‘ ‘ 7>C> ‘ =>7›‘ =>7‘ =, D@‘ > ‘ B> ‘ ,3›‘ :$

S< , @‘ =>7›‘ 3 < A‘ ‘ ›‘ , ‘ >7 @‘ @‘ = @‘ >> ‘ @>75>A‘ D , ‘ A‘ D , $ < ‘ <M @, @‘ =>7›‘ 7›‘ ‘ =›‘ B@‘ :‘ =›‘ > ‘ >@ > ‘ @<3=‘ @‘ >7›‘ @<, ›‘ ‘ =,@‘ A>@,D

!D ,<@‘ ; ,57,:, D‘ ‘ =›‘ 3=<73=‘ :‘ =›‘ C=>@, @‘ B>@‘ ,3›‘ :‘ =›‘ >C,@ >@‘ :‘ . < ‘ @> ‘ ‘ => ‘ Ú ,:‘ =,3=‘ =›‘ B>@‘ > , ‘ :‘ => ‘ , ‘ 2=7,@ ‘ ; >@<@$?

. ` 3 7C ‘ 7, , D‘ ‘ =›‘ . =, ,CC, @‘ 7>:>7@‘ => ‘ O =›‘ >C,@ ›‘ :‘ =›‘ C @ ›‘ . < ‘ 7, > ‘ ‘ =>)‘ ,:‘ ‘ @ ‘ @‘ !‘ , D, ›‘ =AA >@‘ ‘ =›‘ >C,@ ›‘ @> ‘ ‘ =›‘ = @ , ‘ 2=7,@ , @‘ ,

= T^8#" 8 "$;

2=0 6 !$! ' =>' > >D ' >C,@ >' ' # , D > <@ ' @ > , >@' 3 >A' ; <@ , ?@' < ' C7 ⅿ, =,@ g ' =>7>' 7>' ' B@' 7' 7, >7@' :' =>' > ' >@ > ' >4C7>@@ ' >A)' < ' =>7>' 7>' >, < ' $:' =>' D @C> @' :' (=> ' A' ; = ' 7' <@, @' A' 7>:>7> 3>@' ' => ' A' @ ' ' =>' >C7@ >' ' ' =>' @ ' =>' :,7@ ' A' @>3 A' ' , = ' =>' '7@ ' >C,@ >' :' . > >7 ' A' =>' :,7@ ' :' ; =) ' =,3=' <@, @' 7>' @ ' C , ' = ' => ' <@ ' >' 7>3B >A' < A,@C< >A$ ' >4 ' :' =>' :,7@ ' >C,@ >' ' =>' 2 7, =, @' ,@' =<@' 3, >A' 7' , 7 A<3>A) 0 =>' C @ >' @ @ ? > , D' . < $ >' @ ' CC> 7@ ' = 5>' = A' ' 5 < >' :' D @C> @' A' C @ ,3 ' >C,@ >@ ' =,3=' =>' * , @' , =' =>' ' A' =>' C7 C=> @' , ' =,@' >7N 0 =>' :> 7' :' =>' ' ,@' @< D' ? 7' 3> > 7 >A ' 0 =>' D7 3>' :' =>' C7 C=> @' ,@' B &= 0 >' : , =' :' =>' D @C> @' ,@' >@ ,@=>A ' A' =>' 7 A, , ' :' =>' C @ >@' ,@' B>C $?

2=$ 6 ! !$ #, @,<@' ,@= C' :' 2 7, =' @' >' > 7 ' :7 $ <@> ,<@ ' 7 >' @>5> ' > >7@' ' A,5>7@' 3=<73=>@' A' >' ' 2=7,@ , ' 'N :' =,3=' =, D' 7> , @' >43>C ' @ >' :7 D ' > @' * , ' =,3=' = >5>7 ' >' 3 ' 7 3>' 7>:>7> 3>@' ' =>' 3 @ ' A' @ >' :' =>' >C,@ >@$ >' @C> B@' :' =>' 0 @37,C <7>@' :' =>' " 7A O' =,3=' @ >' = A' > A> 5 <7>A' ' 3 77<C ' C7 ' > , D' (73, ' = @>' =>7>@ ' =>' A>@,D >A ' CC @>A' , ' >' :' =,@' > >7@$

2=$ 6 ! ! !$, ' ' ' > ' ' @B, ' >A' , ' =< ' , >7 <7> ' 3 C @>A' ' 7 ' :' =>' 9 @C> @ ' 3 >A' #, >@@ 7 ' 7' $:' =>' % <7' $ => A 7> ' :' =>' :,: =' 3> <7 ' : < A' ' =< A7>A' 3 C,>@' :' =,@' 7B' D' =>' 3 = ,3@ ' >@,A>' = @>' , ' <@>' D' =>' C> C >' :' =,@' ,,' @>3 $, ' ,@' @ ' @ ,A' ' = 5>' 3 77>3 >A' =>' 3 C @, , ' :' $. < ?@' @ >' ' =,3=' ' C>7= C@' ' = 5>' >> ' =, D' 7>' = ' @ >' 7D, ' >@' A' > > A , @$;>7 ' @C> B@' ,B> ,@>' :' , ?@' 7>*>3 , D' @ >' :' $. < ?@' >C,@ >@ ' =, @ ' =>' 7>3>,5>A' = ' ' , <@$ >7>' ,@' ' 7> 7B >' >@ , ' ' =>' < >7' :' =>' D @C> @ ' @' : <7' $, ' @' ' 7, N C @@, ' =,@' 7 ' @' 7>' 3 ', ' = ' 3 < 7 ' = ' ' =>7$ =,@' ' >' =>' 7> @ ' = ' => A 7> ' : < A' @ ' ' 3 C,>@' :', ' A' = ' C=7> ' =>' 7, ' @',@' @ ,A ' 7 >' ' 3 > 7 ' <C ', $' ' 7>' C 7 ,3< 7' 33 < ' :' =,@' 7B' :' , ' ' >' @>> ' , ' =>' - =' 3= C >7N =>7>',@ ,B> ,@>' ' 7D>' 33 < ' :' =>7' 7 ' :' =>' : <7' D @C> @ ' 3 C @>A' ' ,<@' :' >4 A7, $

2=$ 6 !&$ =>' @<7 ' :' =>' >@ , ' :' >D>@,CC<@ ' ' ; > ' 3 5>7 >A' ' =>' 2=7,@ , ' : , = ' ,@' =,@) = ' =>' = @ A,5>7@' =, D@' >4C7>@@>A' , ' =>' @ >' :' =>' D @C> @ ' A' =>' 3 @ ' A' @ >' - ' C 7 @' :' =>' > ' >@ > $ >' 7>:>7@' ' =>' =,@ 7 ' , ' =>' @>3 A' 3= C >7' :' $ (M => ' A' 7>3, >@' =>7' >4 ' :' = ' D @C> ' @' @C B> ' ' =>' " 7A$ >D>@,CC<@' 7 5> >A') =>' @' ' 2 7, =' A' :7 ' => 3>' > ' ' >N A' =>' @ @ ' = 0 , ' >5>7 ' 3, ? D' 2=7,@ , @ ' U =>' @ >' A 3 7, >' @' <D= ' =,3=' =>' ' A' =>' C7 C=> @ ' A' =>' " 7A 0 C7> 3=> =N ? =>7>' ' 0 =>' " 7A ? =>' <@ ' > ' =>' @37,C <7>@' :' =>' > ' >@ > ' =,3=' =>' B@' <C ' @ 3 , , D' =>' 5>7 ' A 3 7, >' <D= ' A' C7> 3=>A' ' ;>@<@' 2=7,@ $ (7> 5>7' =>' = A' ' > 7> ' D @C> ' @<CC @>A' ' >' =>' D @C>' 33 7A, D' ' =>' > 7> @N A' =>' @ @' =>7>' = A' >> ' B@' : 7D>A' ' =>7> ,3@ ' < ' => ' >7>' @<3=' ' @' >7>' 3 >A' C 3' 3, C= ' A' >7>' ' 7>3>,5>A' ' 3 = ,3@' @' :' < = 7, $

2 =$+ 6 &$ (> , ' ,@= C' :' 7A,@ ' , ' " A, ' @ @ ' , ' <@> ,<@ ' 0 = ' => ' =>' > ' , ' U =>' @ ' =>' C7 3<7>A' ' 33<7 >' 33 < ' :' =>' B@' :' =>' A' >@ > N ? => 3>' , ' ' >' 7D<>A ' = ' =>7>' @' => ' ' 5 < >' 7' 3 >3 , ' :' B@ ' 3 >A' =>' > ' >@ M > ' 3 , , D' =>' 7, , D@' :' C @ >@' A' C @ ,3 ' > $ >' :' =,@' 7B@ ' ' @ ' @' > , >A$:' =>' >5> , ' :' ; = N @ ' = ' =>' 7>3>,5>A' = ' B ' A' C7 ' =>7@ ' 3 >3 >A' D> =>7' , ' ' 5 < >' 3 >A' =>' > ' >@ > ' @' =>' B@' 7>3>,5>A' ' =J$;> @' @' :' A,5, >' < = 7, ' >7>' 3 >A' =>' A' >@ > $

2=$ 6 &!$ =>' 3=<73=>@' :' &,> >' A' " @ ' , ' 9 < ' 7 >' ' >C,@ >' ' =>' 3=<73=>@' :' @, ' A' . =7 D, ' 3 , , D' ' 7> , ' :' =>' @<::>7, D@' :' =>,7' 7 7@ , ' =>' , >' :' (73<@' , <@$ => ' >4C7>@@' => @> 5>@' , ' =>' D< D>' :' $ " <B>' A' $; = ' A' =>' 3 @' :' =>:' C @ >@ ' =>' >C,@ >@' ' =>' @ ' =>' . =, ,CC, @ ' A' @ >' =>7' >C,@ >@' :' $. < ' =>' :,7@ ' :' $. > >7] =>' :,7@ ' :' $; = ' A' =>' >5> , N < ' ' B' :' =>' > ' >@ > ' ,@' >4C7>@@ ' >A) = >5>7 ' ' >4 ' :' $; = ?@' D @C> ' ,@' K< >A ' @' 0 @C B> ' ' 0 =>' " 7A$? d

2=$ 6 , " $' ! :> <@ ' C7 ' ' ,5>' :' @, ' , ' =,@' < D>7' A @' 3K< , >A' , =' . M 3 7C' =A ' ' A,@3,C >' :' $; = ' : 7' ' =, >' C7>@ >7' :' =>' 3=<73=' :' " @ ' , ' 9 < ' A' @,:33>@@ 7' ' . =, <@ ' ' ,@= C ' = ' ' =>' D>' :' , > ' A,>A' , ' C7,@ ' , ' ! ' , ' =>' , >' :' =>' 5> > , >A' C>7@>3< , ' :' (73<@' , <@N >@,A>' =>7' , , D@ ' 3 C @>A

7> A 7D>7 K< , @ :=>@ 5 < > :=>+ > > >@ > = : =>7B@ :=
2,3>7 = <D= :=@ < 3 >43> > 3>: 7 = <D= A @ >, => 7, >7@ :=
: 7@>5>7 D>@N , @ <3= = > = 5>7> @ =, B > > 7 >A A*<A,3, <@A,5, >0A,A
= >4 DD>7 > > A ,> 7< = => =>@ ,A U = =>: 3 @ <C =,3= =>2=7,@ , 7> ,D,
0,@: < A>A= 5> @ 7 D>7 C7 : = : 3 @ @<3= A,@ 3> :, >N A = =>B@
U =,3= 3 5> => A <@ <C >7 C7 5>A > < 3 77<C >A A < => ,3 , = D7> >7
0@ 7> D = = => 7 7, , D@ :>K< ,K<, $
2=$ 6 6 6$ (73<@ (, <3,<@ %$> ,4 @ > = <D= ,5> :=: :7,3 0 C > A>7 :=D A
7>:< > > = @ >: <@ >43> > A>:> 3> :=> 2=7,@ , 7> ,D, 7, > , =>: 7
:= A, D<>* < > :=> < = 7?@, D> <, > 7 , D A> K<> 3>$ =>7> 7>, , ,
7>:>7> 3>@ A <@, @ @>5>7 B@ :=> > >@ > N < B ,@ >4C7>@@
>A$
2=$ 6 6 6 !$ C ,<@ , @> @ , , , ,:>,@ B \ 7 > 7D> 7B D , @ =>
(,@ @$ <@> ,<@ > 7> @@<7>A = =>K< >A =>> B :=> >5> , $! =>
:7 D > @ :=,@ 7B = >,C , > C>73>,5> 7>:>7> 3> 7 = =>D @C> := $ (=>)
A , CC> 7@ = => C @ >@ := 2=7,@ A =>,7 7, , D@ >7>, => =,D=>@ >@ >> N A
=> B@ 3 >A 2=7,@ , @ U @37,C <,?> ?, , @ 7,3 A C>3< , 7 @> @> >7> > B D
=> A >7> 3 @,A>7>A @ => 7< > := =>,7 : , = A C7 3 ,3>
2=$ 6 6 6 !!$ 2 ,<@ P > 7 >A D> >7 @<CC @>A C7>@ >7 := > = A A,@C< >
7 3 :>7> 3>, = 3, , = .7 3< <@ (A ,@ =,3= =>> : >7 7A@ C< ,@=>A$$:= = ,,$
7B @ >:7 D > @ 7> C7>@>75>A, <@> ,<@N =>7> > C>73>,5> = 2 ,<@ 7>3>,5>A < =,7 >> >C,@ >@ :=> C @ > . < A 7>*>3 >A => B :=> >5> , A @ @ > > 7 >A > =, B @37, >A, 2>7, =<@$
! => @ > 3= C >7 ,@ 33 < := 7B @37, >A @ > 2 ,<@ =,3= > 7 =>7 =, B > <@ , @ 7, > D , @ => =>7>@ := 7:> $ >7> => U A,5, > @37,C7 U <7>@ ? := => > >@ > 7> ,:>@ A,@ , D<,@=>A => < = 7 :7 => 7, , D@ := U => 7> =7> ? 7 => @ > , > A 7 = A 4 7, >7@ := => 3=<73= : >7 => C @ >@$! CC> 7@ ,B> ,@> = => > = =>> CC @>A CC> >A => 7, , D@ := => C @ >@ : 7 => 7< = :=>,7 C, , @ A A,A C7>@< > @@>7 = , D 3 7 7 => A 3 7, > :=> C @ >@$ >7> ,B> ,@> =>: >7@ := 7 > 7> 5, A,3 >A :7 => 3= 7D> :3 77<C , D =>@37,C <7>@$
2=$ 6 6 6 !!!$ @ >7,<@ '7 <@ < = 7 :=> ,@> D , @ => (,@ @ , =7>> B@$
! => >4 7 3 @ :=,@ 7B C7>@>75>A , <@> ,<@ =>7> 7> 7B@ := C>3< , 7 7>@C>3 : 7 => @37,C <7>@* A A,5>7@O, 3 >@ > 7>:>7> 3>@ => 3 @ := => C @ >@) =, D@$ Y $ ‡ +
$ 2=$ 6 6 6 $ >4 A>7 3= @> ,@= C :;>7<@ > , E/E A> 3 :>@@, @ > @ >: 7> => => D,@ 7 >@ A A,>A , C7,@ 2 @ 7> , => , > := => > C>7 7 #>3,<@ , E1G 7 E1E$ > 7 > @>5>7 !B >7@ > => 3=<73= : 3=$ > >7>3 >A , 7 7 ;>7<@ > A @ :=@, D< 7 >>B >@@$,@ >7, A <@>:< >@@ >7> 5>7 3 @C,3< <@N A , ,@ =,@ = <7 = =C @ :7,> A A : 5 <7>7 := 7,D> $
2=$ 6 6 6 &$,CC <@ @ >@ ,A =5> >> ,@= C :. 7 <@ <@ , ! = <D= , A>>A => C 3> :=,@ >C,@3 C > ,@ 3>7 , B $ > @ 5>7 > 7 >A ? A C< ,@=>A B@ A 7 > @ >3 > 7,>@ <C => @37,C <7>@$ > :=,@ B @ D , @ '' >7>@,>@ =,@ , >) =>7 @ > , >A := => >5> , $$ > @>> @ = 5> 7>3>,5>A => ,@ > => > 7> @ @ . < ?@$! ,,@ :> 7> , , D 7B@ A :7 D > @ 7> K< , @ 4 => : <7 D @C> @ => 3 @ @ > := . < ?@ >C,@ >@ A => >5> M , $ O $
2= 6 6 6 &!$,<@ :=> >4 A7, C7 C7>@ >7; = 3=<73= 3 C @>A
7 :=> : <7 D @C> @ := =,3= $C 7 ,3< 7 33 < ,@ D,5> , =,@ 3= C >7$
+ , , . # - & 3! #$! +!4 ! % ! # $! +%&% % %8 3! ; %&2
6 4%%2# M ; !#!6 &) !& "(! $! "; !30 ! "; + & 8 ! !& % + #
%- & # " # #! / " 3%((% ! # ! % % + ; %8%#, # % 5 < ! + ; ! "" 5 2 $! "(&
# 6 &! 8 , & ! M # $
2 =7 6 6 6 & !!$ 7,D> @ 7 , D , => > 7 ; 0 7 /01 A A,>A , => @,4
, = 7@>5> ,> = > 7 :=,@ D> , => > 7 :=@ 2=7,@ E1-) : 7 =, >=> @ 3 >3=, 0

#,+$;>7> , = < $ >> => >7 <C 33 @, :=,@A> = => >7C 7 :=, >:3$
). E

7 3< <@‘ @<CC @>A‘ ‘ (,@ ‘ 7 >‘ D , @‘ =>‘ & > , , @$ $ # $ f/E ‘
9> , , <@‘ C7>@ >7‘ :‘ =>‘ 3=<73=‘ :‘ , 3= ‘ < = 7‘ :‘ A,5>7@‘ B@‘ ‘ ‘ >4 $
$ # $ E-E$
7 C= ‘ ‘ A,@3,C >‘ :‘ 7,D> ‘ ‘ = ‘ @>5>7 ‘ :‘ =,@‘ > >7@‘ >7>‘ 7, > ‘ C< ,@=>A‘ A,5>7@‘
7B@‘ @=> , D‘ =, ‘ ‘ >‘ 5>7 ‘ @B, :< ‘ , ‘ =>‘ @37,C <7>@‘ @‘ >‘ 7>‘ @@<7>A‘ ‘ ;>7 $
2=$ 6 " !$ > <@‘ A‘ =>7@‘ 3 >A‘ =>7> ,3@ A ‘ =>‘ : 7 >7‘ C 7 ‘ :‘ =>‘ =,7A‘ 3> <7 $
> <@‘ :‘ 7 ‘ :‘ =>‘ @ >‘ C, , ‘ =,3=‘ ,@‘ > >7‘ B ‘ ‘ =>‘ >‘ :‘ > , ,@ ‘
. =, @ >7‘ A‘ <D<@ , >‘ @ ‘ , ‘ @‘ =>‘ @ >‘ C, , ‘ , =‘ = ‘ =,3=‘ = A‘ >> ‘ >: 7>‘ <D= ‘ ‘
. 7 4> @‘ A‘ >7 D> >@$ => A 7> ‘ @ @‘ ‘ > <@‘ 7>5,5>A‘ =>‘ =>7>@ ‘ :‘ C,D <@‘ A‘ 9 > > >@ ‘
-$ = ‘ : >7 7A@ , ‘ @‘ , , >A‘ ‘ 2 ,@ <@$! ‘ CC> +@‘ C , ‘ :7 ‘ C @@ D>@‘ >D>A‘ , ‘
=,@‘ 7 ,3 >‘ = ‘ > <@‘ A‘ =,@‘ : >7@‘ 7>3>,5>A_‘ =>‘ @ >‘ @37,C <7>@‘ = ‘ =>7‘ 2=7,@ , @‘ A,AR‘
A‘ -8(‘ ,B>‘ $7>D 7A‘ : 7‘ => N = <D=‘ => ‘ A,A‘ ‘ < A>7@ A‘ => ‘ @‘ @ >‘ =>7@‘ A,A$
! ‘ =,@‘ 3= C >7‘ : + 7,>:‘ 33 < @‘ :‘ A,5>7@‘ C> C >‘ 3 >A‘ & >@, @ ‘ D> ,3@ ‘ C @ ,3@ ‘
7,D> ,@ @) 3 3>7 , D‘ = ‘ , ‘ ,@‘ ‘ >>A:< ‘ ‘ 7>C> ‘ ‘ =, D‘ =>7>$
2=$ 6 " ! !$ => A 7> ‘ : >7 7A@ 3 >A‘ 9 7>D 7 ‘ A,@3,C >‘ :‘ 7,D> ‘ @‘ 7A , >A‘ ,@= C‘ :‘
> 3 >@ 7> ‘ , ‘ . <@‘ =,@‘ ,5>‘ 3, ‘ A‘ 3 < 7 ‘ < ‘ =>‘ > 7‘ E : -$! ‘ =,@‘ :> ‘ 7> , , D‘
7, , D@‘ =>7>‘ 7>‘ 7>:>7> 3>@‘ ‘ =>‘ D @C> @ ‘ A‘ A,5>7@‘ =>7‘ B@‘ :‘ =>‘ > ‘ >@ > $ 2 M
@,A>7, D‘ =,@‘ 3K< , 3>‘ , =‘ 7,D> ‘ A‘ =,@‘ 7>@C>3 ‘ : 7‘ =, ‘ >‘ ‘ >‘ @@<7>A ‘ =>‘ = A‘ <3=‘
=>‘ @ >‘ 3 ‘ :‘ @37,C <7>‘ , =‘ =, ‘) A‘ , A>>A ‘ , ‘ =>‘ , >‘ = ‘ 7> , @‘ :‘ =, ‘ =>7>‘ 7>‘
,:>@ ‘ C7 :@‘ :‘ =,@‘ 5> >7 , ‘ : 7‘ =>‘ @37,C <7>@‘ :‘ =>‘ A‘ A‘ > ‘ >@ > $ =>7>‘ 7>‘
@>5>7 ‘ =, D@‘ , ‘ =,@‘ 3 , C >7‘ > ‘ 7 = ‘ :‘ @>75 , $ 9 7>D 7 ‘ @‘ :,5>‘ > 7@‘ , =‘ 7,D> ‘
‘ 2 >@ 7> ‘ , ‘ . >@ , >) ‘ C 7 , D‘ , =‘ =, ‘ ‘ 7> <7 ‘ = > ‘ ,C‘ E-0‘ 7‘ E-H ‘ =>‘ 3 C @>A‘ ‘
C >D 7,3 ‘ 7 , ‘ @ , ‘ >4 ‘ A‘ 7>3, >A‘ , ‘ ‘ ‘ < >7 <@‘ <A,> 3>$ > 7‘ =>‘ >D, , D‘ :‘
=>‘ ` C >7‘ ,@‘ ‘ 7,>:‘ @ 7 3 ‘ :‘ = ‘ 7 , N =,3=‘ <@‘ >‘ >A‘ $ >‘ ‘ < > ‘ :‘ =>‘
3 C @>7?@‘ > , > ‘ , , ,>@‘ A‘ A> @ 7 >@‘ ,B> ,@>‘ 7,D> @‘ >43> > ‘ > = A‘ ‘ :‘ >A<3 , D‘
= @>‘ = ‘ >7> ‘ < A>7‘ =,@‘ 3 7>N =,3= ‘ , A>>A ‘ ,@‘ = <7 >‘ ‘ =, @> : ‘ A‘ =>‘ 2=7,@ , ‘ C7 M
:>@@, ‘ :‘ = ‘ 82 ‘ , ‘ =>7‘ =, D@$
2=$ 6 " ! ! !$ ' C ‘ =>‘ C7 , ‘ :‘ >7 3 @‘ : >7‘ =>‘ A> =‘ :‘ #> > 7,<@‘ ‘ =>‘ ,@= C7,3‘
:‘ >4 A7, ‘ , ‘ E-/‘ 7‘ E-E‘ # , @,<@‘ ‘ A,@3,C >‘ :‘ 7,D> ‘ @<33>>A>A‘ =,5 ‘ , ‘ =>,7‘ ,7‘ :‘
=>‘ 3 >3=> ,3 ‘ @3= ‘ :‘ = ‘ 3, $ >7 3 @‘ = 5, D‘ A,>A‘ , +E O:‘ 7‘ E QRR # , @,<@‘ @‘ 3= @> ‘
,@= C‘ , ‘ =,@‘ 7 ‘ , ‘ =>‘ > 7‘ E F‘ 7‘ E 0 ‘ A‘ A,>A‘ , ‘ =>‘ > : =‘ :‘ =>‘ >,: C>7 7‘ 9 ,> <@ , ‘ =>‘
> 7‘ :‘ 2=7,@ ‘ E ‘ 7 ‘ ‘ =>‘ < @ ‘ , ‘ E 1 ‘ = 5, D‘ >> ‘ ,@= C‘ @>5> >> ‘ > 7@$ >‘ ,@‘ 7>3B >A‘
=>‘ =,7 >> =‘ ,@= C‘ :‘ >4 A7, $
=>‘ @< ‘ :‘ =,@‘ >@ , ‘ ‘ =>‘ $ $,@‘ = ,@) >‘ 7>3>,5>A ‘ @‘ @ 37>A‘ A‘ A,5, >‘ @37,C <7> ‘
=>‘ : <7‘ D @C> @‘ :‘ (=> ‘ (7B‘ " <B> ‘ A‘ ; =] ‘ ‘ >4C7>@@ ‘ K< >A‘ ‘ =, ‘ , =‘ =>‘
>@‘ :‘ =>‘ @>5>7 ‘ >5 D> ,@ @) =>‘ 3 @‘ :‘ =>‘ C @ >@‘ @ ‘ >4C7>@@ ‘ K< >A) =>‘ >C,@ >@‘ :‘
. < ‘ A‘ C 7 ,3< 7 ‘ =>‘ >C,@ >‘ ‘ =>‘ > 7> @‘ @‘ ‘ 7, , D‘ :‘ = ‘ C @ >$ 2 3>7 , D‘ =>‘
3 = ,3‘ >C,@ >@ >‘ A ‘ ‘ 3>7 , ‘ B ‘ =,@‘ *<AD > N < ‘ =>‘ = @‘ > , >A‘ >4C7>@@ ‘ @>5>7 ‘
, >@‘ =>‘ =7>>‘ >C,@ >@‘ :‘ =>‘ C @ >‘ ; = N >‘ @‘ < K<>@ , ‘ D> <, >‘ =>‘ =>7‘ ‘ @‘
> ‘ B ‘) A‘ , ‘ ‘ >‘ *<@ ‘ B> ‘ : 7‘ D7 >A ‘ = ‘ =>‘ !?>3>,5>A‘ =>‘ :,7@‘ >C,@ >‘ :‘ =>‘
C @ >‘ . > >7‘ , ‘ = 5, D‘ >> ‘ ‘ D‘ < ,5>7@ ‘ 7>3>,5>A‘ ‘ 3 = ,3‘ 2=7,@ , @) @‘ : 7‘ =>‘ ?
7>@ ‘] ‘ 3 ‘ @ ‘ =, D‘ C @, ,5> ‘ :‘ =,@‘ C, , ‘ < ‘ => $ =>‘ >5> , ‘ <C ‘ =,3=‘ =>‘ = @‘
‘ D‘ 37, ,3 ‘ 7D< > ‘ =>‘ >A‘ ‘ >‘ =>‘ 7B‘ :‘ ; = ‘ ‘ = A‘ A,5, > ‘ , @C,7>A‘ ‘ N
< ‘ =>‘ @‘ ‘ @ ,@:,>A‘ = ‘ , ‘ @‘ 7, > ‘ ‘ ; = ‘ =>‘ @ ‘ :‘ h> >A>>‘ C @ >‘ A‘ >5 D> ,@)‘
=>‘ @ 7 =>7‘ , 3 , >A‘ ‘ =, B‘ , ‘ =>‘ 7, , D‘ :‘@ >‘ =>7‘ ; = ‘ = ‘ @ ‘ = A‘ =,@ 3=,>:‘ 7>@,A> 3>‘
, ‘ @, $ >5>7 ‘ :7 ‘ =,@‘ 7D< > ‘ 3 3>7 , D‘ = ‘ B‘ :, ‘ CC> 7@‘ = ‘ , ‘ @‘ => ‘ 5>7 ‘
D> >, ‘ 7>3>,5>A‘ ‘ 2=7,@ , @‘ @‘ 7, > ‘ ‘ =>‘ >5 D> ,@ ‘ ; = $! ‘ #, ,, @,C@‘ 7>‘ >5,A> 3>@ ‘
:‘ =>?C>3< 7‘ 7>@C>3 ‘ @=> ‘ ‘ 2=7,@ , @‘ , ‘ D> >7 ‘ ‘ =>‘ @ 3,>A‘ @37,C <7>@‘ =,3=‘ => ‘
B>A‘ <C ‘ @‘ =>‘ 7< >‘ :‘ *<AD > ‘ , ‘ =, D@‘ :‘ 7> ,D, ‘ ‘ =,3=‘ ‘ C , @‘ , ‘ 3 7 5>7@ ‘
>7>‘ ‘ >‘ A>3,A>A$ = ‘ = @>‘ @37,C <7>@‘ >7>‘ ‘ =>‘ > @‘ ‘ =>@>‘ D> >7 ‘ , >@‘ A‘ A,5,@, @
U =>‘ ‘ A‘ =>‘ *C C=> @‘ =>‘ D @C> @‘ A‘ >C,@ >@‘ :‘ C @ >@$? 7‘ = 5>‘ >‘ C>73>,5>A‘ , ‘ =>$ ‘
7> , , D‘ *BR‘ :‘ =,@‘ > , > ‘ ,@= C‘ :‘ >4 A7, ‘ ‘ 7B@‘ :‘ 7>@C>3 ‘ : 7‘ 2=7,@ , ‘ C 37 M
C= ‘ 7** :,D@ ‘ 0 ‘ Ø $ +
#, @,<@‘ @‘ ‘ 5>7 ‘ > 7 >A‘ ‘ A,@ , D<,@=>A‘ ,B> ,@>‘ ‘ ‘ >43> > ‘ > C>7 ‘ A‘ <3=‘
A>7 , ‘ A‘ =>‘ @‘ , ‘ D7> ‘ 7>C< >$$! ‘ =,@‘ , >‘ 7 @>‘ A,5>7@‘ 3 C 0C5>7@,>@‘ , ‘ =,3=‘ =>‘
= A‘ ‘ 7D>‘ @= 7>$ 0 ‘ 7 >‘ @>5>7A‘ > >7@‘ ‘ 33 < ‘ :‘ 5 , ,_ , ‘ =,3=‘ 7 @>‘ < ‘ E1/a

B' :' =>' 3 @' :' =>' C @ >@' >4C7>@@ ' ' = ' , >$' =>7>',@' ' >>A' ' >' 7>'C 7 ,3< 7'
@, 3>', ' ' >' B> ' : 7' D7 >A' = ' =,@' A> 3 ?@ 3 ' :'@37,C <7>' @' =>'@ >' , ='=,@'
,@= C?@$ $'

E$' U :' => @$? '>C,@ >' :' '< B ' < = 7) =>'@>> @' '= 5>' >> ' ' ,@= C$' >'
3 @' =>'@37,C <7>@' :' =>' > ' >@ > ' U@ 37>A' 7, , D@' A,5, >'@37,C <7>@ O' A' U=> 5>
O@37,C <7>@'*? A'@ @' U = ' 'D A' 2=7,@ , ' <D=' ' > C ' =, @> :', ' A, ,D> ' 7> A, D
O =>'@37,C <7>@$? $ ǂ Ƶ \'O

-$' U :'#,@3,C , >' A' =>' > >:, ' :' 2= @ , $? =>' 7, >7' @' ' ,@= C)' =>' = @' 3, >A'
= ' 7A@' :'A,5>7@' B@' :' =>' > ' >@ >) =>'@=> @'OD7> '7>@C>3 ': 7' => ' A'7>3 ǂ
> A@' '-"'C> C >' =>'@ <A ' :' =>'@37,C <7>@$

' $' - ' =,7A'C,>3>' @ > , >@' @37, >A' ' 2 C7, ' ,@' > , >A'U :' =>' .7 ,@>' :' (7 7'O
O A $? = <D=', ',@' ' 2 C7, ?@', ',@' 3,> ' @' 7>' =>' =>7' ' 7> A '7>=> 7@>A$] >7
7>3, >A'C @@ D>@' :'A,5>7@' B@' :0 =>' > ' >@ > ' C 7 ,3< 7 ' :' =>' : <7' D @C> @' :'
(=> ' (7B' "<B>' A' ; = ' A'@>5>7 ' :' $. < ?@' >C,@ >@$' ! ' A>@>75>@' ' >' 3 @B'
A>7>A' ,B> ,@>' => =>7' => = @' '7>:>7> 3>@' ' =>'>C,@ >' ' =>' > 7> @' A' =>' B' :'
=>' >5> , $'

1$' U D , @' =>' 5 , ' >7> ,3 ? =>7' 7 3' :' '< B ' 7, >7$' . ,>' < A@' , =
K< , @' :'@37,C <7>) =>'= @' 3, >A' >4 @' :' ' =>' D @C> @' >43>C ' $' (7B?@ℕ A' ,B>5\,@>'
A,5>7@' :' $' . < ?@' >C,@ >@' A' =>' :,7@' >C,@ >' :' $' ; = ' =>'>C,@ >' U $' ;<A>' A' =>'
>5> , $' ! ' ' @= 7' 3 C @@' =>'= @' D,5> ' ' C7 :@' :' '=,D=' 7>@C>3 ': 7' =>' B@' :'
= ' > ' >@ > ' A' =>'A 3 7, >'3 , >A' =>7>, $' $

$' U :' =>' C ,@ ' :' >7> ,3@$? =>' 7B' :' ' ,@= C' 3 > C 7 7 ' , ='2 C7, ' A'
:' 'A,::>7> ' C, , ':7 '=, ' ' = '= @' 7D> 'K< >A' =>'D @C> @' =>' 3 @' :' >' C @ >@'
>4C7>@@ ' A'UA,5>7@' :' =>' >C,@ >@' :' =>' > ' >@ > ' A'C @@>A' '@= 7C' 3> @<7>'<C '
=>' B'3 >A' =>' U .7> 3=, D' :' .> >7 ? 7' U . < ? 7' =' :' => $O

F ' U ' 2 C< , ' :' @ >7$? ' K<>@ , ' 3,> ǂ = <D=' =>' >' :' =>' 7, >7',@'
'@: 6 :B' A', ',@'5 < >': 7' =>' >@ , ,>@' =,3=', '3 , @' '@ >' : 3 @' @' > ' @' '
=>' B@' :' =>' > ' >@ > $' =>' 7, >7' >4C7>@@ ' @ @' =>7>' 7>' U : <7' D @C> @O' :' @'
=>7' 3 C '= @', ' U>5 D> ,@ @' A' > 5>' C @ >@ℕ A' = ' =>'D @C>',@' >' A,5,A>A',
O: <7' C 7 @$? >' = @' ' 7> 7B >' K< , ' :' =>' B' :' =>' 3 @' @=> , D' = ', ' @'
>@ >> >A' A,5, >'@37,C <7>' A' @' > 'B $' >' @ 'K< >@' =>' >5> , ' A'@ @' Q >'
7>' <, '<C ' =>' 7A@' :' =>' C @ >@$?

2=$ 6 " &!$ 2 7 > ,<@' A' "<3,<@' ,@= C@' :' >$' Ó ǂ
2 7 > ,<@' 7 >?@>5>7 ' > >7@' :' =,3=' =>7>',@' ' 33 < ' , ' <@> ,<@' A' ;>7 ')' :'
=,3=' ,B> ,@>' >' = 5>' B> ' ,3>', ' ='@' A' =>' : , D' 3= C >7' 3 3>7 , D' =,@'7,5 ' 5 '
<@$' ! ' <D=' ' ' >' @>75>A' = ', ' ' > >7' :' 2 7 > ,<@' '% ,<@' ,@= C' :' , 3=' = '
@ @' U =>7>' >7>', ' =>' 3=<73=' :' >' @>5> ' A> 3 @' A' @>5> ' @< A> 3 @)'? =,3 $
:: 7A@' 7> @ ' ' =, B' = ' =>'3=<73=' :' >' '7>3>,5>A' =>' B' :' =>' 3 @'* A' = '
, ' =,@' 3 @>' => '@=> >A' '7>@C>3 ' ' =>' < >7' :' A> 3 @' :,7 '3= @> ', ' =>'3=<73=' :';>7 '
@ > $' >>' 3 @' 5,$' ' $'

2=$ 6 " &!!$ 5 <@'C7>@ >7' :'$ >' 7,5 ' :' 2 7 > ,<@' A' : = 7' :' '@>3 '3 >A'
: >7' =,@' >$' ! ' ' > >7' :' =>'3 >7D ' :' >' 7, > 'A<7, D' =>'5 3 3 ' :' =>'@>>' : >7'
=>' A> =' :' % , ' >A' ' = 5>' >> ' A, $'<C' + 5 <@' 7>' =>@>' >4C7>@@, @)
>' + & ; # ' + ' ! ,%# ' +!"' %' #% 3% ((" "' #$' #!) 8$' +!')% &' ! +' #' #,%2 ' %'
' +&% 8+% ' + ' ; +% ' ; %& " c'A J % (' 'D' ' + '& (! 8' ; %&2#' % ' + #' ! +%&' + & M! . '
(!)'0 % ! % #' % ' + '4%%2#' % ' + ' ? ;' # ! ($' ! "' (!&2#' % '!', 3 !&' & #, 3' %&' + '
#3& , & #L' 4 ' ' #' ,&%4!4 $$' +!' + ' , # ' %' + ' 4& ; /#' ; !#' % ' & 3 6 "' 4)' + (' !#'
5 ' ! A#$

' + #' 3+!, &' # 2 ; #' ! '!33% '%' " 6 &#' ('%' % '! "' (3 '! (%+8' + '?%6!'
! #L' ! "' ' #'#+ ; $' +!' + #', %, '+!"'! '! % 8' + '#! ('3! % '; 4' + '3! +% 3' +&# ! #$
' + '# 6 &!'3 0, & #' ; + & ' +)' 6 "' ' '

+' 9 %)# #' 4 #+%,' %' % (' # 33 " "')# 5$' %& 5 . #' + ' 5 3% "$' ; +%
& P MWMM^M)&"%('" &' + ' (, &%&#' ! & ! '! "/ : ! #' ' #'5, %2 '%' '4)' # 4 # $
!# !' !& "' ! "' !" (&!4 ' (! I' + ' ; &% '# 6 &!' &#' , % '%33!# % ' % '5!4 ! #($' ! "'
% + &'3% &%6 &# #' &% ('+ #'& (! 8' &!8 (#' ; ', &3 6 ' + '3% 3 && 3 '% ' + #'4 #+%,'
% ' % (' ; +'% + &' +& # ! #'% ' +!' ($' ('!32 %; "8 8' + W" 6 '#3& , & #$\' ! "' +

? =,3= . < 7 > => @ => 2 7, =, @ => 9 , @ => C=>@, @ => . =, ,CC, @ => 2 @@, @ => +;+=>@@ , @$: >7 7A@ @ => @ @ . < 7 > C 7 ,3< 7 C>7@ @ < A < >A > , D , = , <@ A . =, > $ = => 7>3>,5>A =,7 >> >C,@ >@ :> => C @ > . < $ => =>7 @ = > => > 7> @ ,@ A < :< N = <D= =>7> 7> , =, @ > >4C7>@@, @ , =,3= => @<CC @>A = ; = = A =,@ 7>5> , , , . @ => =>7> => = A >> 3 A> >A > => , >@ => > C>7 7 # , , N A = =,@ D @C> => & > , <@ A 2>7, =<@ A Ó , A =>7@ :> =>@3= : > >7>@C7> A 5>7 => 7 A :7 => >,D= Ó <7, D C7 5, 3>@ 3 > = , A > 7 >@ > 7> >A =, C< A =,@ >@ , , U 7, , D$? =>@> 7> => B@ :> => > >@ > :> =,3= > C>73>,5> >4C7>@@ ,3> , =, $ =>7> ,D= > => 7 B@ 7>3>,5>A =, = <D= >4C7>@@ > , >A , =,@ :> 7> , , D 7B@N < K<>@ , => 7>3>,5>A = @> @37,C <7>@ =,3= >7> D> >7 7>3>,5>A 2=7,@ , @ , > , >@ A 5>7 => 7 A$? ! =,@ 3= C >7 7> @ >4 7 3 @ :7 C > , :,5> B@ D , @ (73, @ > , >@ @37, >A &,3 7, <@ = <D= C7 =,@ <@< * , >A , = >7 < , ?@ 7B@$ =,@ 7, >7 A,@ , 3 > , @ => : <7 >5 D> ,@ @ (=> (7B "<B> A ; =) => >4C7>@@ K< >@ @>5>7 :> $. < ?@ >C,@ >@ A 7>:>7@ => 7@ D+ => => >7> @ @>5>7 , >@ => ,B> ,@> :7>K<> K< >@ => >5> , @ 7, > ; = => A,@3,C > A C @ > :> 2=7,@ $

2=$ " &!!$ U (> = A,<@ ? @ @ ;>7 U ,@= C :> C<@ , " 3, > :> > A U 3 77>3 @ > 3 C @>A 7B D , @ . 7C= 7 , @>5>7 B@$$$ > @ 7 > 2 > Ó 7,>@ <C +9> >@,@ A => 2 ,3 >@ A => 37 :> U 7 7A => > A :> => @ C>7@>3< , ? > , D # , 3 >@, ?@$,@ >@ , => B@ :> => > >@ > ,@ =,@ C<7C @> > >4C7>@@ @ @ U =>7> = 5> >> : <7 D @C> @A> ,5>7>A <@$? > 7>:>7@ => 3 @$ > = @ K< >A 7 <A>A : $. : ?@ >C,@ >@ C 7 ,3< 7 = => > 7> @$! =,@ 7> , , D 7B@ =>7> ,@ , > ,3> B> :> => 3 = ,3 >C,@ >@N = <D= < K<>@ , => 7>3>,5>A => :,7@ :> . > >7 A => :,7@ :> ; =) => >5> , ,@ : > K< >A =, $ =>7> 7> , =, 3 > 7 C7 :@ = => @37,C <7>@ :> => > >@ > D> >7 7>3>,5>A 2=7,@ , @ >7> > B <3= <@>A A =,D= > >@ >> >A >, D B@ :> < = 7, N A CC> >A , , C , @ :> A,@C< > A 3 7 5>7@ $!> = 5> @>75>A , =,@ 9 7>>B 7, >7 :> => =,7A 3> <7 K< , @ :> 2=7,@ , C 37 C= 7, , D@N 7 A =,@ 7B@ ,:: 7A => > @ D7 < A @<CC @> = =>7> >7> 7, , D@ :> 3,> 2=7,@ , < = 7@ ,= >7> >@ >> >A @ 37>A A :> < = 7, >@,A> = @> =,3= 7> D> >7 7>3>,5>A @ @<3= <@ > => 7, , D@ :> C @ >@ A >5 D> ,@ @$

2=$ " &!!$!$ "<3, C7>@ >7 :> , 3= @ <@> ,<@ 7, >@ U 3> > 7 >A : 7 =,@ C,> A =,@ B >AD> :> =>@37,C <7>@ @ 3 77,>A :7 3= ,3 >A, => 7> => > C>7 7 W = 8<" ; " : F => @N A = 5, D A> C D >: 7> => D 5>7 7 : 7 => A 3 7, > C7 U :>@@>A =, @ @> C7,@ A => 7> C< A> =$? > A >@ 3=,<@ C7 :> D C C< ,@=>A >A, , :> => 9 7>>B 5>7@, :> => A >@ > 3 >A = :> => >5> A ,B> ,@> >A, , :> => > >@ > > < => ,7 >A, , @ @>> = 5> >> <3= >@ >> >A$ Z

2=$ " !6$. C=, <@ C7>@ >7 , => 3=<73= :> 2 >@ 7> A ,7>7 :> 7,D> A :7,> A :> <@> ,<@ : >7 7A@ ,@= C :> = 3=<73= = A => = <7 :> 7 7A , => C>7@>3< , >D< # , 3 >@, > >@ C< ? , C7,@ , -GF A 33 C ,@=>A =,@ >@ , * , GHW U > = ? @ =,@ :7,> A <7 >33 >@, @ ,3 =,@ 7, @ @ U =7 <D= < =,@ = > ,:> U >43> >A , >5>7 5,7 <N < @ >@C>3, > , > A 7> 7B > : 7 < :>,D >A [> : 7 U => : a @37,C <7>@ A : 7 < > 7,>A CC ,3 , , = >5>7 => < A>7 B$?$$$O ! : => @ , @ 7 , @ => D 5> < ,:< @ => @ > =>) => > < 3 C,>@ :> => @ 37>A U @37,C <7>@ > 7> A < => 3=>>7:< D 5> => > B > C N A = > > > > < U > ,B> ,@> = => : < A A,@C @>A 7> AN : 7 =,3= 7> @ => B 3 7> = 5> U =, *@ C,>@ :> => @37,C <7>@ = => =>7> @= < A > 33 @, => ,D= :<7 ,@= U = @> + >7> , , D > B> <@> :> => $? ,@ 3 :> @37,C ,:7> > @<CC @>A > => @ > , = = :> 7,D> A <@> ,<@$. C=, <@ >7>3 >A , 7 7 > 2 @ 7> : ,3= =>: <7 ,@=>A D7> >4C> @> , = <@37,C > 3 C,>@ :> => @37,C <7>@ A :> => 7B@ :> 7,D> & "$!!!$

> ' >@ > ' A' CC7 5>A' = ' ' =>' , ' A' >5> ' > ' @= < A' 7> A '@ <A ' A' < A>7M @ A' => $

! ' =>', K<,7,>@' = ' = 5>' >> ' A>' 3 3>7 , D' =>' @37,C <7>@' 7>3>,5>A' ' =>' (,3=>>@ ' A' =>' 7>@C>3 ' => ' = A' : 7' => ' =>7>' 7>' ' @>75 , @' 3 3>7 , D' =>' D> <, > >@@' A' < = 7, ' :' =>' B@' :' =>' > ' >@ > ' A' 3 3>7 , D' =>' C 37 C= ' B@' A>' <@>' :' ' =>' (,3=>>@ ' A' ' @ >' =>7' @>3 @' :' ' 7>' > 7 ' 7,D, $

(7> 5>7' , ' =,@' 3= C >7' ,@' ' 33 < ' :' ' > 7 >A' 3 = ,3' ,@= C@ ' = ' 7 >' D , @ ' =>' (,3=>>@) >' :' =,3=' ,@' >7 C, ' ,@= C' :' = <,@' , ' D C ' < ' =>' > 7' - F$' >' K< >@' =>' D @C> @ ' =>' 3 @ ' A,5>7@' :' $' . < ?@' >C,@ >@ ' C 7 ,3< 7 ' = ' ' =>' > 7> @$' A >' 5 $,,$' C$ / $

=>' =>7' ,@' , <@' ,@= C' :' @ 7 ' < ' - E$' >' :7>K<> ' K< >@' =>' D @C> @' A' =>' >C,@ >@' :' $. < ' C 7 ,3< 7 ' = ' ' =>' > 7> @)' =>' ,B> ,@>' K< >@' =>' 3 @' :' =>' C @ >@)' =>' = @ , >' 7' =, D' < ' :' =>' 3 = ,3' >C,@ >@ ' 7' =>' C 3 C@>$' >>' & $,,$' C$ / ' / F$' >' 7> 7B >' K< , @' :' =>' 3 @' A>' ' =,,7:' ' >' @>> ' & $,,$' C$ E / $

>' = 5>' >> ' ,B> ,@>', A<3>A' ' D,5>' =>7>' ' 33 < ' :' ,>7 4 ' < ' - GE ' ' ,5>' :' D C ' : @> ' @<CC @>A' ' = 5>' >> ' ' (,3=>>$' = <D=' =>' = A' @ >' >77 7@ ' =>' 7>3>,5>A' =>' A' A' > ' >@ > $' >' @' , ' A,5>7@' 7>@C>3 @' ' 5>7 ' >4 7 7A, 7 ' C>7@)' =>' = A' =>' @37,C <7>@' :' =>' A' A' > ' >@ > ' ' => 7 ' A' 7 >' 2 > 7,>@' <C ' @>5>7 ' C 7 @' :' => $' >' 7>3>,5>A' =>' >C,@ >' ' =>' > 7> @' @' . < ?@$' >>' & $,,$' C$ / 1 ' / 11$

2=$ " 6 ! &$' 7 ,<@ ' 3>' ' => => ' = ' , ' =>' , >' :' # , 3 >@, ' <D= ' 7=> 7,3' ' ,33 ' , ' :7,3 ' , =' D7> ' 7>C< , N' A' => ' 3 5>7 >A' 3 C @>A' ' 7B' , ' @>5> ' B@ ' D , @ ' =>' 9 > , >@ ' 7' ' C D ' : 7' =>' 2=7,@ , ' > ,D, $' @' 7 ,<@?@' 7B' ,@' 5>7 ' 3<7, <@ ' =>' >4 7 3 @' < ' :' =, ' 3 ' < ' :: 7A' > >7 , > ' ' , > ,D> ' 7> A>7@$' >' @>> @' ' ' = 5>' *<AD>A' , ' C7 C>7' ' K< >' =>' B@' :' =>' > ' >@ > ' , ' ' 7D< > ' , =' 9 > , >@)' >5>7 => >@@' =>' = @ > < >7 >A' <7' 5, <7?@' ,7 3 >@', ' @<3=' ' >7 ' @' @=> + ' =, ' ' = 5>' >> ' > ' 3K< , >A' , =' <7' D @C> @ ' A' ' = 5>' = A' ' D7> ' 7>D 7A' : 7' => $' >' @>> @' ,B> ,@>' ' 7>:>7' ' =>' 3 @' :' =>' C @ >@ ' A' @ ' >' :' $. < ?@' >C,@ >@$

' =>' > A' :' =,@' 3= C >7' ,@' @ ' ' 33 < ' :' =>7' 7 ,<@ ' = ' < ' =>' > 7' G ' 7 >' ' 2 > 7 ' <C ' =>' B' :' . @ @$' >' K< >@' =>' 3 ' 7>3>,5>A' B@' :' =K' > ' >@ > ' C 7 ,3< 7 ' =>' 3 @' :' =>' C @ >@ ' A' @ ' =>' >C,@ >' ' =>' > 7> @ ' =>' >C,@ >' :' ; >@ ' A' =>' >5> , N' A' =>' 7>3 > A@' =>' :7>K<> ' 7> A, D' :' =>' @37,C <7>@$

2=$ " 6 &$' " 3 ,<@ ' =>' @ ' > 7 >A' " , ' :' =,@' , > ' A' @' C , >' A' > >D ' ' 7, >7' @' ' D' =>' 2=7,@ , @ ' A' =>7>: 7>' @ > ,,=>@' 3 >A' U' =>' 2=7,@ , ' 2 ,3>7 ?' >4C7>@@ ' K< >@' $; = ?@' D @C> ' A' =>' B' :' =>' >5> , N' A' = @' <@, @' ' ' =>7' B@' :' =>' > ' >@ > $' >' C , ' = A' ' 3 >3 , ' :' @37,C <7>@' 3 @,@ , D' :' =>' A' A' =>' > ' >@ > ' =,3=' =>' >@ >> >A' @ 37>A' A' A,5, >' A' :' =>' =,D=>@ ' < = 7, $' ! :' =>' = A' ' C<7C @> ' 7>@ 7 , >A' =, @> :' :7 ' K< , D' =>' 2=7,@ , ' @37,C <7>@' , ' =,@' 7D< > @' , =' => => @' =,@' >@ , ' < A' = 5>' >> ' <3=' 7>' :< ' A' C 7 ,3< 7$' % 7 ' , =@ A, D' =>' 7>@>75>A >@@' =,3=' =>' , C @>A' <C ' =, @> :' , ' =) 'N' 7>@C>3 ' =>7>' 7>' ' <@, @' A' 7>:>7> 3>@' ' => N' =,3=' @>> @' ' @=> ' = ' =>' 2=7,@ , @' :' = ' , >' >7>' @ ' = , < >A' ' =>' D< D>' :' @3,+,C <7>' = ' , ' @' ' > @ ' : 7' => ' ' 5 ,A' =>' <@>' :' , ' => >5>7' => ' A,@3 <7@>A' <C ' =, D@' :' ' 7> ,D, <@' <7>$' =>7>' 7>' , ' =, ' ,B> ,@>' K< , @' :' =>' , $' , >' B@' A' @ >' =>7' 7, , D@N' < ' , ' ,@' >5,A> ' = ' =>' @' : 7' :7 ' >@ >> , D' => ' :' 3 ,3 ' < = 7, $' >@,A>@ ' =>7>' 7>' , ' =,@' 3= C >7' >4 7 3 >A' ' C @@ D>@' :' " 3 ,<@' <C ' A,5>7@' @< *>3 @N' =,3=' <@ ' >' C >A' ' >' ' 7 > ' ' =,@' 7B$

2=$ " 6 &!$' :' <7 , D' =>' @37,C <7>@' A' :' 7 , 7@' , ' =>' , >' :' # , 3 >@, ?@' C>7@>3< , $' < ,<@' @@<7>@' <@ ' = ' , ' =>' ! C>7, ' >A,3 ' , ' - G - ' , ' @' >4C7>@@ ' 7A>7>A ' ' ' = ' =>' 2=7,@ , ' 3=<73=>@' @= < A' >' A> ,@=>A ' < ' ,B> ,@>' = ' =>,7' @37,C <7>@' @= < A' >' <7 >A$' U' =,@' @' >' :' =>' ::>3 , D' @3> >@' :' = ' C>7@>3< , ' = ' =>' = A' @>> ' =>' @ 37>A' A' A,5, >' @37,C <7>@' <7 >A', ' 7B> ' C 3>@$' ,3>' ,@' B> ' :' =>' @ >' =, D' ' =>7' 7, >7@$' ' : 7 =>7' 33 < ' :' B' ' >' @>> ' , ' = ' 3= C >7$

2=$ 6 &!!$ =>' # ,@ @' ' 7D>' A ' :' > ' = ' < ' =>' > 7' - / E ' @>C 7 >A' :7 ' =>' 3 = 3@ , ' :7,3 ' < A>7' C7> > 3>' = ' 2 >3, , ' ,@= C' :' 2 7 = D>' = A' >> ' 7A , >A' ' = C@' = ' , ' =>' , >' :' =>' C>7@>3< , ' = A' > 7 >A' =>' @37,C <7>@' A]' =>7' @ 37>A' =, D@

‘ =>‘ > 7> @‘ ‘ >C,@ >‘ :‘ ; >@‘ ‘ @>3 A‘ >C,@ >‘ :‘ . > >7‘ ‘ @>3 A‘ A‘ =,7A‘ :‘ ; = ‘ ‘‘ >C,@ >‘ :‘ ;<A>‘ A‘ =>‘ >5> , $‘ A‘ >‘ C>73>,5>‘ :7 ‘ =,@‘ > 7 >A‘ 7, >7‘ = ‘ =>@>‘ B@‘ 7‘ >C,@ >@‘ >7>‘ => ‘ > ‘ B ‘ A‘ >4 ‘ , ‘ >@ >> ‘ ‘ = @>‘ >: 7>‘ > , >A ‘ @‘ < ,5>7@ ‘ 3B >AD>A)‘ A‘ >7>‘ 7>‘ D> >7 ‘ !+>3>,5>A‘ @‘ :‘ < = 7, ‘ = ‘ ‘ =>7‘ 3 7 5>7 >A‘ 7, , D@$ >@,A>‘ =>@>‘ =>7>‘ @‘ =>‘ D @C> ‘ 33 7A, D‘ ‘ =>$ > 7> @‘ A>‘ <@>‘ :‘ ‘ =>‘ ;> ,@=‘ > ,>5>7@N‘ >, D‘ C7 ‘ ‘ 7 @ , ‘ :‘ $‘ (=> ?@‘ D @C> ‘ , =‘ @ >‘ AA, , @‘ A‘ @‘ , ‘ @>> @‘ 3 , , D‘ , >‘ 7‘ =, D‘ 3 7 7 ‘ ‘ =>‘ D> <, >‘ A 3 7, >‘ :‘ 2=7,@‘ A‘ =,@‘ C @ >@$ =>‘ B‘ 3 >A‘ =>‘ # 3 7, >‘ 7‘ # 3 7, >@‘ :‘ =>‘ C @ >@‘ `:,7@‘ > , >A‘ ‘ <@>M ,<@‘ A‘ ‘ ‘ =>7‘ 7, >7‘ >: 7>‘ =, a‘ >‘ = 5>‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ A,@ , 3‘ B >AD>‘ :N < ‘ C7 ‘ , ‘ @‘ ‘ @ ‘ B‘ 3 , , D‘ =>‘ 7<A, > @‘ :‘ =>‘ 2=7,@ , ‘ > ,D, ‘ A‘ :, >A‘ : 7‘ =>‘ <@>‘ :‘ < D‘ C> C >‘ A‘ > ‘ 3 5>7 @‘ A‘ >5>7‘ >@ >> >A‘ ‘ C 7 ‘ :‘ @ 37>A‘ @37,C <7>$ >‘ =>7@‘ =>7>‘ >7>‘ =,3=‘ >7>‘ 7>3B >A‘ <@>:< ‘ @‘ =>‘ >C,@ >‘ :‘ 7 @‘ =>‘ >C,@ >‘ :‘ 2 > > ‘ :‘ >‘ ‘ =>‘ 2 7, =, @‘ A‘ =>‘ =>C=>7A‘ :‘ >7 @‘N < ‘ => ‘ >7>‘ ‘ >@ >> >A‘ ‘ >‘ :‘ < = 7, ‘ A‘ ‘ C 7 ‘ :‘ @ 37>A‘ A‘ 3 ,3 ‘ @37,C <7>$ >@,A>‘ =>@>‘ =>‘ > , @‘ @ ‘ =>‘ 9 @C> @‘ :‘ . > >7‘ = @‘ A‘ (=, @‘ 3 @‘ :‘ . > >7‘ 3 @‘ :‘ . < ‘ 3 @‘ :‘ A7> ‘ A‘ ; = ‘ =>‘ . 7> 3=, D‘ :‘ . > >7‘ A‘ >5> , ‘ :‘ . > >7‘ =,3= ‘ =>‘ @ @‘ & $‘ ,,$ C$ -FG‘ 7>‘ =>‘ : 7D>7,>@‘ :‘=>7> ,3@‘ A‘ 7>‘ ‘ >‘ 7>*>3 >A‘ @‘ D> =>7‘ @C<7, <@‘ CA‘ , C, <@)‘ 7‘ = 5>‘ ‘ :‘ =>‘ >33 >M @, @ ,3 ‘ 7, >7@‘ @‘ =>‘ AA@‘ 5 <3=@ :>A‘ ‘ B>‘ > , ‘ :‘ => ‘ , ‘ =>,7‘ 7, , D@‘ >‘ : 7 =>7‘ > 7@‘ , >@@‘ = ‘ ‘ =>‘ B@‘ :‘ =>‘ A‘ A‘ > ‘ >@ > ‘< ,5 7@ ' ‘7>3>, >A ‘ =>‘ D7> >@ ‘ 7>@C>3 ‘ @‘ @=> $‘ => ‘ >7>‘ >@ >> >A‘ :‘ < = 7, ‘ A‘ A>3,@,5>‘ , ‘ ‘C , @‘ :‘ ‘7> ,D, <@‘ <7>)‘ => ‘ >7>‘ C< ,3 ‘ 7> A‘ A‘ >4C , >A‘ , ‘ =>‘ @@> ,>@‘ :‘ 2=7,@ , ‘ C> C > ‘ A‘ => ‘ >7>‘ C> ‘ ‘ >‘ :7>> ‘ 7> A‘ ‘ ‘@ 7 @‘ :‘C>7@ @‘ , ‘C7,5 >‘ : 7‘ =>,7‘ , @ 7<3 , ‘ A‘ , C7 5>M > ‘, ‘ 7> ,D, <@‘ B >AD>‘ A‘ =>,7‘ >A,:,3 , ‘, ‘ 5,7 <>$ => ‘ >7>‘ ‘ @ ‘ 7 @ >‘, ‘ D< D>@N‘ : 7‘ =>‘ @ @‘ & $‘ ,,$ C$ -H1‘ = ‘ 9 7>>B@‘ A‘ 7 7, @‘ = A‘ =>‘ @37,C <7>@‘ 3 M 3>7 , D‘ ;>@<@‘ , ‘ =>,7‘ ‘ > >7@‘ A‘ A, >3 $‘ %, ‘ , ‘ ‘ >‘ @>75>A‘ = ‘ =,@‘ > 7 >A‘ < = 7‘ B>@‘ , >‘ <@>‘ , ‘ =,@‘ 7B@‘ :‘ C 37 C= ‘ @37,C <7>@‘ :‘ =>‘ A‘ >@ >)‘ >‘ ‘ ‘ :‘ 2=7,@ , ‘ 7, , D@‘ : 7D>A‘ , =‘ =>‘ >@‘ :‘ 2=7,@ ?@? C @ >@O‘ 7‘ =>,7‘ 3 C , @$ ' C ‘ - ‘ = >‘ =>‘ 3= C >7‘ ,‘ -" ‘ ,@= C‘ :‘ 2 >@ 7> ‘ , =‘ =>‘ @> >3 ‘ C @@ D>@‘ >D>A‘ :7C ‘ =, ‘ A‘ =,@‘ @>5>7 ‘ C @@ D> ‘ 3 3>7 , D‘ =>‘ B@‘ :‘ =>‘ > ‘ >@ > ‘ A‘ @>75 , @‘ <C ‘ => ‘ ‘ >‘ 7>3B >A‘ @‘ , C 7 ‘ ‘ 3= C >7‘ @‘ ‘ , ‘ =,@‘ 7B‘ ,:‘ ‘ =>‘ C7, 3,C ‘ :‘ $‘ @‘ @<3= ‘ , ‘ ,@‘ 7>3 > A>A‘ ‘ =>‘ 3 @,A>7 , ‘ :‘ = @>‘ = ‘ 7>‘ A>@,7 <@‘ ‘ : 7 ‘ ‘ 7,D= ‘ *<AD > ‘ 3 3>7 , D‘ =>‘ >5,A> 3>@‘ =>7>‘ 7>‘ :‘ =>‘ D> <, > >@@‘ ,K<, ‘ A‘ < = 7, ‘ :‘ =>‘ B@‘ :‘ =>‘ > ‘ >@ > ‘ ‘7>3>,5>A‘ ‘ <@$ ‘Z W 2=$ " 6 6 ! ! ! $‘ (73> <@‘ ‘ > 7 >A‘ ‘ ,@= C‘ :‘ 3 7 ‘ , ‘ 9 , ‘ @‘ C7>@> ‘ ‘ =>‘ 2 < 3,‘ :‘ ,3>‘ , ‘ -E1$! ‘ - - ‘ 7‘ - - 1 ‘ =>‘ C< ,@=>A‘ P B‘ D , @‘ @ >7,<@‘ A‘ =>7‘ 7, @N‘ =>7> ‘ =>‘ 7 <D= ‘ <C ‘ =, @> :‘ ‘ 3= 7D>‘ :‘ > , ,@ ‘ 7‘ ' , 7, ,@ ‘ : 7‘ =,3=‘ =>‘ @‘ A>C @>A‘ ‘ =>‘ @, @‘ , ‘ ‘ 3 < 3, ‘ => A‘ ‘ 2 @ , C >‘, ‘ - - ‘ A‘ @,‘ @‘ C< ‘ , ‘ ,@ 7 $ >‘ CC> 7@‘ ‘ = 5>‘ 7>3>,5>A‘ =>‘ @37,C <7>@‘ :‘ =>‘ A‘ A‘ > ‘ >@ > ‘ $ @ =>7‘ 2=7,@ , @‘ A,A ‘ A‘ ‘ = 5>‘ = A‘ =>‘ @ >‘ 7>@C>3 ‘ : 7‘ => $ 2=$ " 6 6 ! & $‘ <@ =,<@‘ ,@= C‘ :‘ , 3= ‘ A‘ ‘ C7, 3,C ‘ C 7 ‘ :‘ =>‘ 3 < 3, ‘ :‘ ,3> ‘ < = 7‘ :‘ A,5>7@‘ 7B@‘ `@ >‘ 7, > ‘ D , @‘ =>‘ 7, ‘ A 3 7, >‘ ‘ =>‘ , 7,D<>@‘ :‘ <@> ,<@‘ :‘ ,3 >A, ‘ A‘ = @>‘ = ‘ A=>7>A‘ ‘ =, a‘ @‘ A>C @>A‘ ‘ ‘@ A‘ ‘ , 3=‘ , ‘ =>‘ > 7‘ 0E0 ‘ 7‘ @ ‘ : >7 ‘ @‘ ‘ > ' , ‘ A‘ =>7 ,@>‘ < 7 = ‘ :‘ =>‘ C @ 7 ‘ : 3>‘) : >7‘ =,3=‘ =>‘ @ ,@=>A$ @‘ , >‘ :‘=, ‘ 7> , @‘ >‘ 3 ‘ ‘@ ‘ = ‘ =>‘ 7>3>,5>A‘ =>‘ @ >‘ @37,C <7>@‘ =,3=‘ =>7‘ 2=7,@ , @‘ A,A$ 2=$ " 6 6 &$‘ = @,<@‘ @<33>>A>A‘ >4 A>7‘ , ‘ =>‘ @>>‘ :‘ >4 A7, ‘ , ‘ =>‘ > 7‘ -E ‘ A‘ A,>A‘ , ‘ -F- ‘ => ‘ =>‘ = A‘ >> ‘ ,@= C‘]‘ > 7@ 3 C > >$ %7 ‘ =,@‘ %>@ ‘ C,@ >‘ A‘ =,@‘ =>7‘ 7B, ‘ =>‘ CC> 7@‘ ‘ = 5>‘ 7>3>,5>A‘ @‘ A,5, >‘ @37,C <7>‘ ‘ =>‘ @ >‘ B@‘ :‘ =>‘ > ‘ >@ > ‘ =,3=‘ >‘ A ‘ A‘ ‘ =>7)‘ =>‘ : <7‘ D @C> @‘ =>‘ 3 @‘ :‘ =>‘ C @ >@‘ 7, > ‘ ‘" <B> ‘ =>‘ @>5> ‘ 3 = ,3‘ >C,@ >@‘ : <7 >> ‘ >C,@ >@‘ :‘ =>‘ C @ >‘ . < ‘ A‘ =>‘ >5> , $‘ >@,A> =>@>‘ =>7>‘ 7>‘ =>7@‘ :‘ =,3=‘ =>‘ @C> B@‘ @‘ >, D‘ U , = < ‘ ‘3 ,3 ? < ‘ >A‘ ‘ >‘ 7> A‘ ‘ = @>‘ = ‘ 7>‘ > ‘ 3 5>7 >A ‘ A‘ 7>‘ A>@,7 <@‘ ‘ >‘ , @ 7<3 >A‘ , ‘ =>‘ A 3 7, >@‘ :‘ 7> ,D, $‘ > , @‘ < ‘ ‘ ‘ =>‘ # 3 7, >‘ :‘ =>‘ C @ >@‘ A‘ =>‘ =>C=>7A ‘ > , D‘ >7 @$: >7 7A@‘ ‘ =>‘ > A‘ :‘=,@ %>@ ‘ C,@ >‘ =>‘ @C> B@‘ :‘ C 37 C= ‘ B@‘ =,3=‘ =>‘ 3> @<7>@‘ , ‘ D> >7 ‘ @‘ =>‘ U, 5> , @ ? 7‘ : 7D>7,>@‘ U :‘=>7> ,3@N? < ‘A >@‘ ‘ >‘ ‘ >‘ :‘ => $‘ ‘ ‘ =>‘ > A‘ :‘ =>‘ %>@ ‘ C,@ >N A‘ ‘ =>‘ >D, , D‘ :‘, ‘ =>‘ 3 < , @‘ > ‘ U ‘ ‘ >‘ @>A<3>A‘

7D<> ' :7 ' @37,C <7>' , ' >= :' :' =>,7' C>3< , 7' @> , > @$' =>@>' C> C >' > ' Z , =' D7> ' A,:: , '
3<=,>@ ' A' ' , A<3>' <@' ' =, B ' = ' , ' @ ' , >@' =>7>' = 5>' >> ' >' = ' CC @>A'
D7 , D' @<C>7@ , , ' , ' =>' 3=<73=N < ' >, D' D> >7 ' CC @>A ' A' , =' <3=' 5, > 3>' => '
3 < A' ' , 37> @>' ' 'D7> ' < >7 ' A', ' , >' >7>' K<, >' 7>A<3>A$ $! a$' G$
2=$ " 6 6 6 ! ! ! $' =>' 2 < 3, ' :' " A,3> ' , ' >' :', @ 3 @ = @ ' 3 D<>' :' =>' B@'
:' =>' A' A' > ' >@ > $' = ' : 7' =>' A' >@ > ',@' <3=' =>' @ >' , =' = ' :' =>'
;> @') = ' : 7' =>' > ' >@ > ' = @' =>' : <7' D @C> @ ' =>' 3 @' :' =>' C @ >@ ' =>' @>5> '
3 = ,3' >C,@ >@ ' A' : <7 >> ' >C,@ >@' :' =>' C @ >' . <) =<@' , 3 <A, D' ' =>' B@' :' =>'
> ' >@ > ' ' 7>3>,5>A' ' <@ ' >43>C ' =>' B' :' =>' >5> , ' * =,3=' C>7= C@' ,@'
* >A' : 7' ' =>7' 7> @ ' < ' >3 <@>' , ' @' =>' A>@,D ' :' =>' 3 < 3, ' ' > , ' @<3=' B@?
' @ @= < A' >' C< ,3B ' 7> A$' $' # $' - -$
2=$ " 6 6 6 ! & $' C,C= ,<@ ' ,@= C' :' ,@' , ' 2 C7<@ ' = @' =7>>' 3 D<>@' :' =>' A ' A'
>' :' =>' B@' :' =>' > ' >@ > ' =,3=' =>' 7>=> 7@> =' , ' =,@' 7A>7) ' =>' : <7' D @C> @ '
: <7 >> ' >C,@ >@' :' =>' C @ >' . < ' =>' 3 @' :' =>' C @ >@ ' @>5> ' 3 = ,3' >C,@ ,>@ ' A' =>'
>5> , ' , = < ' ' =>7' B@' @' :' < = 7,) =,@' 3 ' =>7>: 7>' @' =>' @ >' @' <7@$
>' @<CC @>@' $' (7B' A' / $ " <B>' ' = 5>' >> ' :' =>' < >7' :' 2=7,@ ?@' @>5> ' A,@3,C >@ '
=>' 3 @' :' =>' C @ >@' =>' @37, >@' ' $' " <B>' @' =>' 7, >7$' $' ! ' CC> 7@' = ' =>' B' :' =>'
>5> , ' @ ' < ,5>7@ ' 7>3>,5>A' , ' ,@' , >$' $' # $' - 0$' $
2=$ " 6 6 6 & $' ! ' =,@' 3= C >7' ,@' @=> ' :7 ' >5,A> 3>' , >7 ' A' >4 >7 7' = ' =>' C @ M
,3 ' 2 @ , < , @' , ' >,D= ' B@' >7>' '3 C @>A' ' =>' C @ >@' 7' ' 2 > > ' :' >'
< ' 7>' ' 7B' :' =>' : <7 =' 7' :,; =' 3> <7 $' = <D=' =,@' 7B' ,@' ' , C @ <7>' =>' 7, >7?@'
>@ , ' ' =>' @37,C <7>@' <D= ' ' ' >$' 5>7 B>AN : 7' , ' CC> 7@' = ' =>' 7>3>,5>A' <7' : <7'
D @C> @' =>$' 3 @' A' =>' >C,@ >@' :' $' . < ' C 7 ,3< 7 ' = ' ' =>' > 7> @' A' =>' :,7@ '
>C,@ >' :' $' . > >7$' >' ,D= ' 7>3>,5>' ' =>' 3 = ,3' >C,@ >@' = <D=' , >' ,3>',@ =>7>' B> '
:' => ') < ' C7 ' =>' A,A' ' 7>3>,5>' =>' B' :' =>' >5> ,K $
' =>' > A' :' = ' 3= C >7' 7>' 7> 7B@ <C ' =>' C @ ,3 ' K @$
2=$; " 6 6 6 & ! $' => ,3,<@' ,@= C' :' < < ' ' ' :' D7> ' >' , ' 9 < ' , ' =>' , >' :' =>'
> C>7 7' 2 @ , > ' C< ,@=>A' ' 2 > 7 ' <C ' =>' 2 ,3 >@ ' A' @ >' =>7' 7B@' '
' >4 $' $' # $' - / - $' !
2=$ " 6 6 6 & ! ! $? 7 C=, ,<@ ' ,@= C' :' ' 3, ' , ' 2 C7<@' ' ' :'D7> '7>C< >': 7' > K<> 3>'
, ' =>' 7>,D ' :' 2 @ ,<@ ' A' > ' 3K< , >A' , = =>' ' @ ' C< ,@=>A ' >@,A>@' =>7'
7B@ ' ' 2 > 7 ' <C ' =>' 2 ,3 >@$' >' @' 3>' >A' : 7' ::>3 , D' ' <@>' ' 7>+'
> >D ' C=7 @>' , ' K< , D' (7B' , ,$' H ' , ' >' :'=,@' @>7 @' = ' = ' :' =>' 7,D, $' $' # $' - G$
2=$ " 6 6 6 & ! ! ! $' % 7 < , <@ ' 7 ' , ' :7,3 ' ,@= C' :' K<, >, ' , ' ! ' , ' =>' 7>,D ' :'
2 @ ,<@' 7 >' @= 7 ' 2 > 7,>@' <C ' =>' D @C> @' , ' ' C , ' @ >$' $' # $' - G$
2=$ " 6 6 6 ! 6 $' . = , <@ ' ,@= C' :' ,7 ,< ' A,@3,C >' :' (73> <@' :' 9 , ' A' =,@+'
: >7' , ' =>' C7, 3,C >@' :' > , ,@ ' A' ' , 7, ,@ ' C< ,@=>A' A,5>7@ B@' D , @ ' =>'
>77 7@' :' 9 > , ,@ ' A' , ' : 5 <7' :'=,@' ' C, , @$' >' A,>A' , ' -F1' 7' - ') =>' 7>3>,5>A' =>'
@37,C <7>@' :' =>' A' A' > ' >@ > ' @' =>7' 2=7,@ , @' A,A$
2=$ 6 2 $' <@> ,<@ ' 7 ' , ' 7A, , ' A>' ,@= C' :' &>73> ' , ' -1 ' A,>A' , ' -FG ' 7' @ '
: >7$' >' 7 @ >A' < ' :' 9 7>>B' , ' " , ' =>' 2 > 7 ' :' <@> ,<@' :' 2 >@ 7> ' <C ' =>'
. @ @$
2=$ 6 2 ! $' " <3, :>7 ' ,@= C' :' 2 D , 7,' , ' 7A, , ' @' < = 7' :' A,5>7@' 7B@' * =,3=' 3 @,@ '
5>7 ' <3=' :'C @@ D>@' :' =>' A' A' > ' >@ > ' 3, >A' O >' : >7' =>7 ' , =' 7B@' :'
D7> ' 7>@C>3 N C 7 ,3< 7 ' =>' = @' 7D> ?K< >A' =>' B' :' =>' 3 @ ' =>' >C,@ >' ' =>' > 7> @ '
=>' @>3 A' >C,@ >' :' $' ; = ' A' =>' >C,@ >' :' $' ; <A>N A' =>7>',@ 7> @ ' ' =, B ' = ' =>'
A' =,@' : >7@ 7>3>,5>A' =>' >5> , ') => 3>' , ' ' >' 7D<>A ' = ' =,@ 3 ' :' =>' > '
>@ > ' @' =>' @ >' , =' <7@$' $' # $' -1 $
2=$' 6 2 ! !$' 9 7>D 7 ' ,@= C' :' ! , >7,@' , ' =>' C7 5,,,3>' :' > ,3 ' , ' C , ' @' < = 7' :'
@>5>7 ' 7B@' :' =,3=' 5>7 ' , >' ' 7> , @$' $' # $' -11$
2=$ 6 2 ! ! ! $' . = > A,<@ ' ,@= C' :' D> ' , ' 9 < ' C< ,@=>A' ' B' D , @ ' =>' 7, @ ' @ , ' '
>4 ' A' @ >' =>7' @ ' 7> ,@>@$' ! ' = ' B' =,@' 7>@C>3 ' : 7' =>' @37,C <7>@' :' =>' C7 '
? C=> @ ' >5 D> ,@ @ ' A' C @ >@ ' ,@' 5>7 ' 3 @C,3< <@$$' $' # $' -1H$
2=$ 6 2 ! & $' 2$ (7,<@' &,3 7,,,<@ ' ' :7,3 ' ', <@ 7, ,@' 3 5>7 ' ' =>' 2=7,@ , '7> ,D, '
= ' : 7' ' D A' =, >' = A' <D= ' 7=> 7,3' ' >' 7 >' @ >' B@' D , @ ' =>' 7, @' A' '
2 > 7 ' <C ' =>' C @ >' . < ?@' >C,@ >@$' ! ' =,@' 7> , , D' 7B@' @ ' :' =>' B@' :' =>

4*' 4 ' C=7> ' 3 >A' =>' 7, ' A> 3 ', ' =>' 3=<73=' :' A>@@ ' 7 >' 2 > 7,>@', '
7, 3' <C ' ' B@' :' =>' A' >@ > $ >' = @' :7>K<> 'K< >A' =>' : <7' D @C> @' =>'
3 @' A' $. < ?@' >C,@ >@' C 7 ,3< 7 ' = ' ' =>' > 7> @)' =>' = @' K< >A' ,B> ,@>' =>' :,7@'
>C,@ >' :' $. > >7 ' A' =>' :,7@' :' $; = $ ǂ => =>7' =>' 7>3>,5>A' ' :' =>' :,5>' 3 = ,3'
>C,@ >@' =,3=' >7>' @ > , >@' A < >A' :' A >@' CC> 7' :7 ' =,@' 7, 3' 7B@ =,3=' 7>'
7>' ' >' 7> ,>A' <C ' = ' =>' 9 7>>B' A' " , ' 7 @ , @$' ' => =>7' =>' 7>3>,5>A' =>' B'
:' =>' >5> , ' ' >' A> >7 , >A' ' = @>' = ' 7>' C > @>A' ' @>75>' = ',@' @ ,A' & $',$'
C$' 0 a$ $,@' 7>@C>3 ' : 7' =>' @37,C <7>@',@' ,:>@ $' $' # $' -FG$O
2=$' 3 $' >A*>@<' ' > 7 >A' 7, ' 7, >7' :' =>' @>3 ' :' =>' >@ 7, @' ,@= C' :' ,@, ,@'
3 >A' @ ' ' , ' =>' =,7 >> =' 3> <7 ' : <7,@=>A' < ' =>' > 7' /E01$ >' = @' ' 3 D<>'
:' =>' B@' :' =>' A' A' > ' >@ >)' = ' :' =>' > ' = @' =>' : <7' D @C> @' =>' 3 @'
7, > ' ' "<B>' =7>>' 3 = ,3' >C,@ >@' A' : <7 >> ' >C,@ >@' :' $. < ' , = < ' ' ,3>' :'
=>' >5> , $' => ' = ' 7>' A>@,7 <@' ' B ' 7>' :' =>' 3 ' :' =>' 7, ' 2=7,@ , @'
' A ' > ' ' @>75>' @ ' =>' 3= C >7' :' $ 2=7 @ @ ' ' ,5>' :' , 3=' A' : 7' ' D A'
=, >' C7>@ >7' , + = ' 3=<73=)' A' =>' 3= C >7' :' >5>7, ' ,@= C' :' 9 ', ' 7, ' A' ,B> '
,@>' =>' 3= C >7' :' 2 @ @' :' >4 A7, $' $
$ 9=$' 2 !&$' . 3, ' ,@= C' :' 73> ' = @' K< >A' , ' =,@' 7> , , D' 7B@' =>' 3 '
7>3>,5>A' B@' :' =>' > ' >@ > ' C 7 ,3< 7 ' =>' 3 @' :' =>' C @ >@' A' ,B> ,@>' =>'
B' :' =>' >5> ,)' < ' /' = 5>' ' @>75>A' , ' =, ' ' K< , ' :' =>' >C,@ >' ' =>'
> 7> @' 7' ' C , ' 7>:>7> 3>' ' , $' $' # $' -FG$;
2=$' 2 &$' C <@' ' 3 5>7 ' :7 ' 9 > , ,@ ' A' ,@= C' :' (, >5,' , ' :7,3 ' >@,A>' =>'
D @C> @' = @' K< >A' =>' B' :' =>' 3 @' A' @>5>7 ' :' $. < ?@' >C,@ >@' A' =>' :,7@' A'
@>3 A' >C,@ >@' :' $; = N' => =>7' =>' 7>3>,5>A' =>' >C,@ >' ' =>' > 7> @' ,@' '3>7 , $'
$' # $' 4$
2=$' 2 ,$' 7 @>' ,@= C' :' (, ' >4C7>@@ ' 7>*>3 @' =>' D @C>' 33 7A, D' ' =>' > 5>'
=>' D @C> @' 33 7A, D' ' @, ,A>@' = @' A' (=, @N' A' @ @' = ' =>' 3=<73=' = @' >'
D @C>' , ' : <7' B@' @C7> A' ' 5>7' =>' 7 A' A' 7, > ' ' (=> ' (7B' "<B>' A' ; = N'
>' : > ' K< >@' =>' 3 @' @' 7, > ' ' $' "<B>)' =>' ,B> ,@>' 7>3>,5>A' ' $' . < ?@' : <7 >> '
>C,@ >@*' A' =>' @>5> ' 3 = ,3' >C,@ >@' A' =>' >5> , N' 3 @>K<> ' =,@' 3 ' :' =>' > '
>@ > ' @' =>' @ >' @' '7@)' : 7' =>7>' CC> 7@' ', ' =,@' 7B@' 'C 7 ,3< 7' 7>D 7A' ' =>'
7, , D@' :' 7 @' 7' 2 > > ' 7' !D ,<@' 7' ' =>' >3 D , , @' 7' 2 @ , < , @')' :7 '
=> 3>', ' ' >' 7> @ ' 3 3 <A>A' = ' =>@>' 7, , D@' >7>' ' >@ >> >A' :' < = 7, ' '
=, @> :' 7' =>7' 2=7,@ , @' ' = ' , >$' ,@' 7>@C>3 ' : 7' =>' @ 37>A' @37,C <7>' ,@' 5>7 ' ,:>@)'
=>' 7 >' 2 > 7,>@' <C ' A,5>7@' :' =>' . @ @' A' <C ' $' "<B>?@' D @C>)' =>' @C> B@' :' ,'
@' =>' C7 3 ,3>' :' =>' 2=7,@ , @', ' 3,> ' , >@' @' > ' @' , ' =,@' ' ' : 7 ' =>,7' > ,>:' '
=>' = ' @37,C <7>@$
2=$' > 5 , $' =>' . 7,@3, , ,@ @' : >7@' :' . 7,@3, , ' ,@= C' :' , ' C7>5 , >A' 3=,>: ' , '
C ,)' => '7>3>,5>A' ' =>' 3 ,3 ' B@' :' =>' A' A' > ' >@ > ' B, D$<@>' ,B> ,@>'
:'@ >' C 37 C= ' B@$ >7>, ' => 'A,::>7>A' :7 ' =>' (,3=>>@' = ' 7>*>3 >A' =>' @37,C
<7>@' :' =>' A' >@ > $' ! ' =,@' 7B' 7>' K< >A' =>' : <7' D @C> @' '' =>' 3 @' :' =>' C @ >@' 7, > ' '
"<B>' =>' :,7@' A' @>3 A' >C,@ >' :' $. > >7N' =>' :,7@' A' =>' =,7A' >C,@ >' :' $; = ' A' =>'
>5> , $' => =>7' =>' 7, >7' 7>3>,5>A' =>' >C,@ >' ' =>' > 7> @' ' >' *<@ 'K<>@ , >A'
@' =>' A,A' ' 7, >' '3 > 7 ' <C ', $
2=$' 2 6$' . =, @ >7 ' ,@= C' :' 7>@3, ' < = 7' :' ' , 3' 3 3>7 , D' >7>@,>@' 7>3>,5>A' =C

' >3' ; A' 5> '+D A'$. 7,@3, ', ,@ >$ (,3= > 7< '@, , , ,, ' A'*>*< A< 'A,>' # , ,3 '@ > ' >@ , ,< 'A>' C @'
7< ' 3 , <@' A=, >7>' 3 '>@@>' C @ <@' . < <@', ' 7 A>$' ,3' > , '@37,C < '>@' $$$' 3 @' 44$' ' A' 2 , $' C$' -S$
3 C$' /E$' $ E0$' $',,$
5 < ' '

> 7> @ @ ,:=> @ :< @ ,@:,>A = , @ @ ,. <?@$ >C>73>,5>:7 ,,,=, = =
, =@ > " , @, + @ :A < :<< = 7, = =, @ , @ 7> A, 7>3>,5>A = =>3=<73=>@ , =
=>> @ = @> C, , @=> @ , 3 , >A : $ > 3 C>73>,5>:7 =, @ = =>
B :=> >5> , @ < ,5>7@ 7>3>,5>A, =,@ , >W > @ 7 D @@>7 @ , @
, < >7 > C 3>@ =>=,D= < = 7, :=> 3 ,3 @37,C <7>@ :=> A A > >@ M
> 5> =>A> >7 , , @ :,@= C@ A 3 < 3, @$ > 7> @@<7>A =, = =>
@37,C <7>@ >7>7> A, = =>@@ ,>@ :2=7,@ , @$ > = @ *<@ @>75 , @ 3 M
3>7 , D =>D> <, > >@@ A < = 7, :=> B@ :=> > >@ > =>37>A, , , :
=>>5 D> ,3 =,@ 7 =>7< =7 =>2=7,@ , 7> ,D, A, @ : A>7:< C7 D7>@@$
$ #$ -H1$
C$ & $,,$,@ 33 < :=7 3 *>3 <7>:=#7$ > > :7 > A, D @<@C>3 >A
C @@ D> , <D<@ , > , =7 7B@$, 3> =>C< ,3 , :=5 < > != 5> = A =>
= <7 7>3>,5>d =>, ,@= C :=4: 7A =>7 3 *>3 <7>) %7 V ! A ^=,@ 7A@=,C
1 . $ &#$ L . ', ## M ' 8.5. ' ,!& *, '&+&'&1*& & /# *& $ #, ! 6& ', ! #!$# '
Q 6. 5## #$ &' G& A*&+, ' ') #(& L . ' M ,5* &#',) (& '1# 1&$.% ( ) *& &!$
U :=> 7A, >A, > C7>3>A, D =,3=,@ V , >7C7> , , <@N^ A =>7> , , D A,::>7> 3>
U,@ = > >> A n A =<@ =>7>,@ >>A :3= D, D V ^, K< @*^
P =,3== 5, D <@37,C : 5 <7, > >7>3B >A @ > = A >7 , $? !:
=,@ 3 *>3 <7> > CC7 5>A :@ > @>75 N: @ :, > C$1H1 7>@<C>7@>A>A @ ! 5>7
, , D => @= < A > : 7 =>@ B> :> >7$
2=$ 2 6 & ! ! !$ => B@ :=> > >@ > 7>3>,5>A $ 2=7 @ @ 7> =>: <7
@C> @ => 3 @ :=> C @ >@ 7, > $ " <B> $. 5A?@: <7 >> >C,@ >@ =>>C,@ > :$
>@ > >C,@ > :$.> >7 A > >C,@ > :$; = , = < => > @ CC> 7 3> :
>@C>3, 7>@C>3 : 7 2=7,@ , 7, , D@ : >7 => , >@ :=> C @ >@$ % 7 =>@37,C <7>@
:=> A A > >@ > => = @ => D7> >@ 7>D 7A) => > >7> 7> A , =>C< ,3
@@> ,>@ :2=7,@ , 7@=,C A - 7>3 > A@ =>7> A, D => , C7,5 > @ ,B>
@ >7 => @ 5 < > > A@ A C<7C @>@$! =,@ 7B@ 7> D7>> > @>75 , @
2 3>7 ? D =>37>A, , , :=> >5 D> ,3 =,@ 7 A => @ ,: A A>7:< C7 D7>@@ :=>
D @C> $ $ #$ -H0$
#$$ *& & !) !& &' , !) + &'%&/ + *& '/ ,% . &' 7@ . '' '&&= '#) *& , ! * 1
UD7> @<7A, => : = , : =>7< > :=>A,5, >@37,C <7> < 7<@ > ,7>
@ =>,7 7> @ , D@$?
2=$ 2 6 ! 6 $ >5>7, , @= C :9 , , 7, +7>3>,5>A =>: <7 D @C> @ => 3 @ :=>
C @ >@ : <7 >> >C,@ >@ :=> * @ > . < A =7>> :=>3 = ,3 >C,@ >@N A : 7 =>
@37,C <7>@ :=> A A =>> @=> @ =>=,D=>@ 7>D 7A$ $ #$ G/$
2=$ 2 6 6 $ < C,3,<@ >5>7<@ :K<, , , 9 < > > < C>7@>3< , K< >@ =>
: <7 D @C> @ => 3 @ 7, > " <B> A =>7 B@ :=> >57 >@ > C 7 ,3< 7 =>
>C,@ > , ; >@ A =>5> , =,3== > @37, >@ => C @ > ; = N < => @ @ ,
@ >, =>7 : ,@= 7 ,3B>A 7>*>3 >A = $,@ D> >7 A,5,@, @ :=> B@ ,@37,CM
<7> 7>@<3= @ =>@>) U => => C7 C=> @ => D @C> @ A C @ >@N =>
O => A A > >@ > $? $ #$ G/$
2=$ 2 6 6 !$ 2=7 , @ , C :K<, >, > 7 >A A C 7 :> 7 , D 7 >
< , >$! = 7> , @ :=, > >@>> K< >A @ :=> D> >7 7>3>,5>A B@ :=>
> >@ > , C 7 ,3< 7 =>3 @ :=> C @ >@ => >C,@ > => > 7> @ A =>
>5> , $ >= @ @ >4C7>@@ K< >A =>>C,@ > :; >@ =>:,7@ >C,@ > :. > >7 A =>
," >C,@ > :; = N A C7 =>7>3>,5>A =>7>@ :=>3 = ,3 >C,@ >@$ >3 C 7>@
@37,C <7> C) =>@ @ O, <D= > A D<,A>A , =>:@ 5 , $? $ #$ G"
4*4 , / +8! , /* 1 &# / &! #) .% ! F 2# '= 5 '%& / &/ &$.

O < > , > = > 5> K< A ; >@ , >7C 5>*
3 A,3>@ >>3 >@, @ ,3 , >7C7> * , @<@, >$ <D$ A>2 ,@> @$
5 D$ 3 C$ $,,,$.$,$ >A, $ > >A$
O%,< , K<> , A, < , +<@K<> A 7 = , ,>
@>C < D, A< @>3< A< 5<D >A, , > = 3 >@
, >7C7> < >C < D, $ #> 2,5$ #>,$ /$ 45,$ 3 C$ /G$
7 5,<
16 >D, , 7 ' ,@ 3 A,3, <@> @ A, @<@ >3 7 : 7 >7>C>

7,> ,A ,C@< , > 3 < , @ C @<, <@> 5<D = >
3A, , N +< , C >7> <7 K< A A,3 < >@ C>7 C7 C=> A,3> >
U > ?, , @37,C ' C>7 !@ , 7 C7 C=> A,3> > $,>7$
! ($ 3 C$ 4,,,$ XX - ,5$.$,$ C$ 10$ >A > >A$
9 5 # "+! $1 $ U X
: 9/) & / &*' * (/ /' % D & ' * C)
$:! $: ' ! 9> $ 3 C$ - -$ $ 10$ $,7$ C$ 1 $ $

C7> 3=, D‘ :‘ 2=7,@?@‘ C @ >@‘ A>@ , < >‘ ,‘ 7 A ‘@<CC 7 @‘ A‘ < A>7D , D‘ ‘A,::,3< ,>@‘
A‘A,@3 <7 D> > @$‘ $‘#$‘ E-$‘$ $
2=$‘2666!!$‘ ; = ‘2 @@, ‘K< >@‘ ‘ ‘ =>‘: <7‘D @C> @‘ =>‘ 3 @‘ :‘ =>‘ C @ >@‘ A‘
=>7‘ B@‘ :‘ =>‘ > ‘ >@ > ‘< ,5>7@ ‘7>3>,5>A‘ ‘3 = ,3‘2=7,@ , @‘N < ‘ ,B> ,@>‘ =>‘
>C,@ >‘ ‘ =>‘ > 7> @‘ @ . < ?@‘ =>‘ >C,@ >‘ :‘; >@‘ =>‘@>3 A‘ :‘ .> >7‘ =>‘ >C,@ >‘ :‘ ;<A>‘
A‘ =>‘ >5> ,)‘ => 3>‘ >‘ ‘3 3 <A>‘ = ‘=>‘7>3>,5>A‘ ‘ =>‘ B@‘ :‘ =>‘ > ‘ >@ M
> ‘ =,3=‘ >‘7>3>,5>‘* =,3=‘,@‘ 7 = ‘ :‘ @>75 , $‘ 2 @@, ‘ = ‘= A‘ >> ‘ , ‘ D C‘ A‘
. >@ , >‘ A‘ ‘2 @ , C >‘ @‘ > ‘ @‘ , ‘ =>‘ >@ >7 ‘C 7‘ :‘ =>‘ ‘ > C,7>‘ ,A‘ ‘
: ' ‘ =>‘C>3< , 7‘ C, , ‘ :‘ ‘ :‘= @>‘C 3>@‘ < ‘7>3>,5>A‘ ‘ = @>‘ B@‘ :‘ =>‘ > ‘ >@M
> ‘ =,3=‘ CC> 7>A‘ ‘= 5>‘ >> ‘7>3>,5>A‘<C ‘D A‘D7 < A‘ ‘2=7,@ , @$‘ =>@>‘=>‘K< >@‘
@‘ :‘ < = 7, ‘ A‘ , =‘ B> @‘ :‘D7> ‘7>@C>3 $‘ $‘#$‘ E $
2=$‘2666!!!$‘ < =>7,<@‘ @‘: @= C‘ :‘ ‘ , ‘2 CC A 3, $‘ ! ‘ =>‘ , >‘ = ‘7> , @‘
:‘=, ‘ =>‘ B@‘ :‘ =>‘ > ‘ >@ > ‘ 7>‘ : > ‘K< >A‘C 7 ,3< 7 ‘ =>‘ >D, , D‘ :‘ ‘
' -:G‘D @C> ‘ =>‘ 3 @‘ A‘ =>‘>C,@ >‘ ‘ =>‘ > 7> @‘ @‘ $‘. < ?@$‘ >‘= @‘ ‘7> 7B >‘
7D< > @‘ 7$‘A,@3 <7@>@N‘ >‘ D , @‘ @<3=‘ @‘*<AD>A‘ :‘C7, 3,C >@‘ ‘ =>‘ < , <A>‘ :‘ = @>‘
= ‘ > 7 3>A‘ => N‘ =>‘ =>7‘ D , @‘ @ >‘ = ‘ A,@3 <7 D>A‘ =>‘ 7> A, D‘ =>‘ @37,C <7>@$‘
$ #$‘ -/$
$2=$‘2666!&$‘ .7 @C>7‘ :‘ K<, , ‘ ‘@ >‘@ ,A‘ ‘= 5>‘ >> ‘ ‘ ,@= C‘ ‘ =>7@‘7>3B >A‘
7>‘C7 ‘ ‘ ‘K< >@‘ ‘ ‘ =>‘D @C> @‘ A‘ =>‘ 3 @‘ A‘ =>7‘ B@‘ :‘ =>‘ > ‘
>@ > ‘< ,5>7@ ‘7>3>,5>AN‘ < ‘ ,B> ,@>‘ =>‘>C,@ >‘ ‘ =>‘ > 7> @‘ =>‘>C,@ >‘ :‘ ; >@‘
=>‘@>3 A‘ :‘ .> >7‘ A‘ =>‘ >5> , $‘$ >‘ >4C7>@@ ‘7>*>3 @‘ =>‘ B‘ :‘ >7 @‘ @‘ :‘ ‘
< = 7, $‘ $‘#$‘ - $
2=$‘2666&$‘ 7B@‘ @37, >A‘ ‘ .7 @C>7$‘ ‘ =>‘ B@‘ :‘ =>‘ > ‘ >@ > ‘@>> ‘ ‘
= 5>‘ >> ‘7>3>,5>A‘ ‘ =>‘ < = 7@‘ :) =>@>‘ @>5>7 ‘ 7B@$‘ ! ‘ >‘ :‘ => ‘ > , >A‘ :‘ =>‘
2 , D‘ :‘ =>‘9> , >@‘ =>‘>C,@ >@‘ :‘ $‘. > >7‘ 7>‘K< >A‘ @‘ 7, > ‘ ‘9> , >‘2=7,@ , @N‘ A‘
, ‘ =>7‘> , >A$‘ :‘ =>‘#,5, >‘ .7 ,@>@‘ A‘ .7>A,3 , @‘ 7, > ‘ ‘ ‘ :7,3 ‘ =>‘@>3 A‘
>C,@ >‘ :‘ =>‘@ >‘ C @ >‘,@‘K< >A‘ @‘ 7, > ‘ ‘9> , >@$‘ $‘#$‘ - $
2=$‘2666&!$‘ &, 3> ,<@‘",7, > @,@‘ 7‘ &, 3> ‘ B‘ A‘C7>@ >7‘ :‘ =>‘ @>7‘ :‘
>7, @‘ ‘ ,@ A‘ ‘ =>‘$@ <=‘3 @‘ :‘%7 3>‘ 7 >‘ ‘ (> ,7‘ 7‘2 , 7,< ‘ :7‘ =>‘
3 = ,3‘: , =‘ D , @‘ =>‘ 5> ,>@‘ :‘ ‘=>7> ,3@$‘ >‘@ @‘ = ‘=>‘ = ‘ <A‘5 ,A‘ =>‘>77 7@‘
:‘=>7> ,3@‘ A‘ >‘C7>@>75>A‘, ‘ =>‘7,D= ‘: , =‘U@= <A‘@>3<7>‘ =, @> :‘ ‘ =,@‘ : A‘ > = AN
U:,7@‘ ‘ ‘ =>‘ < = 7, ‘ :‘ =>$A,5, >‘ ‘ A‘ => ‘ ‘ =>‘ 7 A, , ‘ :‘ =>‘3 = ,3‘3=<73=N?
<C ‘ =,3=‘A 3 7, >‘A,5>7@‘7> 7B@‘= 5>‘ >> ‘ A>‘ ‘<@) A‘, ‘ CC> 7@‘:7 ‘=, @> :‘ ‘= 5>‘
>> ‘ ‘D> >7 ‘ C, , ‘ = ‘U =>‘ @37,C <7>‘ ,@‘ C>7:>3 ‘ A‘ < A ‘@<::,3,> ?‘: 7‘ ‘ =>‘
C<7C @>@‘ :‘ ‘7< >$‘ >‘@>> @‘ ‘= 5>‘7>3>,5>A‘ ‘ =>‘ B@‘ :‘ =>‘ > ‘ >@ > ‘ = ‘ >‘A ‘
>43>C ‘ =>‘ >C,@ >‘ ‘ =>‘ > 7> @‘ =,3=‘ ‘ >‘ K<>@ , >A$‘ >‘ > @‘ <@‘B ‘ = ‘=>7> ,3@‘
7>3>,5>A‘ =>‘ @ >‘ @37,C <7>@‘ , =‘ =>‘ 3 = ,3@N‘ A‘ = ‘ => ‘K< >A‘ => ‘ <3=‘ , ‘ =>,7‘
A,@3 <7@>@‘ A‘ 7, , D@‘>5> ‘U =>‘ " ‘ =>‘.7 C=> @‘ =>‘9 @C> @‘ A‘ =>‘ C @ >@$?‘ $‘#$‘ - $
2=$‘2666‘&!!$‘ <3=>7,<@‘ ,@= C‘ :‘ " @‘, ‘ 9 < $‘ ! ‘ CC> 7@‘:7 ‘ =>‘K< , @‘ :‘
@37,C <7>‘, ‘=,@‘7> , , D‘ 7B@‘ = ‘=>‘7>3>,5>A‘ ‘ =>‘ B@‘ :‘ =>‘ > ‘ >@ > ‘ =,3=‘ 7>‘
‘7>3>,5>A‘ ‘<@$‘ $#$‘ - $
2=$‘2666‘&!!!$‘ 2 3, ,<@‘ >A< ,<@‘C7>@ >7‘ ‘ ‘ :‘D7> ‘ , D> <, ‘C< ,@=>A‘ ‘
7B@‘ >‘, ‘5>7@>‘ =>‘ =>7‘, ‘C7 @>‘ =‘= 5, D‘ =>‘@ >‘A>@,D N‘ A‘> 3=‘>4=, , , D‘, ‘ =>‘
: 7 >7‘C 7 ‘ =>‘ @‘7> 7B >‘ =, D@‘ :‘ =>‘ A‘ >@ > ‘ A‘, ‘ =>‘ >7‘ =>‘=,@ 7 ‘ :‘
<7‘ 5, <7‘ B> ‘:7 ‘ =>‘: <7‘D @C> @$‘ $‘#$‘ - $
2=$‘2666!6$‘ ! ‘ ‘ >7‘ D>‘ =>7‘ >A< ,<@‘ :‘!7> A‘ @‘, ‘@>> @‘ ‘ ‘ > ‘+@B, >A‘, ‘
=>‘9 7>>B‘ D< D>‘C< ,@=>A‘, ‘" , ‘ ‘2 > 7 ‘<C ‘ $‘. < ?@‘: <7 >> ‘>C,@ >@‘3 >3 >A‘
< ‘ :‘C7,D> ‘ ;>7 ‘ A‘ =>7‘ 3,> ‘ 7, >7@$‘ = ‘2 > 7 ‘:: 7A@ ‘<@>:< ‘ @>7M
5 , @?A,5>7@‘ :‘ =,3=‘= 5>‘ >> ‘@> >3 >A‘ ‘<@$‘ =>‘ < = 7‘7>3>,5>A‘ ‘ =>‘ B@‘ :‘ =>‘ > ‘
>@ > ‘ =>‘ >5> , ‘, ‘C 7 ,3< 7$‘ $‘#$‘0/0$
2=$‘26"$‘ "> ‘ ,@= C‘ :‘ >‘7>3>,5>A‘ ‘ =>‘ B@‘ :‘ =>‘ > ‘ >@ > ‘ =,3=‘ 7>‘ ‘
7>3>,5>A‘ ‘<@$‘ >‘@ @‘U =,@‘,@‘ =>‘3 <@>‘ :‘>77 7@‘ A‘ =>7>@,>@‘ = ‘ > ‘: ‘ =>,7‘ ‘
: 3,>@‘ A‘ > A‘ ‘ @‘ => ‘ <D= ‘ ‘ =>‘A 3 7, >‘ :‘ =>‘C7 C=> @‘ C @ >@‘ A‘>5 D> ,@ @$?‘
D ,)‘U =>‘ ‘9= @‘, @ 7<3 @‘<@‘, ‘ =>‘ ‘ =>‘C7 C=> @‘ =>‘D @C> @‘ A‘ =>‘ C @ >@$?‘
3>‘ 7>)‘U = ‘7> @ ‘3 ‘ =>7>‘ >‘ = ‘ >‘@= < A‘7>3>,5>‘ = ‘ ,@‘ ‘ <D= ‘ ‘ =>‘ ‘
7‘ =>‘C7 C=> @‘ =>‘>5 D> ,@ @‘ 7‘ C @ >@_? >7>‘ >$‘ +‘, ‘ @‘ => ‘ =>‘C7>5 , , D‘@> , >

> : < = 7, >@,A> = @> =,3= 7> 7>3B >A <@ @ 37>A A3 ,3 " =>@ >
@>75 , ,@ 3 :,7 >A =>@ ,>= > 7,>@ :7 2 > >7,<@ =,3= 7> @< * , >A , =>
@ >3= C >7$
2=$ 2 6 " &!!!$ 2 @ : >4 A7, 3 >A ! A,3 C ><@ >@ 33 < : '5 D> =,3
=> A> =>! A,>@ @ :,7@ >73= : >7 7A@ B A < = 7$ (=> =>
@ @ ,@ => :,7@ >5 D> ,@ '* A =>@<CC @> =, = 5> 7, > =,@ D @C> , ;<A> '@ : 2
=> 7 7A : $ >C=>) (7B =>@>3 A >5 D> ,@ 7 >=,@ D @C> >
A,7>3 , : . > >7) " <B>,@ => =,7A >5 D> ,@ = ,B> ,@> 7 > => 3 @) ; = => : <7 =
A 3=,>: : => >5 D> ,@ @ @ =>,@ =>7> 3 >A 7 > =,@ D @C> C=>@<@ : >7 = =>
: , =:< 7, , D@ : => =>7 >5 D> ,@ @ = A >> 7 <D= + =, $ => B@ : => >
>@ > '7>3>,5>A 2 @ @ 7> =>: <7 D @C> @ => 3 @ $. < ?@ : <7 >> >C,@ >@ A$
=7>> 2 = ,3 >C,@ >@ @ , >> @ = : ; >@ =>:,7@ : . > >7 A =>:,7@ : ; =
D7>> =>@> , > : => 7, 2=7,@ , @$ A =>@ @ @ U = 'C>7:>3 7 >
O, @ 7<3 >A 2=7,@ , '@= < A > A> 5 <7 C7 5> =,, < =>3 ,3 B@ :@37,C
O <7> 3B >AD>A) =,3= B@ = 5>@<:,,3,> A>3 7>A = ,@ >>A:< >B
O3 3>7 , D =>A 3 7, >@ :7> ,D, $? $ # $ 1-1$
2=$ 2 6 " !6$ % 3< A<@ > 7 >A :7,3 ,@= C CC> 7@ = 5>7>3>,5>A => B@
: => > >@ > =,3= >7>3>,5> A =>7$,@ D> >7 A,5,@, : =>@37,C <7>@
: => > >@ > ,@ = :U D @C> @ A C @ >@)? : 7 =,3= =>= @A=>D7> >@ '7>D 7A$
$ # $ 1 G$
2=$ 2 "$ 7> = @ D> >7 @<CC @>A = 5> >> , C : 2 >@ 7> , 2 CC A 3, 7 >
2 > 7 <C => B : => >5> , >4 7 3 >A < : : =>2 > 7 :=,@ C7>A37
3>@@ 7 A7> A => 7B@ :!7> ><@ ,CC <@ 9 7>D 7 [, [> 2 ,7 : >4 M
A7, A =>7@$! CC> 7@ =,@ K< , @ = =>7>3>,5>A =>@ > B@ : => >
>@ > = >A $ $ # $ 11G$
2=$ 2 "!$ 7 7 @< A> 3 , =>2=<73= : >C< ,@=>A 7B > , >A => C @7
,3 ,@ 7 , 5>7@> , B@ 3 C @>A < : => 3 @ : => C @ >@ =,3= =>
@37, >@ $ "<B>$ $ # $ 1 $
2= 2 "!!$;< ,=+<@ :7,3 ,@= C < : = C 3>,@ < 3>7 , $ >,@ 5>7 C 7M
,3< 7 , =,@ >7 :A,5,A, D => B@ :@37,C <7>N U > ? =>@= @ U 7> :C>7:>3
U =>7@ : ,AA > < = 7, =>7@ : > N A@ > 7>=,@ 7,3 @ >C7 C=> ,3
P@ >C7 5>7 , A @ > > 3= @, C $ =>=,@ 7,3 B@ : => > >@ > :
UC>7:>3 A 3 ,3 < = 7, 7> =>: <7 D @C> @ : (=> (7B "<B> ; = A =>
O 3 @ : => C @ >@) => B@ = > 3= @, C 7 C , 7> =>>C,@ >@ : => C @ >. <
O => @ =>2 7, =, @ =>9 , @ => C=>@, @ =>. =, ,CC, @ =>2 @@, @
O => =>@@ , @ , = , <@ . =, > => > 7> @ , > : => >@@>A . > >7 =>
O 9> , >@ A =>:,7@ >C,@ > : => >@@>A ; = $ =>@> AA :,5> 7> >C,@ > :
O ; >@ @>3 A : . > >7 > : ; <A> A : ; = $O > ,B> ,@>@ @ = => >5>M
, : ; = @ A < >A :D> >7 =>2=7,@ , @ , =>> @ =,3= , C = =
, @ D> >7 7>3>,5>A , :7,3 @ , A>>A , @$ => B@ @ > , >A =,3= >7>
7>3>,5>A @>> >7>3B >A =, : O ,AA > < = 7, O * =>7>@ >7> :
C>7:>3 A 3 ,3 < = 7, $ A , , @ @>75 > = =>@ @ $. > >7?@ :,7@ >C,@ > @
7, > 9 > , >@N , , : = =>@>3 A @ @ 7, > 9 > , >@N : 7 5>7 C7 M
=> >7> = 7, > =>@ >7> : $ # $ 11G$
2=$ 2 "!!!$ ($ $ 2 @@, A 7,<@ , =,@ ! @ , < , @ = @ =7>>3 D<>@ : => A A >
>@ > N >3 >A =, ;>7 ?@ =>@>3 A <D<@ , >?@ => =,7A = : => 3,>
7 @ ,) A , ,@ 5>7 @>75 > = , > : =>@>3 D<>@ > , ,@ A> :
B@ : => > >@ > @ 3 ,3 =,3= 7> 7>3>,5>A @ @<3= <@$ =>7> 7>
, @>7 >A , => : =>@>3 D<>@ 7 @ 7 2 > > 7 !D ,<@ 7 =>7 2=7,@ ,
7, >7@ = >5>7N =,3= :: 7A@ 3 D> 7D< > = =>7> >5>7 >7> =>7 2=7,@ ,
7, , D@ =,3= >7> C 3>A =>3=<73=>@ <C > >5> , = = @> 7>3>,5>A <@ @
3 ,3 $ $ # $ 11 $
2 @@, A 7,<@ C< ,@=>A ,B> ,@> 7B 3 >A 2 C >4, @ 7 = 7 2 > 7,>@ <C
=> >C,@ >@ => 3 @ : => C @ >@ A => >5> , N => 7> <C $. < ?@ : <7 >>
>C,@ >@ =>@>5> 3 = ,3 >C,@ >@ => 3 @ A => >5> ,) =,3= , ,@ ,:>@ = +
=>7>3>,5>A => B@ : => > >@ > =,3= 7> = 7>3>,5>A <@ A =>7$

/$ = @>‘ B@‘ >7>‘ ‘ <3=‘<@>A‘ ‘ =>‘C7, , ,5>‘ 2=7,@ , @$
=>7>‘ 7>‘ ‘K< , @‘ :‘ ‘ :‘ => ‘ , ‘ =>‘ C @ ,3 ‘: =>7@ℕ ‘ = ‘!‘ > ‘ 7 @‘
2 > > ‘ :‘ >‘ >7 @‘!D ,<@‘ A‘ . 3 7C‘ℕ = @>‘ 7, , D@‘7> 3 ,‘ :7 ‘ <‘ =>‘ > 7‘
U :‘ <7‘ " 7A‘ 4‘ ‘ =>‘ > 7‘ /G0$!‘@ ‘ =,@‘3 :,A> ‘ >3 <@>‘!‘ =, B‘, ‘= @‘ >> ‘V̈C7 5>A$
!7> ><@‘K< >@‘ ‘ ‘ :‘ =>@>‘ B@‘) =>‘0 > , @‘@ >‘ :‘ => ‘ < ‘ =>‘ >5>7‘K< >@
=> $ =>‘@ >‘ ‘ >‘@ ,A‘ :‘ >7 < , ‘) =>‘= @‘ > , >A‘ ‘ B* 3 >A‘U 3@ :‘ . < ‘
0 A‘ =>A ? < ‘, ‘,@ ‘ ‘3 A> ‘, $ 2 > > ‘ :‘ >4 A7, ‘0 A‘ 7, > ‘U= 5>‘ > , >A‘
A‘K< >A‘@>5>7 ‘@<3=‘ B@‘ℕ < ‘ >5>7‘ @‘ :‘ < = 7, ‘ A‘@ > , >@‘ , =‘ >4C7>@‘ 7B@‘ :‘
A,@ ,B>‘ @‘ ‘ >‘@>> ‘ ‘ 7D>‘, ‘ =>,7‘3= C >7@$ <@> ,<@‘K< >@‘ ‘@<3=‘ B@‘, ‘ ‘ :‘=,@‘
a7B@$ >‘= @‘ > , >A‘ => ‘ , A>>A‘ℕ < ‘ = ‘ ‘ ‘ :‘ CC7 , ‘ℕ < ‘ ‘@=> ‘
= ‘ => ‘ >7>‘ :‘ , >‘ 7‘ ‘5 <>‘ A‘ = ‘ => ‘ >5>7‘ >7>‘7>3>,5>A‘ ‘ =>‘ @ < A>7‘C 7‘ :‘
2=7,@ , @$ = @,<@‘ > , @‘ ‘ ‘ :‘ => ‘ ‘ >‘ℕ =>‘ ‘C @@> =‘ $@>5>7>‘3> @<7>‘
# :‘ => ‘ , ‘D> >7) 7‘A ‘ =>@>‘ B@‘>5>7‘3 >‘ , ‘ =>‘ ‘ :‘;>7 ‘ < ‘=>‘@=> @‘@,D @‘ :‘
=,@‘A,@C > @<7>$!‘ ‘ ‘ @> :‘ ‘D ‘ ‘ >7ℕ 7‘3 ‘ , ‘ >‘>4C>3 >A$
!‘ ‘: 7 =>7‘ AA‘=>7> ‘ = ‘ =>@>‘ B@‘ >7>‘ @‘ @3<7>‘ A‘ , >‘B $ = ‘T=>

:
, $ <@> ,<@‘= 5, D‘D,5> ‘ ‘ 33 < ‘ :‘ =>‘ ‘>C,@ >@‘ :‘ $. > >7‘C7 3>>A@‘U < =>‘ B
U> , >A‘=,@‘ 3 @‘ A‘= ‘3 >A‘ =>‘ 9 @C>‘ 33 7A, D‘ ‘ =, ‘ A‘ = ‘@ >A‘=,@‘ . 7> 3=, D
0 A‘ =>‘ >5> , ‘< A>7‘=,@‘ >‘ >‘B ‘ = ‘ => ‘= 5>‘ ‘ >> ‘A> ,5>7>A‘A ‘ ‘<@‘ , $
U =>‘ < >7‘ :‘3 = ,3‘ 7, , D@‘: 7 @ <3=‘ @‘ ‘>33 >@, @ ,3 ‘ 7, >7‘ :‘ =>‘ 3,> @‘ 7‘ :‘ <7‘
U , >‘= @‘ A>‘<@>‘ :‘ >@ , ,>@‘ < ‘ :‘ => $? ! ‘ =>7‘C 3>‘ ,>‘@ @‘U >‘‘ = A‘D,5> ‘
03 D<>‘ :‘@<3=‘ B@‘ :‘@37,C <7>‘ @‘ 33 7A, D‘ ‘ =>‘ >33 >@, @ ,3 ‘ 7 A, , ‘ 7>‘ 7<>
0D> <, >‘ A‘< ,5>7@ ‘ 3B >AD>A‘ A‘ :‘ =>7@‘ = ‘ 7>‘3 7 5>7 >A‘ A‘ >‘ CC> 7‘
0= 5>‘ >> ‘B ‘ ‘ ‘ℕ = ‘ ‘ =,@‘ > @‘ >‘ ‘ B ‘ =>@>‘:7 ‘ @<3=‘ @‘= 5>‘ >>
0C< ,@=>A‘ ‘ =>7> ,3@‘< A>7‘ =>‘ >@‘ :‘ C @ >@‘ @‘3 , , D‘ =>‘D @C> @‘ :‘ . > >7‘ A
0 = @‘ A‘ (=, @‘ A‘@ >‘ =>7@‘ℕ A‘ =>‘ 3 @‘ :‘ A7> ‘ A‘; = ‘ A‘ =>7‘C @ >@‘)
0 =,3=‘ B@‘ >‘ :‘ =>‘ >33 >@, @ ,3 ‘ 7, >7@‘, ‘ =>‘@<33>@@, ‘ :‘ =>‘ C @ >@‘= 5>‘5 <3=@ :>A
0 ‘ > , $? <7‘ < = 7?@‘ >4C7>@@, @‘ >‘ 5>7 ‘@ 7 D‘ℕ < ‘ >‘ ‘ => 3>‘3 3 <A>‘ = ‘
, >‘ ,3>‘= A‘ >> ‘ B> ‘ :‘ =>@>‘ B@‘ ‘ 3,> ‘ 7, >7@$
E$ =>@>‘ B@‘A ‘ ‘ 5>7 =7 ‘ =>‘>5 D> ,3 ‘=,@ 7 ‘ < ‘3 :,7 ‘ , ‘
@‘: 7 >7 ‘U@ ,A‘U =>@>‘ C 37 C= ‘ B@‘3 :,7 ‘ =>‘=,@ 7 ‘ :‘ =>‘D> <, >‘ A‘ < => ,3‘
U @37,C <7>@‘ :‘ =>‘ > ‘ >@ > $$$ => ‘ 7>‘ 7, > ‘ , ‘ =>‘ >@‘ :‘@<3=‘ @‘ <7‘ < => ,3‘
U @37,C <7>@‘@ ‘ >7>‘ C @ >@‘ 7‘3 C , @‘ :‘ C @ >@$ => ‘ ‘ <CC @>‘ =>‘A,D , ‘ :‘ <7‘
U " 7A?@C>7@ ‘ A‘ ‘C >7‘ :‘ 7B, D‘ ,7 3 >@‘ D> =>7‘ , =‘ ‘ =,D=‘ A>D7>>‘ :‘ < = 7, ‘ ‘
U = 5>‘ >> ‘3 5> >A‘ g ‘=, ‘ ‘ " ,@‘ C @ >@$? U $
5>7 ‘ >‘ = ‘ @>75>@‘ = ‘ =>@>‘ B@‘ 7>‘3 >A‘9 @*C> @‘ 7‘ . 7> 3=, D@‘ :‘ . > >7‘ . < ‘
= @‘ (=, @‘ 7 = > ‘ 7‘ 3 @‘ :‘ . < ‘ A7> ‘ ; = ‘ A‘ =>7‘ C @ >@‘ ,<@‘
@<CC @>‘ = ‘ =>‘ 3 C @>7@‘ A,A‘ ‘, > A‘ ‘A,@C 7 D>‘ => ‘ = >5>7‘ => ‘ ,D= ‘A ‘, ‘ =>‘
>5> $ ‘ ,> ‘= A‘D7> ‘7>@C>3‘: 7‘ => ‘ A‘B > ‘ = ‘ =>7‘2=7,@ , @‘= A‘ =>‘ ,B > =>7>M
: 7>‘ ‘7>3 7A, D‘7 A, , @‘ =,3=‘ => ‘C7> > A>A‘ ‘= 5>‘7>3>,5>A‘3 3>7 , D‘ =>‘A,@3 <7@>@‘ A‘
,7 3 >@‘ :‘2=7,@‘ A‘ =,@‘ C @ >@‘ => ‘ > A> 5 <7>A‘ ‘7>3 > A‘@ >‘C 7 ,3< 7‘ C, , @‘
=,3=‘ => ‘= A‘> 7 3>A$ =>‘C7>@ >7‘ = ‘ @‘3 5,3 >A‘ :‘= 5, D‘3 C @>A‘ =>‘ 3 @‘ :‘
. < ‘ A‘ =>A ‘ @‘ >‘ 7>‘ @@<7>A‘ ‘Z] >7 < , ‘ >D>A‘ = ‘ =>‘= A‘A >‘, ‘ < ‘ :‘ 5>‘ ‘
. < $ >7 C, ‘ ,@= C‘ :‘ , 3= ‘ < ‘ =>‘ > 7‘EGG‘, ‘ =,@‘ 3> @<7>‘ :‘ = D @C> ‘ :‘ . > >7‘
@ @‘) U 5, D]7> A‘, ‘ 5>7‘ >‘= 5>‘: < A‘ = ‘ =>‘ , ‘C 7‘ :‘ =>‘ B‘,@‘ D7>> >‘ ‘ =>‘
U 7,D= ‘A 3 7, >‘ :‘ <7‘ 5, <7$ < ‘ =>7>‘ 7>‘@ >‘ =>7‘ =, D@‘ =,3=‘ >‘= 5>‘ >A$? ! ‘ =>‘
>3 D , , @‘ =,3=‘C7 ‘ 7>‘ =>‘@ >]‘ @‘ =>‘ 3 @‘ 7 5> @‘ 2,73<, @‘ :‘ . > >7‘ 7>‘7>:>7> 3>@‘
‘ =>‘D @C> @‘ =>‘ 3 @‘ A‘@ >‘ :‘ =>‘ >C,@ >@‘ :‘ =>‘ > ‘ >@ > ℕ A‘ =>‘ 7< =‘ :‘ =>

‘ =77‘C7+7‘2‘ 4 ‘! >‘ ‘‘ ‘2‘ 4 ‘ 4 ‘ ‘
$>‘ +7 ‘‘$K‘$‘ !2‘ ‘!‘‘ ‘‘$K‘$$$‘ !2‘ ‘2‘ KE‘
.‘ =77 ‘‘$‘2‘ ‘ #
‘ 4 "‘, B H ‘B ‘ ‘ /‘ ‘CCE‘ ‘‘C E
‘ =77‘C7+7‘2‘ ‘! >‘ ‘‘$$‘2‘ 44‘
1‘ ‘‘$‘2‘ 4
8 K 2‘

‘ ‘" % ‘ A, ‘ N $ &% (‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘3!, ‘ ‘, ‘ ‘ -/$
‘ ‘" % ‘ ‘,$ ‘ &% (‘ # 4‘ ‘ ‘ $ ‘3!, ‘EC‘
C$, $ ‘ $]
‘ 5 ‘ % ‘ $, ‘E E$
c7 5 ‘ % ‘ ‘, ‘B C ‘ W , ‘B CM
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' . . " (

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. : 8 ' : ; ": 8 - ' ,' - ' 4 " :' ,' 84 (' @ ' 4 "5 (')& - " "8 : ' ! ' 4 "#
!!$' ") ' ,EEE' 8 : ;' !&$' D (', 8 : (' 6' 8 ; : ' : ; : ' ' 3"2
&!!$' . # ' ' A A $

' 6 ' :' =>' D> > ' A> , , ,@' :' =>' @ 37>A' = B@' ,@' 37,C <7>' 7' 37,C <7>@' , >7 '
7' C7, 7, +@,D ,: , D' 7, , D$' < ' ' ' :' > , > 3>' A' A,@ , 3 , ' =>' B@' , ' =,D=>@ '
>@ >> ' 7>' 3 >A' 37,C <7>' 7' =>' 37,C <7>@$
=,@' 7A' 33<7>' : > ' , ' =>' > ' >@ > ' , ' =>' D @C> @' =>' 3 @' A' =>' >C,@ >@$'
=>7> ' >' C>73>,5>' = ' , ' =>' , >' :' <7' 5, <7' A' =,@' C @ >@' =,@' 7A' @' , ' 3 '
@>' A> , D' =>' B@' 7>3>,5>A' ' =>' ;> ,@=' C> C >' @' =>' 7< >' :' =>,7' : , =$' ' => '
= 5>' >> ' @, 3>' AA>A' ' 2=7,@ , @' =>' 7, , D@' :' =>' C @ >@' A' >5 D> ,@ @' 3 C > , D'
=>' 3 >3 , ' :' B@' 7>3>,5>A' ' => ' @' @ 37>A' A' A,5, >$
>' :' =>' C 3>@' =>7>' =>' 7A' @37,C <7>' ,@' <@>A' , ' =>' @, D< 7' < >7' : 7' =>' B@'
:' =>' A' >@ > ' 7>' =>@>)' E' , ' =,$' / ' V' ' @37,C <7>' ,@' D,5> ' ' , @C,7 , ' :'
9 A$^' A' "<B>' ,5$' E / $' ; = ' $' EE$' 3 @' ,$' / N' 5,,,$' -E ' -1 ' $' ,5$' -$' 9 $' =,$' 0$'
; >@' ,'" 0 ' E -$' /' . > $' ,,$' $' E' . > $' ,$' EG$' 37,C <7>@' , ' =>' C <7 ' < >7' , ' =>@>' : M
, D' A' ' =>7' C 3>@$' ($' 4 4,$' ,E' * 44,,$' EH' ' 445,$' 1 "' "<B>' 44,5 ' EFW -E ' 1$'
;> ' &$ -H$' 3 @' 45,,$' E ' / /' ' 45,=$' E ' E0$' E' , $' =,$' / 1 ' E' . > $' =,$' / $
$' . > >7' CC ,>@' =,@' 7A' ' =>' B@' :' =>' > N' @' > ' @' :' =>' A' >@ > ' '
' . < ?@' >C,@ >@' , ' C 7 ,3< 7)' E' . > $' =,$' / $$$V' @' @ ' , ' ' =,@' >C,@ ,>@$$$55=,3=' => ' = ' 7>'
< > 7 >A' 7>@ ' @' => ' A ' @ ' =>' =>7' @37,C <7>@' < ' =>,7' ' A>@ 7<3 , $^' . , '
A> , D' = ' V' $' . < ?@' >C,@ >@' 7>' @37,C <7>@' , ' =>' =,D=>@ ' @> @>' :' =>' 7AO
!!$' , >',@' =>7' 7A' +=,3=' = @' ' >> ' D' , ' <@>' D' 2=7,@ , @' A> , D' =>'
= >' 3 >3 , ' :' 7, , D@' 7>3>,5>A' ' => ' @' :' A,5, >' < = 7, $
=>' 7A' C7, 7, ' A> >@ B)' < ' ',@' D,5> ' ' =>' 7, , D@' :'C7 C=> @' A' C @ >@'
' ' :' > , > 3>$' =,@' 3 >3 , ' ,@' =>' B' 7' , >' =>' B' :' B@' @' @<C>7, 7' , '
>43> > 3>' ' ' =>7' B@$' ,>' 7A' @>> @' ' >' <@>A' , ' =,@' @> @>' ' 2=7 @ @ ' , '

' 3' C 7 >' `K< A' > >' A< ' >@ a' . > 7<@ 3 ,[' U' @,3<' J' 3@> >7 @' @37,C <7 @ ? < ,K<>' @,D ,:,3 ' @>> , ', @' , '
<', ' K< 7', A' >@ ', ' 3 > ' @ 37 7< ' @37,C <7 7< ' @37,' @37,C 7 7< ' < >7 '=f0>7 J' # >' @ 37,@' < > ' @37,C <7,@><7 '
, $' K<>' 3 ,3 @' :>3, ' >C,@ @' . < ,$' #,3> @' > , ' K<, +, ' 3 ,,:>@@ ' >@ $' @ $', ' 3$
& "$ <7 ' +

/ E ! ' 0 " & ' , ' - ' ! # ' 8 : (' 58 : 2 "

2 . $ ' ! ! $

. : 8 ' D) 58 " : ' # : ' - ' 8 : : ' , ' - ' U6 ' 8 ; :

' 2 " ' 3 ,3 ' B@ ' : ' =>' > ' >@ > ' 7>3>,5>A' 2=7,@ , @' , ' =,@' C 7 ' : ' =>' ' '
7>' =>' : <7' D @C> @ ' =>' 3 @' : ' =>' C @ >@ ' : <7 >> ' >C,@ >@' : ' $. < ' @>5> ' 3 = ,3' >C,@ ǂ ?@'
A' =>' >5> , $
! ! $' =>7>' ' >' A,::>7> ' 3 @' : ' =>' > ' >@ > ' D' 2=7,@ , @$
! A>>A ' =>7>' = 5>' >> ' , ' : 7 >7' , >@ ' A' @ , ' 7> ' A,::>7> ' @> , > @' D' 2=7,@ , @'
3 3>7 , D' =>' < >7' : ' B@' ' >' 7>3>,5>A' @' 3 ,3 $ =>' V' 3 ' : ' =>' 7, '
3=,,73 ,>@' ,@' 7, ' =>' @ >' @' <7@$;>7 ' > @' <@ ' = ' , ' =,@' , > ' @ >' : $ =>' " , @' 7>3>,5>A'
=>' >C,@ >' ' =>' > 7> @ ' A' @ >' : ' =>' 9 7>>B@' =>' B' : ' =>' >5> , $ .7 ' 2=7 M
@ @ ?@' 7B@' ' C>73>,5> ' = ' U =>' A,A' ' 7>3>,5>' =>' @>3 A' >C,@ >' : ' $. > >7 ' 7' =>'
@>3 A' A' =,7A' : ' $; = ' 7' =>' >C,@ >' : ' $; <A> ' 7' =>' >5> , $ A' =>7>' ,@
7> @ ' ' =, B ' = ' ' => A 7> ?@' 3 ' ,B> ,@>' @' <3=' =>' @ >' , =' 2=7 @ @ ?@' A'
= ' : ' =>' 3=<73=>@' , ' 7, $ >5>7 => >@@ ' >' = 5>' @>75>A' , ' =>' 3 <7@>' : ' =,@' 7B' = '
< ' =>' @ >' , >' =>' D C , @ ' A' =>' 2=7,@ , @' , ' A,5>7@' =>7' C 7 @' : ' =>' 7 A ' = A' =>'
@ >' < >7' : ' 3 ,3 ' B@' = ' >' = 5>$
< ' ' 3 >' > >7' <7' ' ,,C>$' 2 5, ǂ 9 7 ,<@ ' ' " >' 2 >73 ' T . =, ,C' " , 73= ++ A'
Z@ >' =>7' > 7 >A' , A>7 @ ' = 5>' ' A , >A' =>' >C,@ >' ' =>' > 7> @' ' = 5>' >> ' 7, > '
' $. < N' = <D=' U => ' >7>' 5, * D' ' ' , ' ' ' >' =>' 7B' : ' ' C @ ,3 ' ' A' '
5 < >' C 7 ' : ' @ 37>A' @37,C <7>$' < ' ! ' 3 ' @ g' = ' => ' >7>' , ' =>' 7,D= ' , ' @ ' A , D$?
. 7' , ' CC> 7@' ' >' ' = 5>' >> ' , ' ' 4, ' : ' =>' 3,> ' 2=7,@ , @' ' ' 7>3>,5>' 'A 3 7, '
7' C>73>C ,5>' 7, , D ' @' : ' < = &, ' < >@@' , ' >7>' B ' ' >' =>' 7B' : ' ' C @ >$ 2 M
@>K<> ' =>' >C,@ >' ' =>' > 7> @ ' , : ' 7, > ' ' ' C @ =3 ' ' ' @= < A' ' >'
>@ >> >A' 3 ,3
9 7 ,<@' ,B> ,@>' @<CC @>A' =>' @>3 A' >C,@ >' @37, >A' ' . > >7 ' ' ' = 5>') : ' 6 " : ') &'
=>' C @ >' , ' . > >7 ' < ' ' , > ' 3= @> ' ,@= C' : ' ; >7<@ > ' : >7' =>' A> =' ,' ' 8 ; ' - '
; <@ ' = @>' >C,@ >' >' = 5>$' =,3=' , > ' ,5>A' ' =>' , >' : ' 7 * ' => ' =>' @' 37<3,:,>A'
: 7' =>' >' : ' 2=7,@ $' ' C ' =,3=' ! ' @>75>' ' C7>@> ' = ' , : ' =,@' , > ' >' =>' 7, >7'
: ' =,@' >C,@ >' , ' @= < A' ' >' ' C 7 ' : ' 3 ,3 ' @37,C <7>$
=>' @ >' > 7 >A' ' @<CC @> =' U =>' @>3 A' A' =,7A ' >C,@ >@ ' 3 >A' $; = ?@ ' ' '
= 5>' >> ' 7, > ' ' ; = ' =>' C @ >' < ' ' =>7' ; = ' ' > A>7' 7' C7>@ >7 ' = ' ,5>A'
< ' =>' @ >' , > ' A' : >7' =, ' ' C=>@<@$'
A' =>' >C,@ >' 3 >A' $; <A>?@ ' =>' = <D= ' Z ' = 5>' >> ' 7, > ' ' >' : ' = ' >*

W' >>' & ' ,,$ C$ 0H ' A' & $,,,$ C$ 1 - $
O & $,,$ C$ 110$ǂ ǂ' =>' @ >' C$ G0 $
' =,@' & $ C$ / / / E $
? D ' <' . < < ' D @3 ' <3 7> ' AA<3,' >K<> $
2 5, ' 7D< $, ' >C$ A' > 7$
% 3, , ' 7>:< <' >@ ' C @ 7> ' @>' C, , ' ,A> ' K< A'
< , : >' >C,@ >' , >7' @>' @, ' D>7 O ' C 7,' 3= 7 3 >7 I ' 3'
A,3> A,' A N = >3 5>7 ' <,:>@ >' ',,@ A,@37>C> ' @> >3 , 7>@'
= > @ 5 3>@' 97@>3 @' > ,<@K<>' : <> @' ' < > ' :7 3 ' 7>'
5, <@' , 3,@,@' 3' @ > 7 @ $$$' 97 $ .7 @77,$, ' >C$ A' > 7$
@' ,@ $' 3$ $' $ C$ 11 j /$
.7 >D $, ' >C$ A' > 7$
O ,@3>' 7D< > ,@' < 7, K<>' > >' >4C> @,@' A,3> A< '
5,A> <7' . < < ' >C,@ >' <*<@ @37,C 7> ' ' 5,A>7,$ $$$'
S<,@' 5>7 ' , ,' <@ @37,C 7' @, ' , 3>7 < ' >@ $,' > 7 ' "<3T'
7 T' ,,' A> > ' A@37, < $$$' ! >7, ' A,5,
<*<@ >C,@ T' <3 7,, > ' D @3, <@' < ,@K<>' ,@' K< @
' C @<, ,@' >@@>' @37,C @ 3 @ ' 7D 7 > ' K< A' 7 3
C7T@ < , ' C7T:>7> A ' *<A,3 <@$ " , $, ,A$ &,A$ > ' '
2 5, ' < ,' @<C7 $

; ' , ' 5> >7< ' < ' 37>A,A>7>' ' >@@>' C @ ;
. > 7,' 7D< > ' <7 ' A,3 , ,@ ' >C,@ ' C7, 7>' < < '
A,5>7@T ' K< A' D @3< ' @> ,<@ J' ,>7 <@' <7 ' K< A'
< >' , ' >33 >@,T' = 3' ' 7>3>C>7, $$$' 37,C 7> ' < > '
=<*<@ >C,@ T' 7 , 7 7 >@@>' , > > ' @,5>' , >7 ' >C,@3 '
3<*<@ >C,@ ' = > ,<@' @ ,33>@@ 7> ' J' , , 7> N' j '
' A>' > , ' 3 @ ' 5,4,@@>' =< 3' C @ >43,A,< ' ,>7 @ ,O
< ' A' 7 * ' > C>7 ' J' < 3' C7 ' , >' 2=7,@ * 37<3,'
:,4< $ $, ' C ' . > 7,' @>3 A$
U 3' >C,@ ' J' > 7 ' K<T' @>K<, <7 ' ' >@@>' ; = ,@
C @ ' 5> >7< ' *< ,' * ' , ' 37>A,A>7< ' ' K<, <@' '
A,@@> ,< ' <@> ,<@ J' ,>7 <@$ ' D ' @< ' , ' ,A'
7D< > $ ' A< @' :<,@@>' ' -8 : : ' C=>@, ' C @ ' '
3' C7>@ >7< ' >*<@ A,@3,C< < ' ; # ' 3 @ , , ' > 4' @>C< '
37,@' , ' <*<@' ' , ,<@* K<T' @>C 37 ' 5,A, ' ,>7 <@$
97 $ $, ' >C$ ' 8 : ' @>3 A$
S< 7>' ' ' AA<3 7' < ' 37>A ' >@@>' = 3' >C,@ '
; ,,A@>' C,@3 C,' ,>7 @ ,: ,' K<,' :<, ' A7, ,' > C 7, <@'
C < ' >' 73= 3=> 7 ' (' , ' N' A' >C' ; <A@$

>5>7‘ :7 ‘ ‘ =>@>‘ C 3>@‘ >‘ 3 ‘ >‘ :< ‘ @@<7>A‘ = ‘ <7‘ > 7 >A‘ >33 >@, @ ,3 ‘ =,@ 7, ‘ A,A‘ ‘@ ‘ <3=‘ @ @<@C>3 ‘ 7 @‘ ‘= 5>‘ >> ‘ ‘ C @ >‘ , ‘ =>‘ =,D=>@ ‘@> @>‘ :‘ =>‘ 7A$ ‘ ;>7A ‘ , ‘ =>‘ 7 ,3 >‘ :‘ 7 @‘ , ‘ =,@‘ B‘ :‘ 33 >@, @ ,3 ‘ 7, >7@‘ @ ‘ Ú=>‘ ‘ @‘ Ú 7A , >A‘ , =‘ . < ‘ ‘ C @ >‘ :‘ =>‘ 9 > , >@$? < ‘ < = 7@‘ = ‘ 7, >‘ , ‘= @ >‘ @‘ ;>7 ‘ : > ‘ A,A‘ A ‘ ‘ @‘ >4C7>@@‘ => @> 5>@‘ >4 3 ‘ A‘ C7 C>7 $‘ ;>7 ‘ A,A‘ ‘ =, B‘ = ‘ 7 @‘ @‘ >K< ‘ ‘ C @ >‘ , =‘ . < $‘ =,@‘ ‘ >‘ 3 3 <A>A‘ :7 ‘ = ‘ =>7>‘ : @‘Ù Ú >‘ 7 >‘ Ú ‘ >C,@ >‘ : 7‘ =>‘ >A,.:,3 , ‘ :‘ =>‘ 3=<73=‘ =,3=‘ ,@‘ 7> A‘ D‘ =>‘ C 37 C= ‘@37,C <7>@$? !:‘ 7 @‘= A‘ >> ‘ ‘ C @ >‘ @ 7,3 ‘@C> B, D‘ ;>7 ‘ < A‘ ‘= 5>‘@ ,A‘ Ú=>‘ 7 >‘ ‘>C,@ >‘ Ú: 7‘ =>‘ >A,:,3 , ‘ :‘ =>‘ 3=<73=)? =,3=‘ ‘ ‘ ,D= ‘A $‘ 7‘ < A‘ =,@‘ >C,@ >‘= 5>‘ >> ‘ 7>3B >A‘ C 37 C= ‘ @‘ ;>7 ‘ =>7>‘ ‘ A‘ > @> =>7>3 @‘ , $‘ => ‘ ;>7 ‘ @ @‘ = ‘Ú 7 @‘ Ú @‘ 7A , >A‘ , =‘ . < ‘ ‘ C @ >‘ :‘ =>‘ 9 > , >@‘*? , ‘ ,@‘ ,B> ‘ =>‘ 7>:>7@‘ ‘ =>‘ =,@ 7 ‘, ‘ 3 @‘ *3,,,$ / j $‘ :‘ =,3=‘ !‘ = 5>‘ 7> A ‘@ ,A‘ ‘ = ‘ ,@‘ >>A:< $ => A 7> ‘ @‘ : 7 >7 ‘ K< ⇑>A ‘ @ @‘Ù Ú =>+‘ ,@>‘ # >, ‘ 3 , >A‘ =>‘ 3< <7>‘ :‘ 77> ‘ 7 A‘ ‘ ‘:> ‘ > ‘ A‘ = @>‘ :,@=>7 > ‘ A‘ C< ,3 @‘ A‘ >‘ > B>7N? A‘ ‘ =>‘ ,B>‘ C<7C @>‘ : > N‘ =,3=‘ @= @‘ = ‘ =>‘ A,A‘ ‘7>3B ‘ 7 @‘ ‘ C @ >‘, ‘ =>‘ :< >@ ‘ > , D‘ :‘ =>‘ 7A$! :‘=>‘= A ‘ =>‘ <@ ‘= 5>‘ AA>A ‘ Ú A‘ >‘ " >5, >$? =>‘@ >‘ @>75 , ‘ ‘ >‘ CC ,>A‘ ‘ 2=7 @ @ ‘ = ‘Ð, ‘=,@‘ ‘C @@ D>@‘@= , D‘ =>‘ A>7:< ‘C7 D7>@@‘ :‘ =>‘ D @C> ‘ : > ‘ > , @‘ =>‘ C @ >@‘ .> >7 ‘ ‘ :,@=>7 ‘ A‘ . < ‘ ‘ > B>7 ‘ < ‘ >5>7‘ 7 @‘ ‘ " >5, >$! :‘ => ‘ 7 @‘ @‘ ‘ ‘ C @ >‘ ‘ >C,@ >‘ 7, > ‘ ‘=, ‘ 3 ‘ >‘ 7>3>,5>A‘ @ 3 ,M 3 ‘ 7‘ ‘C 7 ‘ :‘ =>‘ 7< >‘ :‘: , =)‘ : 7 @ <3=‘ @‘ ‘ > ‘ >@,A>‘ C @ >@‘ = 5>‘ =>‘ C7,5, >D>‘ :‘ 7, , D‘ >C,@ >@‘ 7‘ =>7‘ 7B@‘ C7>3>C ,5>‘ A‘ A 3 7, ‘ = ‘@= ‘ >‘ 7>3>,5>A‘ ‘ =>‘ 3=<73=>@‘ , ‘ = ‘K< , $‘ =,@‘ = @‘ >> ‘@ ,A‘ @>5>7 ‘ , >@‘ , ‘ =>‘ 3 <7@>‘ :‘ =,@‘ Ó 7B$ A‘ !‘ @ , ‘ =, B‘ , ‘ 7,D= $ < !&2‘M! "‘ 2 $‘ ! ,%# % 3! ‘ ($‘ (!)‘ ; & ‘+ # %& #‘ % ‘% &‘ %&"A#‘ ! "‘ + #‘ ! ,%# #A‘ ,& !3+ 8$‘ ! "‘ "%3 & $‘ ! "‘ (&!3 #$‘ ; + 3+‘ #+! ‘ 4 ‘& 3 6 "‘ !# #!3& "$‘ ! "‘ % ‘! +%&) ‘ * ‘ %‘ , # #$‘ %&‘ % + &‘ ; & 8#$‘ " 6 & 8‘ "%3 & #‘ ! "‘ ,& 3 , #$‘ P .3 , ‘%)‘ ‘ + ‘ ; !)‘ % ‘ + # %& 3! ‘ !&&! f % V‘ 3! ‘) ‘ ,‘ ! +%&)$‘ 4 ‘ +%# ‘ ; & ‘ 4)‘ ! ,%# #‘ 5!)#‘ ' ;‘ ,‘ ‘ ' - :‘ ? ‘ ‘ ; !#‘ ! ‘% 3 ‘ ! ,%# $‘ 6! 8 # $‘ ! "‘ ,&% , + I‘ ! ,%# $‘ ‘ +! ‘ ›‘+ ‘ 6 ‘ ‘ ‘ - ‘ 3+ &3+ #‘ !#‘ !‘ (!# &L‘ 6! 8 # L‘ !#‘ + ‘ ; &% ‘ !‘ 4%%2‘ % ‘ + ‘ 8%#, $‘ ›‘ ; + 3+‘ %‘ - ‘% ‘ + ‘ ; 6 ‘ ! ,%# #‘ " "$ .3 , ‘ < ! + ; I‘ ,&%, + $‘ !#‘ + ‘ #! ;‘ + ‘ 6 ! % ‘ Ž‘ ‘ - ‘ # ! "‘ ! (%#$; + & ‘ + ‘ ; !# 4! #+ "‘ 4)‘ 9 % (! A %7>A>7,3‘ C =>, ‘ ,‘ =,@‘ #,@@>7 , ‘3 3>7 , D‘ =>‘ > 5>‘ C @ >@‘ 7> A, ‘ 3B >AD> =‘ =,@‘ ‘ >‘ >‘ C7>7 D ,5>‘ :‘ C @ >@$ Ú >‘ ‘ = ‘ C< ‘ =>‘ > D7 : >A‘ D,: ‘ :‘=,@‘ A 3 7, >‘, ‘ <@‘ B @‘ = ‘ ‘ Ú ‘ = @‘ 7>3>,5>A‘ c 7‘ > 7 >Aa‘ :7 ‘ >‘ ‘ 7<>7‘ 7A$ < ‘ !‘ B ‘ = ‘ <‘ 7>‘ 7 = $? !‘ @= ‘ AA‘ ‘ :> ‘ 7>‘ 5>7 ‘ A>@‘ ‘ >4C7>@@, @‘ ‘ @<, >‘ ‘ ‘ C @ >$ Ú =<@‘ T @‘ <3=‘ @‘, ‘ >‘ ,>@ $!‘ = 5>‘ 7, > ‘ ‘ <‘ , =‘ D7> ‘ C , >@@$ A‘ !‘ = C>‘ = Ú 33 7A, D‘ ‘ ‘ , , ‘ !‘ = 5>‘ , >A‘ =, D‘ 3 A<3,5>‘ ‘ <7‘ @ 5 , ‘, ‘ =>‘ C7>@> ‘ 3,7 Ú 3< @ 3>$? ‘ + ‘ !# ‘ 3+ ! , &L‘ ›‘ J 4 # 3+‘) % I‘ ‘ !#2‘ ‘ !#‘ !‘ !6% &‘ % ‘)% $‘ ; + # ‘) % ‘ !& ‘ ‘ + # Ó >›‘ & $‘ ,, ‘ C$ 1 ‘ ?! ,A$ Ó =,@‘ & $‘ C$ / - j /1$ Ð& $‘ ,,$ C$ a- ‘ $ Ó >›‘ C @A>@‘ , ‘ =›‘ C= >*,3 ‘ >‘ :‘ C7, 3,C >7@$ ‘ >›‘ & $‘ ,$ C$ $ Ť&C ‘ ,,$ C$ 11 $ Ø #>3, ,@‘ ,@‘ 3= 7 3 >7‘ C @ ,3 ›‘ 5" # " ‘ ›@ ‘C >@ @ @37, > A‘ A‘ >33 >@, @‘ C 7>@‘ 5>‘ A‘ >@‘ ‘ =<*<@ A‘ >C,@ 3 @‘ K< ›‘, ‘ 3 > ‘ 7>:>77,‘ >7>7> <7‘ ,A‘ >@ ‘ K ›‘ : 7> ‘ 3 ,3 >‘ < ,5>7@ ,@‘ >‘ C>7C> < ›‘ , ‘ 33 >@, ‘ <3‘ 7, ,@$ #,@@$ C7, ‘ A›‘ C @ $ #< A‘ < $ 4,$ CC$ $‘, $ C$ - / G$ Ó D‘ < > ‘ ‘ K< ‘ A 3 7‘ @>A‘ < <@‘ >4‘ 5 ,@‘ ŽA> @ 7 ‘ C 3 ‘ C>7‘ K< @ ,C‘ C,<7, ,@‘, B , 7>@ @, ,@$ $ >C$ 3 C$,$ V A=<3‘ J‘ ›‘ 7 D ‘ 5 @‘ K< , ‘ < <@‘ >4‘ 5 ,@$! $ 3 C$ $‘ ‡ U R , ,:@5‘ ‘ : *5 ,", &‘ " #9 5 7,*:‘ 5 *6,5‘ :‘ &5 ›" "$ # & 8' 5 ; G "» 8 %$ $ 5‘ $ 6 ‘" 48 ‘ :‘ , ,‘ :7@‘ 2 C$ M * ‘ ³ ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ ŒW ‘ ŒW = ‘ / 8 < #8 % % ;"5<" C› P ‘ 7 5‘ 5,a$ 0 5 ›5 <:,<5 0" ,,6 ">#"<5‘ @5@7 5 5$ 2 C$ $ X , & ; ‘ "! ; I$.$ - ‘ !, ‘ E

> < ,:< ‘ 5>@@> ‘ :‘ =>‘ A ‘ >‘ , D‘ , ‘ >‘ :‘ =>@>‘ =, D@$? A‘ @ , ‘ > 7>7‘ =>‘ 3 M
3 <@, $‘ Ú =>7>: 7>‘ ? !‘ = 5>‘ > A> 5 <7>A‘ ‘ 7, >‘ ‘ < ‘ 33 7A, D‘ ‘ ‘ , , ‘ , ‘ ,7‘
Ú ,D= ‘ 7>* ,3>$?
' C ‘ =>‘ = >‘ =,@‘ >C,@ >‘ > ‘ @ >7@‘ =>‘ 3= 7 3 >7‘ D,5> ‘ :‘ 7 @‘ , ‘ =>‘ 3 @‘ C 7M
,3< 7 ‘ 3=$‘ 4,$‘ E $‘ >‘ @‘ :< ‘ :‘ =>‘ ‘ 9 = @ $^‘ =>‘ 7, >7‘ :‘ =,@‘ >C,@ >‘ = A‘ =>‘ D,: ‘
:‘ =>‘ @C,7, ‘ = <D=‘ ‘ = ‘ > @<7>‘ =,3=‘ @‘ C>3< , 7‘ ‘ C @ >@$‘ V‘ >‘ @‘ :< ‘ :‘ : , =$^‘
=>‘ 7, >7‘ :‘ =,@‘ >C,@ >‘ = A‘ ‘ > 7 >@ ‘ [> ‘ : 7‘ =>‘ 7< =‘ A‘ @, C ,3, ‘ :‘ =>‘ D @C> $‘ >‘ @
@ ‘ V‘ ‘ D A‘ $^‘ ! ‘ =,@‘ >C,@ >‘ >‘ @>75>‘ =>‘ , A >@@‘ A‘ D> > >@@ ‘ ‘ =,3=‘ 7M
@‘ @>> @‘ ‘ = 5>‘ >> ‘ A,@ , D<,@=>A)‘ < ‘ >‘ A ‘ ‘ A,@3>7 ‘ =>7>‘ =>‘ A,D , ‘ A‘ < = 7, ‘
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% # 0)$‘ + #‘ , # ‘ (!)‘ ! %&"‘ " 3! % $‘ ! "‘ (!) 4 ‘ & ! "‘ ; +‘ +! ‘ 6 ;M * ‘ ‘
% 8+ ‘ % ‘ %‘ 4 ‘ # ("‘ 4)‘ #$!# ‘ ; !# % ‘ 4)‘ + ‘ ! 3 #$!‘ , ! & ‘ % ‘ + ‘ & ‘ ,‘,8" -

4 ; 8 > ‘

D ,‘ - ‘ = - (‘ ":‘ 5 -"4-‘ - ‘ 8 : :‘ ,‘ - ‘ 6‘ 8 ; : ‘ -8 ‘) :‘, ; (

2 " ‘ 3 ‘ :‘ =>‘ > ‘ >@ > ‘ ,@‘ ‘ 3 >3 , ‘ :‘ B@‘ 7, > ‘ ‘@>5>7 ‘ C>7@ @‘ , ‘ @>5>7 ‘
C 3>@‘ A‘ ‘ A,::>7> ‘ , >@$‘ ! ‘ ,@‘ =>7>: 7>‘ 7> @ >‘ ‘ =, B‘ = ‘ , ‘ @‘ : 7 >A‘ D7 A< $
‘ =>‘ 7,@>‘ :‘ =>‘ 2=7,@ , ‘ 7> ,D, ‘ =>7>‘ >7>‘ ‘ 7, > ‘ @ @ > @‘ 7‘ 7>3 7A@‘ :‘, $‘ ! ‘ @‘ :,7@‘
<D= ‘ A‘ 3 :,7 >A‘ ‘ 2=7,@ ‘ =, @> :‘, ‘ =,@‘ @ ‘ D 7, <@‘ , ,@ 7 N‘ A‘ @‘ @ , ‘ : 7 =>7‘ 3 M
:,7 >A‘ ‘ =,@‘ , , D‘ A> = ‘ A‘ =,@‘ 7>@<77>3 , ‘ :7 ‘ =>‘ A> A ‘ A‘ @3> @, ‘ ‘ => 5>)‘ : >7M
7A@‘ , ‘ @‘ <D= ‘ ‘ 7A‘ :‘ < = ‘ A‘ C7 C D >A‘ ‘ =>‘ C7> 3=, D‘ :‘=,@‘ C @ >@‘ A‘ =>,7‘
3 C , @$‘ 7‘ @‘ , ‘ :, ‘ = ‘ ‘ B@‘ @= < A‘ >‘ 7, > ‘ < ‘ , ‘ , ‘ - ‘ >7>‘ 3 5>7 @‘
‘ 7>3>,5>‘ A‘ B>>C‘ => ‘ A‘ A> ,5>7‘ => ‘ ‘ =>7@$
! :‘ $‘ . < ?@‘ + ‘ >C,@ >@‘ ‘ =>‘ =>@@ , @‘ >7>‘ =>‘ :,7@ ‘ 7, > ‘ B@‘ :‘ =>‘ > ‘ >@ ‘
7 > ‘ A‘ ‘ 7, > ‘ , ‘ =>‘ > 7‘ 1 / ‘ 7‘ 1E ‘ < ‘ > ‘ > 7@‘ : >7‘ <7‘ 5, <7?@‘ @3> @, ‘
=> ‘ < A‘ >‘ : 7‘ ‘ =, >‘ =>‘ ‘ @ 37>A‘ B@‘ :‘ =>‘ > ‘ A,@C> @ , $
@‘ =>‘ 2=7,@ , @‘ ‘ =>@@ ,3 ‘ = A‘ 7>3>,5>A‘ =>‘ A 3 7, >‘ <D= ‘ ‘ . < ‘ V‘ ‘ @‘ - ‘
7A‘ :‘ > ‘ < ‘ @‘ , ‘ ,@‘ , ‘ 7< = ‘ =>‘ 7A‘ ,‘ 9 A ^‘ /‘ =>@@$,,$‘ E ‘ => ‘ < A‘ 7>3>,5>‘ =,@‘
>C,@ >@‘ @‘ =>‘ 7, > ‘ 7A‘ :‘ 9 A$‘ A‘ =, @> :‘ <D= ‘ => ‘ @ ‘ ‘ A ‘ 7>K<,7, D‘ = ‘ => ‘
@= < A‘ >‘ @ > ‘ V‘ 7> A‘ < ‘ ‘ =>‘ = ‘ 7> =7> ^‘ /‘ =>@@$ 5$‘ EF$‘ >‘ D,5>@‘ ‘ ,B>‘ A,7>3M
, ‘ < ‘ 7>‘ >4 > @,5>‘ ‘ =>‘ > A‘ :‘=,@‘ >C,@ >‘ ‘ =>‘ 2 @@, @‘ ,5$‘ / ‘ 7>K<,7, D‘ => ‘ : >7‘
‘ => ‘= A‘7> A‘, ‘ V‘ D@ ‘ => @> 5>@‘ ‘3 <@>‘, ‘ ‘ >‘ 7> A‘ @ ‘ , ‘ =>‘ 3=<73=‘ :‘ =>‘ " A,3> @)‘
A‘ = ‘ => ‘ ,B> ,@>‘ 7> A‘ =>‘ >C,@ >‘ = ‘ < A‘ 3 >‘ ‘ => ‘ :7 ‘ " A,3> $^
‘ =>‘ C @ >‘ . < ?@‘ >C,@ >@‘ => =>7‘ ‘ 3=<73=>@‘ 7‘ C 7 ,3< 7‘ C>7@ @‘ < A‘ >‘ 7>3>,5>A‘
, =‘ =>‘ ,B>‘ 7>@C>3 ‘ ‘ = @>‘ <3 = ‘ => ‘ >7>‘ @> ‘ >5> ‘ @‘ =>‘ 7, > ‘ 7A‘ :‘ 9 A‘ 7‘
@ 37>A‘ @37,C <7>@)‘ A‘ , ‘ ,B>‘ >7‘ =>‘ 7, , D@‘ :‘ ‘ =>‘ C @ >@‘ A‘ >5 D> ,@ @$
=> ‘ = ‘ 7>3>,5>A‘ => ‘ < A ‘ @‘ =>7>‘ >7>‘ CC 7 < , ,>@ ‘ 3 5> ‘ => ‘ ‘ =>7@$‘ => ‘
= ‘ 7>3>,5>A‘ => ‘ >7>‘ :< ' ‘ @@<7>A‘ :‘ =>,7‘ D> <, > >@@‘ ‘ = @>‘ = ‘ A> ,5>7>A‘ => $‘ A‘
>: 7>‘ =>‘ > A‘ :‘ =>‘ :,7@ ‘ 3> <7 ‘ > ‘ ‘ 5>7 ‘ D‘ : >7‘ =>‘ ,AA >‘ :‘, ‘ , ‘,@‘ ,B> ‘ =>7>‘ >7>‘
3 >3 , @‘ A>‘ :‘ =>‘ : <7‘ D @C> @ ‘ A‘ @ ‘ :‘ =>‘ =>7‘ B@‘ :‘ =>‘ > ‘ >@ > ‘ =,3=‘
>7>‘ , ‘ =>‘ = A@‘ :‘ ‘ D A‘ < >7‘ :‘3= 73=>@‘ A‘ C>7@ @
%7 ‘ =>‘ K< , @‘ :‘ !7> <@‘ 2 > > ‘ :‘ >4 A7, ‘ >7 <::, ‘ A‘ =>7‘ 7, >7@‘ 1 :‘ =>‘
@>3 A‘ 3> <7 ‘ ,‘ D "2 :‘ " :‘ =>‘ =,7A‘ A‘ <@> ,<@‘ , ‘ =>‘ : <7 =‘ 3> <7 ‘ , ‘ CC> 7@‘ = ‘ =>‘
D7> >@‘ C 7‘ :‘ =>‘ B@‘ =,3=‘ 7>‘ ‘ 7>3>,5>A‘ ‘ <@‘ A‘ 7>‘ 3 >A‘ 3 ,3 ‘ >7>‘ < ,M
5>7@ ‘ 3B >AD>A‘ , ‘ =>,7‘ , >@‘ A‘ = A‘ >> ‘ @ ‘ 3B >AD>A‘ ‘ =>‘ > A>7@‘ A‘ 3=<73=>@‘
:‘ : 7 >7‘ , >@$‘ A‘ =>‘ 7>@ ‘ ‘ 7>3>,5>A‘ ‘ <@‘ = <D=‘ => ‘ >7>‘ => ‘ A < >A‘ , ‘ ‘ 3 7 M
5>7 >A‘ ‘ @ > ‘ >7>‘ ?? > ‘ B ‘ A‘ CC7 5>A‘ ‘ $‘ A‘ = @,<@ ‘ = ‘ ,5>A‘ ‘
D+ : >7‘ <@> ,<@‘ `= 5, D‘ : <7,@=>A‘ :7 ‘ =>‘ > 7‘ ‘ A‘ : >7 7A@Ya‘ 4 "5 (‘ 8 ‘ - ‘ @ >

- ' = - (' ,', " ; : 2' - ' 8 : "' ,' - ' 6' 8 ; : / H
4%%2#$; + 3+' !& ' % ;' & 3 6 "' 4)' #$! "' %'% + & ' 1 + 3+' +!#' ! #%' 4 ' 4 ' ,& 6! 8'# + '
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=,@' 3 ' @' 'A> >7 , >A' ' =>' < = 7, ' :'3 < 3, @'} < ' =>' B@' :' =,3=', '3 M
@,@ @' >7>' B ' ' >' =>' D> <, >' 7, , D@' :' =>' C @ >@' A'>5 D> ,@ @', ' =>'@ >' ' A'
>7' = ' >' B ' =>' 7B@' :' 2 >@ 7' 2,3>7 ' &,7D, ' 7 3>' 3, <@' ' >' =>,7@$ A'
=>' 3 ' = @' >> ': 7 >A'<C ' =>' D7 < A' :' '< , <@' 7'D> >7 '3 3<77, D' >@ , '
A' 7 A, , $
! ' =>' 3 ,77@>' :' =,@' D' 7B' >' = 5>' = A' :, >K<> ' 33 @, ' ' @>75>' = ' =>' 3 ' :'
=>' > ' >@ > ' = A' ' >> '@> >A' ' ' < = 7, '< ,5>7@ ' 3B >AD>A 'C 7 ,3< 7 '
', ' =>' , >' :V <@> ,<@' 7' :,0^ <D<@ , >' 7' :+' 2 @ @' 7' :00 2 @@, A 7,<@' N < ' = '
>5>7 => >@@' = 7>' @' 'D> >7 ' D7>> > ' D' 2=7,@ , @'<C ' =,@' => A$
= ' =>' < >7' :' B@' '=>' 7>3>,5>A' @' @ 37>A' A' 3 ,3 ' = A' ' >> 'A> >7 , >A' '
=>' < = 7, ' :' '3 < 3, ' 7'3 < 3, @ '< ,5>7@ ' 3B >AD>A ',@' CC 7> ':7 ' =>'A,::>7> '
*<AD > @' D' 2=7,@ , @' , '@>5>7 'C 7 @' :' =>' 7 A '3 3>7 , D' A,5>7@' B@' C 7 ,3< 7 '
=>'>C,@ >' ' =>' > 7> @' A' =>' >5> }' =,3=' >7>'7>3>,5>A' g '@ >'7>*>3 >A' 7'A < >A'
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:'@37,C <7>' , ' '3 ' :' =>'3 < 3, ' :' ,3>' <D<@ , >+' D,5, D' A,7>3 , @' ', K<,@, ,5>'
C>7@ @'= ' => ' ,D='A> >7 , >' = ' B@' 7>' 3 ,3 ' A' , ' 7>:>7@' ' ' =>'
A>3,@, @' :' '3 < 3, @$ 2 @@, A 7,<@', ' =>'@,4 ='3> <7 '= @' '=7>>' 3 D<>@' >' 3 >A'
;>7 ?@' =>7' <D<@ , >?@' =>7' = ' :' =>' 3,> '5>7>, '} < '=>'7>:>7@' ' =>'A>37>>'
:' '3 < 3, ' @'A>3,@,5>N A', '@>> @' >' = ', ' ' , >@' 2=7,@ , 'C> C >' A'3=<73=>@'
= 5>' = A' ' , >7 ' '*<AD>' : 7' => @> 5>@' 33 7A, D' '>5,A> 3>$ A' =>'>5,A> 3>' :' =>'
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+ '8 ##'% ' + # '4%%2#$!#'4 %& '#! "$ #' 2 ; ' ' + '#! (' ; !)' ; +'% + &#$' 4)'
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= ', ' -"' ' =>'C7, , ,5>' 2=7,@ , @' : 7 >A' =>,7'*<AD > '3 3>7 , D' =>' B@'C7 M
C @>A' ') '7>3>,5>A' @' 84 ('@37,C <7>@' CC> 7@':7 ' =>,7'7> , , D' 7B@$ @' 2 > > ' :'
>4 A7, '} U =,@T' >' = 5>' ', ' =>': <7'D @C> @' ,,3=' = 5>' >> 'A> ,5>7>A' '<@' < ', '
U = ' 33 7A, D' ' =>' D C , @$? >7 < , ' ' >' @>> ' 7D> ' ' =,@' C<7C @>' & $!$'
C$ /H j E/$!'C @@' ' ' 7,D> ' = '@ @} U @T' !' = 5>' > 7 >A' ' 7 A, , '3 3>7 , D' =>'
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U => 5> $? ' <@> ,<@' , '=,@' 33 >@, @ ,3 ' ,@ 7 ' : > ' @>75>@' = ' B@' :' =>' > '
>@ > '= A' >> 'K< >A' ' =>' 3,> @' A' = ' $ A' = 5, D'7>=> 7@>A' '3 D<>'
:' B@< ,5>7@ '7>3>,5>A' A' :' =>7@' 3 7 5>7 >A' =>' @ @} U ! O' @' >>A:<' ' C< '
U A ' =>@>' @ N A,@ , D<,@=, D' =>' @37,C <7>@' =,3=' 33 7A, D' '>33 >@, @ ,3 ' 7 A, , '7>'
U 7<>' D> <, >' A' < ,5>7@ ' 3B >AD>A ':7 ' = @>' =,3=' 7>'3 7 5>7 >A' A' >' CC> 7'
U ' -85 ') :' B ' ' } = ' ' =,@' > @' >' 'B ' => ' :7 '@<3=' @' = 5>' >> '
UC< ,@=>A' '=>7> ,3@'< A>7' =>' >@' :' C @ >@$ =,3=' B@' >' :' =>' >33 >@, @ ,3 '
U 7, >7@, ' =>' @<33>@@, ':7 ' =>' , >@' :' =>' C @ >@' = 5>' 5 <3=@ :>A' ' > , ', ' =>,7'
U 7, , D@$? !' ' ' 7 @37, >' < ' '7>:>7' ' = @,<@', '=,@'%>@ ' C,@ >' '0 2 7, '
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%; 6 &$ 4 # " '%4# &6 8' + ' # (%)'% '; & &#' ' %& (&' (#$ +)'3& 3 # "' + '4%%2#'
;+3+' ; & ', &%, %# "' %' + (f . ! (8' + &'#) ' ! "' 3% #$! "' 3% (, !& 8' + (' ; +'
+%#' 4%%2#$; + 3+' +!"' 4 ' ! & !")' & 3 6 "' !#' 8 ' , % ' + ' 8&% "'% '! ' !+ (%
(%)$! "' "% 4 "' &!" % ' 5!)#'+% #'5 &!, % $ 4 #+%,'% ' - %3+$ ' ! ' , # '%'
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' ; + 3+' !& ' ! #)' !#3& 4 "' %' (f ; ' 2 % ; 8$ +!' ; '+!6 ' & 3 6 "' %' # 3+ A - "' + '
!""#$ +!' , % ' , & # 8' +!' ; %&2$' + ' +!"' % "' + ' M ! ' , !& ' % ' ' !8& !4 ' %' + ' & 8+ '
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!$' $' . <' @ @' $',$' / $$$V' , ' =>' A ' => ' 9 A' @= ' ;<AD>' =>' @>37> @' :' > ' 33 7A, D' ' 'D @C> $?0 =>' @ >' C=7 @>' 33<7@ D , ' 3=$ 45,$ E1' A' E' , $',$ 0' V' >M > >7' = ' ;>@<@' 2=7,@ ' :' =>' @>>A' :' !R 5,A' @' 7 ,@>A' :7 ' =>' A> A' 33 7A, D' ' ' D @C> $^' ! ' ' =,3=' C 3>@' !' CC7>=> A' , ' <@' >' 7> @ >' ' < A>7@ A' ' ' 7, M > 'D @C> ' 7' =,@ 7 ' :' ;>@<@' 2=7,@ ' < ' =>' A 3 7, >' :' =>' D @C>' :' ;>@<@' 2=7,@ ' =,3=' = A' >> '7> 3=>A' ' . < $' =,3=',@ @ ' =>' C, , ' :' > 7 >A' A>7 ', >7C7> >7@, 'D> >7 $!!$' E' 2 7$ 5,,,$ /0$' V' A' >' = 5>' @> ' , =' =, ' =>' 7 =>7' = @>' C7 ,@>',@' , ' =>' D @C> ' - 2- '8 ' - '3=<73=>@$^' ' = 8 : &' -85 ' >> ' :' C, , ' = ' $' "<B>',@' ,>' 7 =>7' =>7>' , > A>A A' = ' ' 8 ' , ' ' "<B>?@' 7, > 'D @C> $' =,@'Ø,@' @ ,A' ' >' 7,D> ?@', >7M C7> , 'N < '!' (' : '4 8 &' C>73>,5>', $' 7,D> ' @C> B, D' , '=>': <7' D @C> @' @ @' Ù =>'Ù Ù =,7A',@' = '844 (": 2' ' "<B>' =>' D @C> '3 > A>A' ' . < $? !' @ ' , ' A ' 'C>73>,5>', ' ' >' 3 > 7' = 'D "2 :' = A' '> >' 'E' 2 7$ 5,,,$ /0$' >' ,D= ', > A' % (',,$' / $' 7' 45,$ E1$' 7' E' , ',,$ 0$' >5>7' => =>7', ' >' 7,D> ?@', >7C7> , ' :' = ' >4 ' 7' ', ',@';>7 ?@ N' = ' 7, , D' =>' =,@ 7 ' :' $' "<B>', ' =,@' B' :'! <@ 7, <@' (> '@ @') Ù >'Ù 7 >' 'D @C>' :' Ù =,3=' . <' B>@' > , '@ , D)']' A' >' = 5>'@> ' , =' =, ' =>' 7 =>7' = @>' C7 ,@>' #' Ù, ' =>' D @C> $? ' =>'@ >'C<7C @>' ' @ ', ' =>'C7 D<>' '=,@' 2 > 7 '<C ' $' (=>) A' ,B> ,@>', T' =,@' 2 > 7 '<C ' =>'>C,@ >' ' . =, > $

+&)#%# % (' , % ' + ' , !3 ' #, !2#' ! &' + #' (! &' >' - " ; + %' #' + #' 4&% + &']' 5% (' >#!)$' @ B' ! "' + 2$' +! ' + ' !, %# ' & &#' %' + ' + # %&)' ; & ' 4)' + (' + &#' #!)' >' *!& !4!#' %&' 4)' 8%#, '+ ' "#' ; & ' ,& !3+ 8 A' + %, +) !3 '>' #, !2#' %' + ' 2 ' , &, %# ' + %"%& ' 4)' + ' 4&% + &' " &# %%"' * !& !4!#f ! "' + & %& '3% "' %' + 2' % ' !)' ; & '8%#, $' %'# 3+' ; %&2' +!6 8'4 ' !#3& 4 "' %' + ('4)' + ' ! 3 #' 3 (#A#' % '# %' + #', &, %# ' >' < !)' '#!)$' + #'4&% + &' # 2 $' (% "' , % '!33% '% ' + '8%#, ' >3% (,%# "' 4)' + (' < !)' % + &#' # , ,%# ' + (' %' 4 ' * !& !4!#f %&$' !#' +)' #!)$' (; & ' >' ,& !3+ 8' # + & '3! "' 8%#, L' ; + 3+' # + ' (%& ' 2)f %&' ; +!' % % ; # # (%& '# !4 ' %' >' * !& !4!#f _' ; +%# ' ,&! # ' # ' + '8%#, c' -#' (3+'!#' %'#!)$' + ' % '%)', & !3+ #$' 4 '3% (' >' ("!4) A' - "' ! & ; !&"#' >' + ' (! 8' #$' + ' % ' %)' 6! 8 @ +$' ! "', & !3+ +' +

V' J' 4 B' *#8' !+@' "5, 5' 58&& %" ', 5/ "< & 5 "5" 85% B' :,,< @ ' :>5 ;8' 4 B' 5 #@ Q;0' ?; "' && 3'6' &#8 ; 5' '% & '4 7' ' 5 5&& %:5 *< $ @' $ $' /$ -$ 3$' $' C$ F-$' # $ +' = ' =,@' 7 =>7' @' ,@ <3=' 3 >@ >A$' ,K<, ' 0 = @ 3 77,>A' , ' : 7' $ "<B>' 7 = ' :' C7 ,@>', ' ' =>' +3=<73=>@' : 7' =>' D @C>' =,3=' =>' 7 >$' =>' < = 7, ' :' ?0 =,@ @@>7, ' @>> @' ' 7>@' <C ' =>' 7A@' :' 7,D> ' =>' U, >7C >A' !D ,<@' A' $;>7 $? ' =, ' <C ' =>' C 3>$

+' P' ,#' 5 ' * 4 < !8:44&' '5 ' 85% ' G, &8# & 5 */ % ' C$ <@$ /$ $ 3 C$ E1$ C$ $ 2$ 5 ' % ' ',$ C E

T >>' & $',$ C$ 11E$ @! $ C$ 11G$ ' # >' K< ' f "<3 I' >', ' , ' 3) (,@,' , K<, ' 3< ', ' :7 7> '3<*<@' <@' >@', '>5 D> ' C>7' >@' >33 >@, @ $$$$' J 3$! ' . =, > $ $' $!&$.$ /$ C$ 1 $ /0- '('8 B' ' ' ! T - %L'-' & B' ,< & 5' - ! . W)$ OW#' $#8 ' ' &>& /"2/ #'8& ">5" # &# /# ' 6#-' ' 5' G 8#58 8 &' O ! Z') ! , ' '44&#44, & &8>#5&#*%' #!!))# - %)' ' ' E' , # ' A' 2 7, =' = $ /0$ $ 6 $! ' 3$ C$ -0C$ &' #'C '>8<8#' & *! 6M5 ! 6' => A', ' 3$ $' !!!$' C$ E -$ 0 2 3, $', ' 3$ $' !$ C$.

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=> C7> 3=>A >: 7> => = A 3 C > > B >AD> :=> A 3 7, > :=> D @C> $ % 7 : >7
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33 @, @ :7, , D => $ =,3= , > B> A <@ =>7> : >7 , C7 C>7 C 3>@$
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E 5!)# # 4 # ! !## !8 %& (&)0 % " + %# !" (&!4 ! " &)" 6
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7, , D :) @ >, D > D D>A , 7> >43> > , ,@ 7 =,3= ,@ 5> =< C >7$
! @ <3= = . < => @ > : <7 , <7> = :7A@ A = <D= @ = @ >:
=, D , 6 " ": 2 >@,A> :> >C,@ >@$$$$ 7 >7> ,> 7>@ :<7 5, <7?@ : >7@ < 3
K< , >A , = =>@> =, D@ @ => @>5> A,@3,C >@ A => 7@ >@,A>@ => > 5>
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3 ##) A - " ; + ! % % ; #
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=> >7> 7, > , >A, > : >7 <7 " 7A?@ @3> @, => =>7> ,@ 7> @ =, B =>
>7> 7, > , : >7 < >7 <@ 3 5>7 @ = A >> A> 8= >4C7>@@>A =>,7 A>@,7>@
= 5> 7, > =,@ 7,>@ : = => = A => 7A : 7 7>:7>@=, D =>,7 > 7,>@$
$, @ => A 7> ,@= C : (C@<>@ , , => >7 C 7 : => : <7 = 3> <7 < =>
> 7 -H $: >7 => " 7A @ @3> @, => 5> => A,@3,C >@ @ >A D A =, > ; > ,0
U > 5,@, , D => 3, ,>@ , , @ >,D= <7 , A C7> 3=, D 3=,>: => ;> @N < , => D7>
. < 3 >A => A,5, > D7 3> @ CC , >A C7 3= => D @C> => 9> , >@ C> $
A , C7 3>@@ : , > #,5, > . 7 5,A> 3> , D => => 3 :, >A > > C 7
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=>7@ > @> =>7>$; = , C 7 ,3< 7 B <C =,@ A> C=>@<@ 5,@, , D = >5>7 @> @ @
=> @>5>7 C 7 @ : @, $$$$ < =,@ , > => =>7 >5 D> ,@ @ (=> (7B A . <B>
C< ,@=>A <=,7 D @C> @ =,3 , >7> @ $@C7> A 5>7 => 7 A A >7> 7>3>,5>A *

0 >> &C $,$ C$ -G1$, 7 <,@ J , A< ; @< @<C>7, >,,*>7, ,@ C,7, <@ 3 ; 5,7 < > 0
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;, @ K< C>7 >C@ Cr7 K< @ >5 D> ,< ,C>75> , A @ D , , > >@,>7 , :, >@ >77 @ > K< @ #> ,@
K< AK<,A> < 3 C7@>3 , 5> <, C @ > 5>7 C>7 #>,5 < $ @> >5 D> ,[>@ J 3 @ >@,> C 3> = , , <@ <<
> , @37,C 7,@ ,@ 7 A,A>7 :< A > < J 3 n< P ,$ >@N K<, K<,A> J >@ C 7, >7 J , D<, > 7< *
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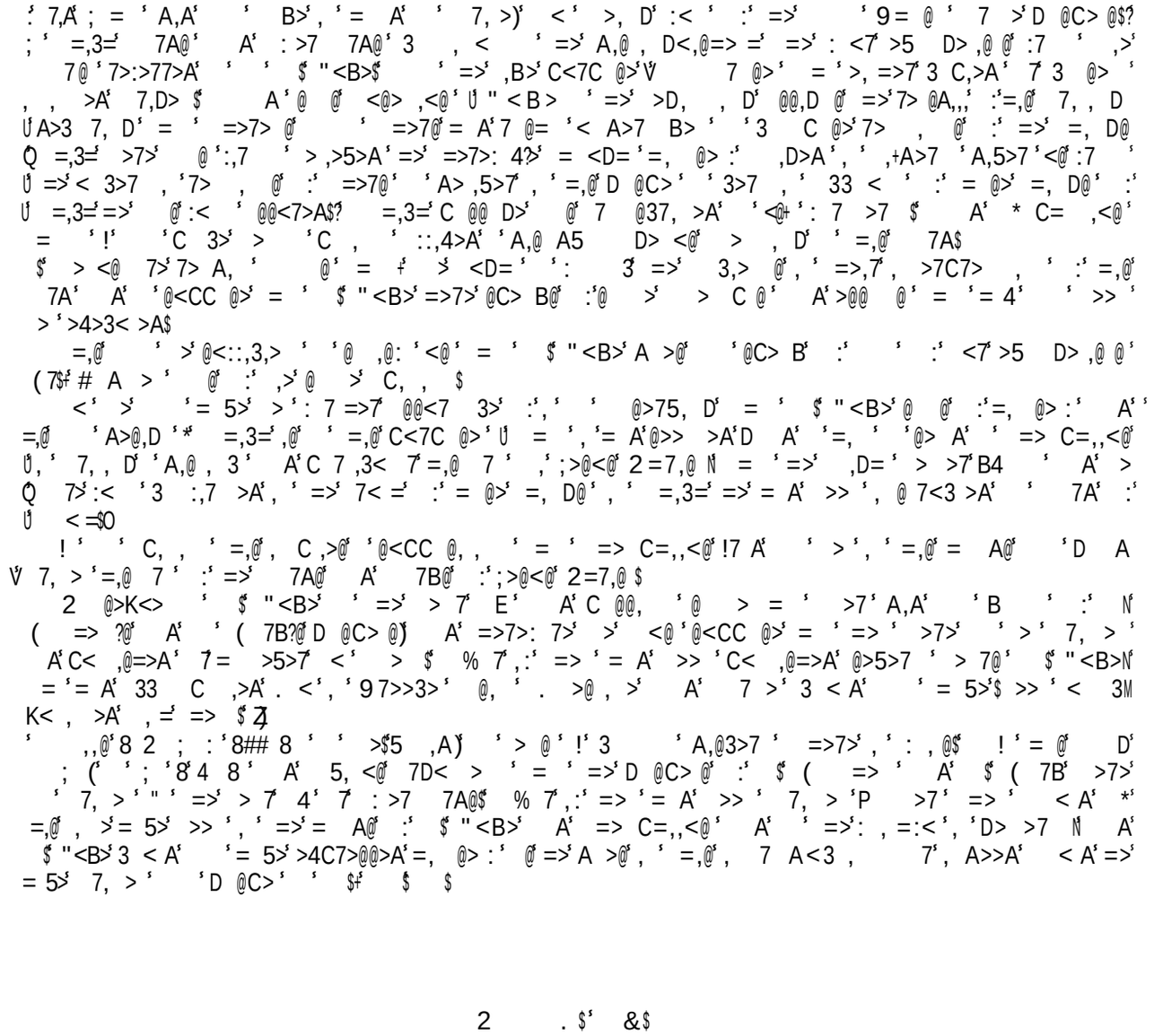

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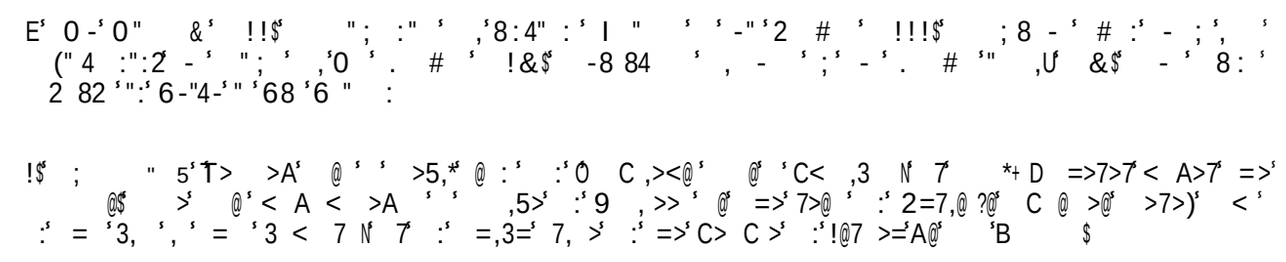

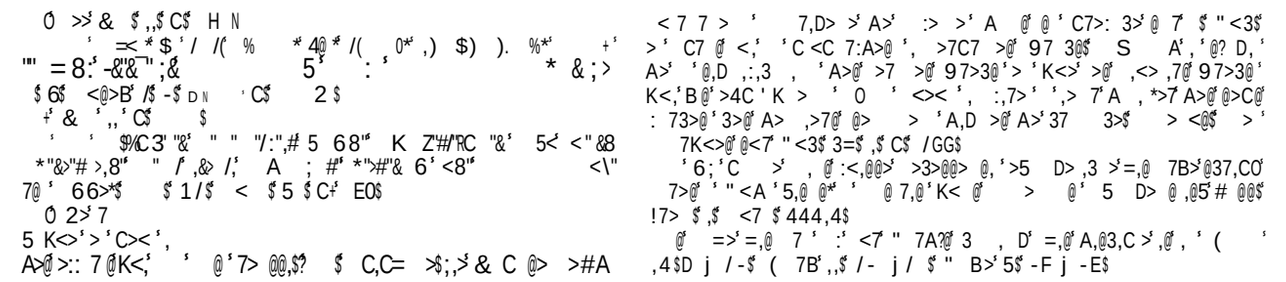

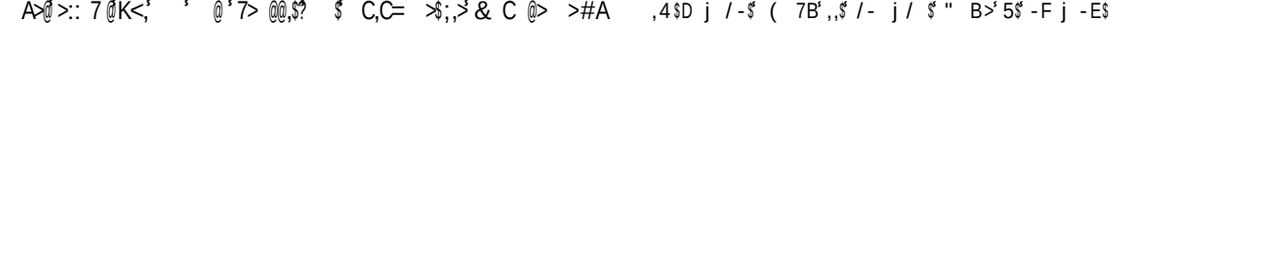

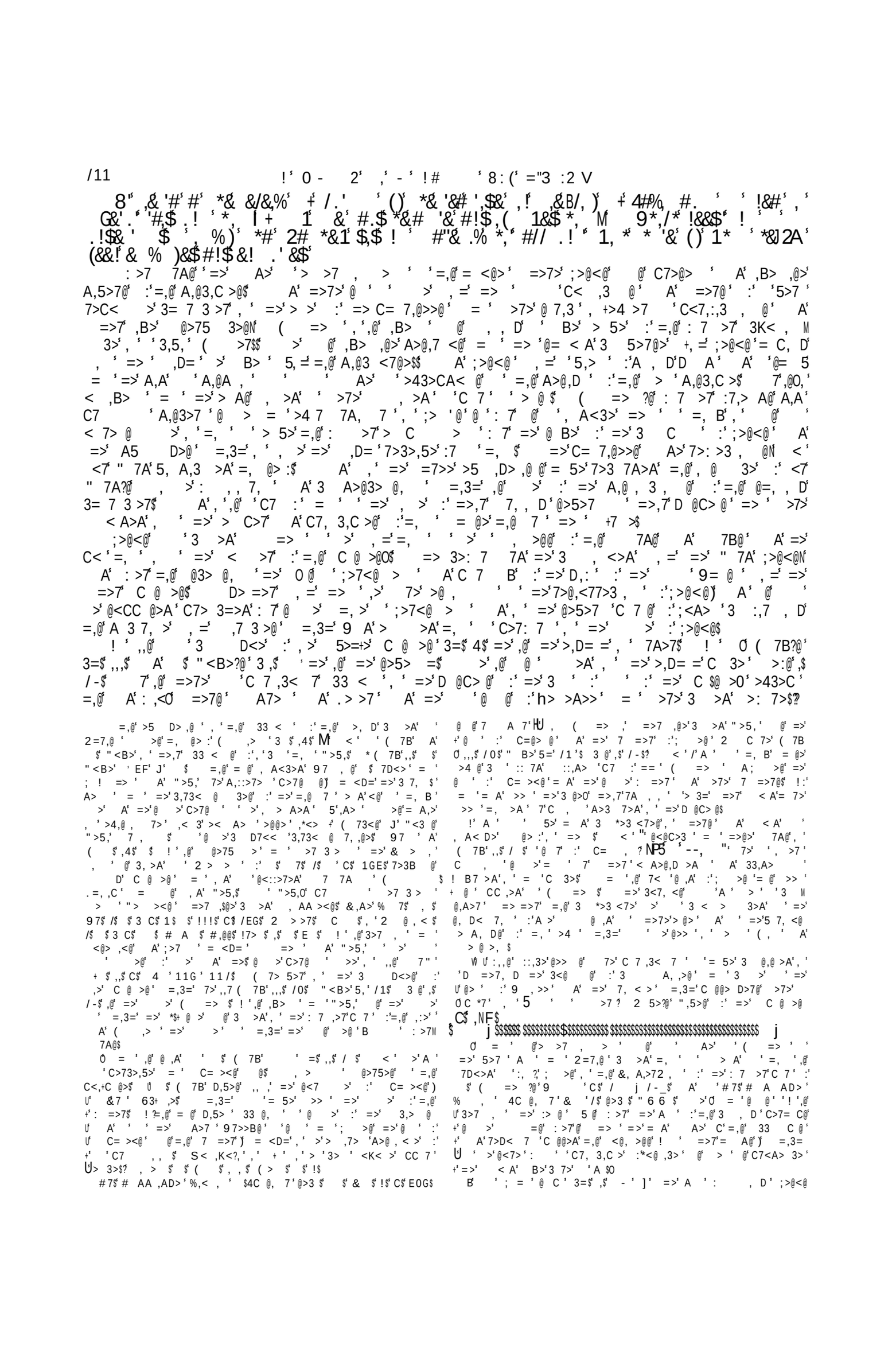

5,7 <>' 7' 7,D= > <@ >@@' A' 7<>' = , >@@' 5>' =>' 7,D= > <@ >@@' :' =>' 37, >@' A' C= 7,@>>@' =,@' 3> @<7>@' :' =>' C7,A>' A' 3 5> <@ >@@' : @>' 4, @' A' = C 37, ,3 ' 3 A<3 ' :' =>+ >' > ' , ' >' <@>:<' ' 'C> C >' @ ' D' @' =>' 7 A' @ A@$ @' <7' " 7A' @' ' ;> ' A' =,@' , ,@ 7 ' @' > C >A' D' = @>' C> C >', ' ;<A> N' , ',@' ' A>7 ' = ' , ' =,@' A,@M 3 <7@>@' 7>3 7A>A' ' $' (=> ' => >5>7' =>' 7 >' =>7>' @= < A' >':7>K< <7, @' ' =>,7' @' 3<@ @' A' 7@=,C$ Ó => ' ,B>' Ó 7>', ' =>' =>7' ' :,7@ ' >5 D> ,@ @N A', ' $' ; = ?@ D @C> ' =>' @ ' :' =>': <7' 7>' @' D' A,@3 <7@>@' , =' =>' 3 5, , D' ;> @' @', ' ' :' =>' 7>@ $!' =>7>: 7>' 7> A, ' @@> ' ' = @>' = ' =, B' = ' =,@' D @C> ' @' 7, > ', ' =>' , >' :' =>' >7 7' >7 ' ' < ' < ' =,7 ' > 7@' : >7' <7' 5, <7?@' @3> @, $' !' ' ' >' ' @@,D ' =>' > 7', ' =,3=', ' @' 7, > '* < ' !' ' > = ', 3 , >A' ' =>' > 7' - ' ' 7' 1 ' :' =>' 5< D 7' 7 3=$ =,@',@ D7>> >' ' ' ' =>' >@ , ' :'!7> @><@' A' @ >' =>7' 3,> @' < ' ' =>' 3,73< @ 3>@' :' =, D@$ ' =>' > 7' ' 7' =>7> < ' =>' D @C> ' = A' >> ' C7 C O' D >A', ' ' 9 > , >' 3 < 7,>@' =>' , >@' >7>' 7 < >@ >', ' ;<A> ' A' =>' 7' @ 3 , D')' @>5>7 ' :' =>' C @ >@' >7>' A> A ' =>7@' :' => ' = ' @<75,5>A ' >7>' D > ' 7' D , D' 7 A' A' ' :' =>' ;> ,@=' > ,>5>7@' >7>' < ' ' @>>B' @=> >7' > @> =>7>')' ' @' ' C7 C>7' , >' ' 7, >' ' =,@ 7 ' :' 2=7,@' A' =,@' ,7 3 >@$ (7> 5>7' , ' =,@' D @C> ' 7>' 7>3 7A>A' A,5>7@' C , ' C7>A,3 , @' :' =>' ,@>7,>@' A' A>@ , @' :' ;>7<@ > ' A' =>' 5>7 =7 ' :' =>' > C > ' A' =>' ;> ,@=' @ >' >@,A>' ' =>7' :,D<7 ,5>' , , , @' :' =>' @ >' =, D@' , ' ' :' <7' " 7A?@' A,@3 <7@>@' A' C 7 >@$ =,3=' 3 < A' ' >' > ' C< ,@=>A' ' ' =>' 7 A' , ' 7, , D' , ' < ' =,@' , >$!=>' @<, > >@@' :' $' (=> ?@' D @C> ' ' =>' @ >' :' =>' 2=7,@ , '7> ,M D, ' A' :' =>' ;> ,@=' C> C >' < ' =>' > 7' ' 7' 1 ' > A@' ' = ' , >$ A' = >5>7

' 3K<,7>>', ' =,@'@> @ ' @' =>' @ ' ,B> $

5$ =,@' > A@' >' ' ' @>75>' @ >' 3 , 7 3 >7@' :' , >', ' =>' D @C> ' , :$

! ',@' B ' A' >A' ' ' = ' : 7' ' =, >' <7' " 7A?@' A,@3,C >@' <7>A' < A>7' ;> ,@=' C7D,D ,3>@' A' = ' => ' AmA' ' :< ' < A>7@ A' ' =,@' A,@3 <7@>@' ' =>' , >' => ' => ' >7>' @C B> $' => ' A,A' ' => ' 3 < A' ' 3 > 7 ' A,@3>7 ' =>' 3 C7>=> @,5>' A>@,D ' :' =>'$>5 D> ,3 ' A,@C> @ , ' , ' : >7' . > >7' = A' >> ' ' =>' = <@>' :' 2 7 > ,<@' A' =>7>' 7>3>,5>A' C' =>' 3=<73=' 9 > , >' 3 5>7 @' , = < ' 3,73< 3,@, ' 7' , ' : >7' =>' D @C>' = A' >> ' ,C7> 3=>A' 7 A', ' : 7>,D ' 3 < 7,>@' ' . < ' A' =>7' C @ >@' A' , ,@ >7@$ " > ' <@' =>7>: 7>' ' @>75>' =>' B', @> :' :' $' (=> ' A' @>>' = ' B >AD>' =>' CC> 7@' ' = 5>' = A' :' =>' @3=> >' :' =>' 2 #

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' !' @<CC @>' = '=>' :< ' < A>7@ A' <7' " 7A?@' A 3 7, >' => ' =>' 7>3 7A>A' = ' @< 7 ' 33 < ' :', ' =,3=' *@', ' =>' :,: =' @,4 =' A' @>5> =' 3= C >7@' :' =,@' D @C> $' =>' > , <A>@' ' =>' >D, , D' 7>' 'C7 :' :', $' A' ' =>' 3 3 <@, ' => ' = ' V' => 7A' A' A,A' = @>' @ -A D@ ^' 7>' 3 C 7>A' ' ' ' = ' <, ' =,@' = <@>''<C ' '7 3B' *^' = <D=' =>7>' = A' >> ' =, D' @ ,A' '> : 73>' =>' 7, < @' :' =>' (@ ,3' $

-$ A' = '=>' > ', A>7@ A' =>' @C,7, < , ' A' =>' :7>>A ' :' =>' D @C> ' CC> 7@' :7 ' = '=>'= @' 7>3 7A>A' 3=$ ¯ / G j $

$,@' 3 > 7' A,@3>7 > ' :' =>' A>@,D ' :' =>' D @C> 'A,@C> @ , ' CC> 7@' >5> ' , ' =,@' 33 < ' ,' <7' 5, <7?@' ,5, ' C 7 ,3< 7 ' , ' = ' =>' @ @' 3=$',$' E / $' :' =>' >@@ D>' :' =>' D>' ' ; @>C=$ ¼' A' = A' @= : ' 3 ' =,@' >' ;>@<@$' % 7' =>' @= ' @ 5>' =,@' C> C >' :7 ' =>,7' @, @$^ 1$ O!:'=>' = A' = 'B ' = ' , 7' 5, <7' @' A>@,7>A' ' >' 7' @' 7> A ' >3 >' >@@, D' ' 9 > , >@' =>' < A' @3 73> '= 5>' = <D=' :', @>7 , D' =>' =,@ 7 ' :' =>' (D,' 3 , D' :7 ' =>' > @' ';>7<@ > ' ', K<,7>' : >7' =>' ,7 =' :' =>' , D' :' =>' ;> @' 3= C$,,$

$' ' ,> ' (7$ + > @ >? '@C> B_' :' =>' 'A,@3 <7@>@' = < ' 7>' :' =>' > 5> ' :' =>' . = 7,@>>@' A' AA<3>>@' 7' >7 ' ;> ,@=' @<C>7@ , , @$' =,3=' 7>', ' $' (=> ?@' D @C> ' !' A @ ? @' > ' @' (=> '45,$' $' ' ' ' > , , D, >' =>$ ' C 7 ,3< 7 ' 7>:>7' ' (' 44,,,$' / j -G$ ' =>7' ,B>' =, D@' ' $ $ Z >5>7 => >@@'A,5>7@' :' = @>' =, D@' 33<7' @ ', ' =>' D @C> d']' ?Z:=>7>' 7 J 'C7> *J' :!=, ,<' 'D ,> @$ ' >>' C 7 ,M :' $' = 7B' A' $' " < = > 7 >>' (>B' 6P$ -0 G$ " <B>' 4,$' 3< 7 ' ; = '45,$' F / ' A' ,B> ,@>' =>'=,@ 7 '! ' ',>' 3 @ E j 1,$' A' 64$ 1 ' F$' A' =' (' ,,,$' " OV $' " B>' 4 '$ / $ = 5>' 7>3 7A>A' <7' " 7A+@', *< 3 , @'U' >W

'Z' '

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were scattered abroad by the persecution, "they sent forth Barnabas that he should go as far as Antioch." None of the apostles went, not so much as one, to accompany him. And afterwards ch. xiii. 1—3, in the account of the extraordinary mission of Paul and Barnabas from Antioch to Cyprus, and other parts, there is no mention made of any apostle, as present at Antioch; and it is plain, there was not one there.

All these considerations induce me to think, that none of the twelve apostles left Judea to teach either Jews or Gentiles in other countries until after this council.

Having now, as I apprehend, shown this to be very probable, I shall mention some remarks; whereby there may be an opportunity for answering objections, though several have been already obviated.

1. There was a fitness in it. It was very proper, and even expedient, that the apostles should stay a good while in Judea, to assert and confirm the truth of Christ's resurrection by teaching, and by miraculous works, and do their utmost to bring the Jewish people to faith in Jesus as the Christ.

2. As this was fit, it is likely, that they had received some command from Christ himself, or some direction from the Holy Ghost to stay thus long in Judea.

3. There were considerations that would incline them to it, and induce them to do what was fit to be done, and was agreeable to the mind of Christ. One was the difficulty of preaching the gospel in foreign countries. This would induce them to stay in Judea till the circumstances of things facilitated their farther progress, or called them to it. Another thing was their affection for the Jewish people, their countrymen, especially those of Judea, with whom they had been brought up, and among whom they dwelt, together with a persuasion of the great value of the blessing of the gospel. This last consideration, I apprehend, would induce them to labour in Judea, with earnest desires, and some hopes of bringing all, or however many, to faith in Jesus. This influenced Paul also to a great degree, and for a good while. Nor was he without hopes of persuading his brethren and countrymen to what appeared to himself very certain and evident: so he says in his speech to the people at Jerusalem, Acts xxii. 17—20. He assures them, that whilst he was worshipping at Jerusalem, in the temple, he had a trance or ecstasy: that he there saw Christ, who said to him, "*Make haste*, and get thee quickly out of Jerusalem; for they will not receive thy testimony concerning me." Paul pleaded, that they must needs pay a regard to his testimony, who was well known to have been for some while very zealous in opposing his followers, and was now convinced and persuaded. But the Lord said unto him, "Depart; for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles." This trance, or vision, seems to have happened in the year 44, after that Paul had preached at Antioch with great success among Gentiles. Nevertheless he had an earnest desire to make one attempt more among the Jews of Judea, where was the body of that people: and if they could have been persuaded, many abroad would follow their example. And it required an express and repeated order from Jesus Christ, in vision, to induce him to lay aside that design, and to proceed to preach to Gentiles in remote parts.

It is a most affectionate concern, which he expresses for the Jewish people in divers places of the epistle to the Romans, written so late as the year 58. ch. ix. 1—5; x. 1, 2; xi. 4; "if by any means," says he, "I may provoke them to emulation which are my flesh, and might save some of them." Nor can it be questioned, that the like sentiments prevailed in the other apostles. If it needs any proof, let St. Peter's discourses at the beginning of the book of the Acts be consulted, particularly ch. ii. 38—40, iii. 22—26; not to refer to any other.

4. There were many advantages attending the stay of the apostles in Judea. Many more Jews were by this means converted, than otherwise there would have been. St. Luke says, Acts iv. 4, that "the number of the men was five thousand." But when Paul came to Jerusalem some years afterwards, James says to him, "Thou seest, brother, how many thousand of Jews there are which believe," ch. xxi. 20. And it is very likely, that the Jewish believers had better, and freer principles, than otherwise they would have had. They were, it is true, for observing the law themselves, ver. 20: but they agreed, that the Gentiles were under no such obligations, ver. 25. Farther, by this means every step taken in planting the Christian religion, and spreading the gospel in the world, had the sanction of all the apostles, and of the whole church of Jerusalem.

Upon occasion of the persecution at Jerusalem, many were "scattered abroad, who went

every where preaching the word. Then Philip went down to the city of Samaria, and preached Christ unto them," Acts viii. 5. "Now when the apostles, which were at Jerusalem, heard that Samaria had received the word of God, they sent unto them Peter and John." This was the first step taken in carrying the gospel to any, beside native Jews, and proselytes to their religion. And what had been done by Philip at Samaria, was approved and ratified by all the apostles.

The next step was preaching to Gentiles, which work was solemnly allotted to Peter. "And the apostles and elders that were in Judea, heard that the Gentiles also had received the word of God." ch. xi. 1. Upon Peter's rehearsing to them the whole affair, and what had happened at the house of Cornelius at Cæsarea, all were satisfied. "They glorified God, saying: then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life," ver. 18.

Soon after this, some of those who were scattered abroad upon the persecution, went to Antioch, and there "spake to the Greeks," or Gentiles, "preaching the Lord Jesus. And a great number believed, and turned to the Lord. Then tidings of these things came unto the ears of the church, which was at Jerusalem; and they sent forth Barnabas, that he should go as far as Antioch," ver. 19—22. This step therefore was also approved and ratified by the whole church of Jerusalem, including the apostles.

And henceforward no objections could be made by wise men against preaching to Gentiles, and receiving them, but what arose from the difficulty of the work. Nevertheless some good while after this, there was a dispute raised at Antioch by some bigotted Jews, who asserted it to be necessary, that the Gentile believers "should be circumcised after the manner of Moses." This occasioned the council of Jerusalem; where the controversy was fully determined by the apostles and elders: which was a great advantage. By this means the manner of receiving Gentiles was fixed, and settled beyond dispute, and beyond opposition: or, if any should be made afterwards, it could not be successful, nor very troublesome. And we may be assured, that all the apostles, and their disciples, would be harmonious, and preach the same doctrine to Jews and Gentiles, wheresoever they went.

5. *There was a necessity of the apostles staying in Judea, till about this time. Otherwise, they could not have sufficiently testified the doctrine concerning Jesus in Judea, nor have fully taught the Jewish people, so as to render them inexcusable, if they did not believe, and repent.*

If we consider the state of things in Judea, we may discern, that in the year 44, the apostles had not had an opportunity to fulfil their ministry in that country. It must be evident to all from the history in the Acts, that for some while, soon after our Lord's ascension, the apostles were grievously harassed, and hardly used by the Jewish council or rulers: which was the more so, because of the weakness of Pilate's government, for some time before he was dismissed from the province. And afterwards, about the time of his removal, Stephen was stoned, and a great persecution began: which, as I apprehend, continued from the beginning of the year 36, to the beginning of the year 40, when the churches had rest: of which rest, undoubtedly the apostles made good use. St. Luke's words are: "Then had the churches rest throughout Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified, and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied," ch. ix. 31. After which follows an account of Peter's passing throughout all quarters, his going to Lydda, and there healing Æneas, then to Joppa, where he raised Tabitha: and from thence to Cæsarea, and there preaching to Cornelius, and his company: and of some other matters, reaching to ch. xi. 26. How long that rest, or peace and tranquillity continued, in all its fulness, we cannot say exactly: perhaps it lasted a year, or more. And it is not unlikely, that in that space of time other apostles, beside Peter, travelled in Judea, and the several parts of it, preaching the gospel, and confirming the disciples. But upon Herod Agrippa being made king of all Judea by Claudius in the year 41, that peace would be abated, if not interrupted. From the beginning of his reign, especially from his arrival in Judea, and during the remainder of it, the disciples must have been under many difficulties and discouragements, prince and people being of one mind. And toward the end of his reign he became an open and violent persecutor, till Divine Providence smote him, that he died. After his death Judea came to be in the hands of Roman procurators, Cuspius Fadus, Tiberius Alexander, Cumanus, Felix, Festus: when, probably, the disciples of Jesus had for several years together more liberty than they had had at any time since the resurrection of Jesus, excepting the interval of rest and tranquillity, before taken notice of. For those governors or procurators,

had no orders from the Roman emperor to persecute or disturb any Jews. And that those governors were not disposed to disturb the Christians, may be argued from the treatment given to Paul by Felix, and Festus, and the officers under them. Now therefore from the year 44, to the time of the council in 49, or 50, and afterwards, the apostles went on fulfilling their ministry. All of them, as I apprehend, stayed in Judea, till the time of the council: soon after which some did, probably, go abroad. However, several of them might stay there a good while longer, and not remove, till a little before the commencement of the Jewish war in 66.

6. We may now perceive the benefit of the early choice and call of Paul to be an apostle. Who having been several years employed and exercised in preaching to Jews in Judea, and out of it, was ready to preach to Gentiles likewise, as soon as a door was opened for applying to them at Antioch, and other places: as there was, after Peter had received Cornelius at Cæsarea: whilst it was not as yet fit for any of the twelve apostles to leave the land of Israel.

7. We now obtain some assistance for interpreting those expressions of Paul, Gal. ii. 7, 8, 9. "When they saw that the gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the gospel of the circumcision was committed unto Peter. For he that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me toward the Gentiles. And they gave unto me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship, that we should go unto the heathen, and they unto the circumcision." And Rom. xi. 13, "inasmuch as I am the apostle of the Gentiles, I magnify mine office." Those expressions cannot be intended to signify that Paul was apostle of the Gentiles only, and exclusive of the Jews: or that Peter, and the other of the twelve, were apostles of the circumcision only, exclusive of the Gentiles. For an apostle is a teacher or master of the whole world. They were appointed to be so by Christ: nor could their commission be limited by any compact among themselves. Our Lord's commission given to his twelve apostles, is in Matthew to this purpose: "Go ye therefore and teach all nations," ch. xxviii. 19, and in Luke xxiv. 46, 47, "he said to them, that repentance and forgiveness of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem." And Acts i. 8, "And ye shall be witnesses unto me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." And Mark xvi. 15, "And he said unto them, go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." And ver. 20. "And they went forth and preached every where." Of Paul, the Lord says in a vision to Ananias at Damascus: "He is a chosen vessel unto me, to bear my name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel." Acts ix. 5. And Paul says to king Agrippa: "I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision; but showed first unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coast of Judea, and then to the Gentiles, that they should repent, and turn to God." ch. xxvi. 19, 20. Moreover we know from the history of Paul's preaching recorded in the Acts, that he always first addressed himself to Jews, in all the places where he came, if there were any, and if they had there a synagogue.

It should be observed likewise, that Peter had actually preached to Gentiles in Judea, and was the first disciple of Jesus that did so. There is a particular account of it in the book of the Acts, ch. x. and xi. And himself takes notice of it in his speech at the council of Jerusalem. ch. xv. 7.

The reason therefore why the gospel of the circumcision is said to have been committed unto Peter, and the other apostles with him, is, that for a good while their ministry was solely, or however very much, and chiefly employed among Jews in Judea: though afterwards they preached very freely to Gentiles in several parts of the world. And Paul is called the apostle of the Gentiles, and the gospel of the uncircumcision is said to have been committed unto him, because he got the start of all the rest in preaching to Gentiles, and had laboured among them for a good while in divers countries with great success, and had formed many churches in divers places: whilst they were still in Judea teaching Jews, and had made no addresses to Gentiles abroad in other countries.

It may be also implied in what St. Paul says in the epistle to the Galatians, that [a] several of

[a] Alterum, quod ex dicto Pauli ad Galatas colligimus, illud est, Joannem etiam post discessum Pauli cum duobus collegis per aliquod temporis intervallum Hierosolymis, et in Judæâ substitisse. Gentium enim conversione Paulo et Barnabæ demandatâ, ipsi inter Judæos se operam porro locaturos declarant. Quæ etiam caussa est, cur Joannis et sociorum in Actis Apostolicis vix mentio occurrat, quia, postquam primordia ecclesiæ Christianæ inter Judæos memorata erant, nihil amplius videbatur addendum, nisi ut narraretur, quomodo primitiæ Gentium essent introductæ. Lamp. Proleg. in Jo. l. 1. cap. 3. sect. vii.

the first twelve apostles intended to stay still somewhat longer in Judea. This they were the more willing to do, being fully satisfied with the preaching of Paul in foreign countries: insomuch that they encouraged him to proceed as he had begun.

8. Once more, we may now be reconciled to the supposition of the late date of the gospels. For they were not to be published till the doctrine concerning Jesus had been preached in divers parts, and many converts had been made, to whom they would be useful, for whom they would be needful, by whom they would be received with joy, be highly valued, frequently read, and often copied. Written histories of Jesus could be little wanted by the Jewish believers in Judea, whilst all the apostles were still in that country, and there were also still living among them many sincere followers of Jesus, and eye-witnesses of his person and ministry. Very probably, therefore, there was no written gospel till after the council at Jerusalem.

Still there may be objections which should be stated and considered.

Obj. 1. It may be said: was not the progress of the gospel by this means much retarded? I answer: no. And this objection, methinks, should be of little moment now, after all that has been said of the many advantages of the apostles' stay in Judea.

However, some considerations shall be here added to what has been already said. Though the apostles did not leave Judea themselves, they encouraged those who did, who preached the gospel abroad, whether to Jews or Gentiles. Of this there is an instance with regard to the church of Antioch, related Acts xi. 19—22. And there may have been some other like instances. Moreover the apostles were very useful by their stay in Judea, as has been already shown. They made many converts among the Jews. During their stay in that country, if there was any measure of public liberty, for the believers, the apostles would all, or most of them, be at Jerusalem, at the great feasts, to which there was a general resort of Jews from all countries. Here the inquisitive of that people would have an opportunity of conversing with the apostles: and if they were convinced, and persuaded by them, they would carry the doctrine of the gospel into the places of their usual residence, and propagate it there.

Obj. 2. But, if the apostles had attempted to make a long stay in Judea, it seems that they must have been all destroyed. I answer, that doubtless they met with many and great difficulties. What they were from the time of our Lord's ascension to the year 44, was briefly rehearsed just now. After that, for several years, as I apprehend, their difficulties would not be so great as they had been. Yea, during that space would be the best opportunity that ever they had to promote the interests of the gospel, as I said before. For [a] the Jewish people had not the power of life and death in their own hands. And the Roman procurators were not disposed to give any men disturbance upon account of difference of opinion in religious matters. Finally, the apostles of Jesus Christ, we have reason to think, had an especial direction, and an especial protection. They, who were employed in teaching so important a doctrine, and were enabled to work miracles upon others for confirming it, may be reasonably supposed to have been the subjects of some wonderful interpositions of Providence. And it must be reckoned very probable, that affairs would be so over-ruled and influenced, as that these chosen men should be upheld and enabled to fulfil their ministry, and bear such a testimony to Jesus, as should be sufficient to lay a good foundation for the establishment of his church in the world, and leave all those of the Jewish people, who did not receive him as the Messiah, absolutely inexcusable.

[a] Contra persuasum habeo, hoc emblema supponere, ecclesiam jam longo admodum tempore fuisse afflictam. . . . ne jam dicam, non constare ex historiâ ecclesiæ, quinam illi sint Martyres, quorum sanguis, præter eum Stephani, et utriusque Jacobi, de quorum altero ex Lucâ, altero ex Josepho liquet et Hegesippo, a Judæis fusus fuerit. Judæi enim, excepto brevi intervallo regni Agrippæ, rerum suarum non erant domini: et, licet in Christianos pessime affecti fuerint, a præsidibus tamen Romanis prohibebantur pro lubitu in innocuos Jesu Christi discipulos sævire. Quæ enim junior Ananus tentavit in Jacobum fratrem Domini, et τινας ἑτερους, 'quosdam alios,' Christianæ professionis homines, ut constat ex Josepho, Festo mortuo, et Albino adhuc in itinere agente, peracta sunt. Campeg. Vitring. in Apoc. cap. vi. ver. 12. sect. xxx. p. 303.

CHAP. VII.

ST. MARK, EVANGELIST.

I *That the Evangelist is the same as John Mark, and Nephew to Barnabas.* II. *His History from the New Testament.* III. *From other Writers.* IV. *Testimonies to his Gospel, in ancient Writers.* V. *Remarks upon them.* VI. *The Time of writing his Gospel, according to these ancient Writers, and the Sentiments of learned Moderns.* VII. *Characters of Time in the Gospel itself.* VIII. *Observations upon this Gospel.*

I. It is generally, or even universally allowed, that Mark, mentioned 1 Pet. v. 13, is the evangelist. But it has been doubted, whether he be the same as John Mark mentioned in the Acts, and some of St. Paul's epistles; and it appears from our collections out of ancient authors, that there were doubts about this in the minds of some in former times.

Divers learned moderns are persuaded, that they are different persons. Of this number are [a] Cave, [who nevertheless thinks him [b] the same Mark, that is mentioned by St. Paul in his second epistle to Timothy], [c] Grotius, [d] Du Pin, and [e] Tillemont. Which last, in his Ecclesiastical Memoirs, makes two different articles for this name: one entitled St. Mark the evangelist, apostle of Egypt, and martyr: the other, St. John Mark, disciple and cousin of St. Barnabas. On the other hand they are reckoned one and the same by [f] Jer. Jones, [g] Lightfoot, and [h] Wetstein.

I shall now without delay consider the reasons of those, who think there are two Marks mentioned in the New Testament.

1. They say, that Mark the evangelist was converted and baptized by Peter, because he calls him his son. 1. Pet. v. 13. But there is no reason to suppose this of John Mark.

To which I answer. That needs not to be reckoned the constant meaning of the expression. It may denote only great affection and tenderness, and a respect to faithful services: in like manner as Paul says of Timothy, Philip. ii. 22, that "as a son with the father he had served with him in the gospel." Grotius [i] and Du Pin, [k] who mention this reason, seem not to have judged it conclusive. Moreover, if Mark was a convert of Peter, it does not follow, that he was not an early believer; for he might be one of that apostle's converts at his first preaching the gospel at Jerusalem. Mark the evangelist, upon that supposition, could not be one of the seventy: but he might be among the first believers, and the son of Mary. However, I choose not to insist upon this, but chiefly upon what was before mentioned: that the appellation, my son, needs not to be understood rigorously as meaning a convert begotten to the faith of the gospel.

2. It is said, that [l] Mark, the companion of Paul, was called John: but the evangelist is never so called by the ancients, who mention him.

[a] S. Marcus Evangelista, quem cum Joanne Marco, de quo Act. xii. 12, male nonnulli confundunt. H. L. T. i. p. 24.

[b] Cum enim illum epistolâ secundâ ad Timotheum—Romam accersiverat Paulus.—Id. ib.

[c] Gr. Pr. in Marc.

[d] Diss. Prelim. l. 2. ch. ii. sect. iv.

[e] Mem. Ec. Tom. ii.

[f] New and full Method, vol. iii. ch. vi. p. 65—70.

[g] Lightfoot is making observations upon the first epistle of St. Peter. 'He sends this epistle, says he, by Silvanus, Paul's old attendant, but now with Peter. . . . His naming of Mark with him calls our thoughts back to what has been mentioned of Mark heretofore: his being with Paul at Rome, and his coming from him into the east. To suppose two Marks, one with Peter, and another with Paul, is to breed confusion where there needeth not. . . . It is easily seen how John Mark came into familiarity with Paul and Peter. And other Mark we can find none in the New Testament, unless of our own invention. . . . He it was that wrote the gospel.' Lightfoot Harm. of the N. T. vol. i. p. 336.

[h] Nihil vetat, quo minus simpliciter cum Victore et Theophylacto hunc eumdem Marcum intelligamus, quoties illius nomen in Actis et Epistolis reperimus. Wetst. Pr. in Marc. tom. i. p. 551.

[i] Adde quod Joannes Marcus inter primos Christianos: Marcus hic ut videtur, Petri operâ conversus. 1 Pet. v. 13. Nam tales peculiariter 'filios suos' Apostoli vocabant. 1 Cor. iv. 15. Gal. iv. 19. Gr. in Pr. Marc.

[k] Il y a plus d'apparence, qu'il a reçu l'évangile de S. Pierre, qui l'appelle fils, peutêtre parcequ'il l'avoit engendré en J. C. Diss. Prel. l. 2. ch. 2. sect. iv.

[l] Joannes quoque ille, Mariæ filius, Barnabæ consanguineus, . . . Marcus vocabatur: quem multi hunc nostrum scriptorem putant. Quibus quo minus assentiar, moveor veterum auc-

To which I answer. It is true, that Paul's companion is sometimes called John, as Acts xiii. 5, and 13. But we are also informed that he was surnamed Mark. So Acts xii. 2. "And when he had considered the thing, he came to the house of Mary, the mother of John, whose surname was Mark." And ver. 25...." and took with them John, whose surname was Mark." And he is several times mentioned by the surname, Mark only. Acts xv. 39. 2 Tim. iv. 11. Col. iv. 10. Philem. ver. 24. Secondly, such of the ancients, as supposed Mark, the evangelist, to have been the same with him mentioned in the Acts, must also have supposed that he was called John as well as Mark, though they have generally mentioned him by his surname.

3. It is said that [a] John Mark was much with Paul, Mark the evangelist, with Peter: so say the ancients in general.

I answer: it is not at all impossible but that Mark might be sometimes with Paul, at other times with Peter; as may appear by and by.

As these reasons therefore do not appear to me conclusive, I rather think that there is but one Mark in the New Testament, John Mark, the evangelist, and fellow-labourer of Paul, and Barnabas, and Peter.

II. I now proceed to write the history of John Mark from the New Testament, mentioning, as they offer, some observations, showing his acquaintance with Peter as well as with Paul: after which I shall take notice of some other things said of him by the ancients.

He was the son of Mary, a pious woman at Jerusalem, and an early believer, at whose house the disciples used to meet, and that in troublesome and difficult times, as well as at other seasons. Peter after having been delivered out of prison by an angel, "came to the house of Mary, mother of John, whose surname was Mark, where many were gathered together praying," Acts xii. 12. So that the very first mention of John Mark assures us of Peter's intimacy in that family.

That deliverance of St. Peter happened in the year 44, about the same time that Paul and Barnabas came to Jerusalem from Antioch with contributions for the relief of the brethren in Judea, in the time of a famine, or scarcity. And it is said at the end of that chapter: "And Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem, when they had fulfilled their ministry, and took with them John, whose surname was Mark." This, with some other things to be hereafter mentioned, may dispose us to think that this John Mark is the same who in Col. iv. 10, is called "sister's son to Barnabas."

Mark therefore went now from Jerusalem to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas: and, when some short time afterwards they went abroad to other countries, Mark accompanied them as their minister. Acts xiii. 5. They went to Cyprus, and preached the word in that country. But when they returned to the continent, and came on shore "at Perga in Pamphylia, he departed from them, and returned to Jerusalem," ver. 13. He therefore did not attend them in their farther progress to Antioch in Pisidia, Iconium, and other places, but went to Jerusalem.

And now, very probably, he conversed again with Peter and the other apostles, and was present with them at their discourses and their devotions. For, as I apprehend, all the apostles were still in Judea, except James the son of Zebedee, who had been beheaded by Herod Agrippa, in the beginning of the year 44.

Paul and Barnabas having finished their progress, returned to Antioch, and there abode. Whilst they were there, debates arose about circumcising Gentile converts; which determined Paul and Barnabas to go to Jerusalem. That controversy being decided, they returned to Antioch.

Some time afterwards "Paul said unto Barnabas: let us go again and visit our brethren in every city where we have preached the word, and see how they do. And Barnabas determined to take with them John, whose surname was Mark. But Paul thought it not good to take him with them, who had departed from them from Pamphylia, and went not with them to the work." Barnabas, however, persisted in his resolution, and went with Mark to Cyprus: and Paul chose Silas to accompany him. Acts xv. 36—41.

toritate, qui hunc scriptorem Joannem nunquam, Marcum semper vocant. . . . Grot. Pr. in Marc.

L' Evangeliste n'est appellé nulle part du nom de Jean, qui étoit le nom propre de celui-ci. Du Pin ubi supra.

[a] Et ita Petro addunt [Veteres] comitem, ac discipulum, ut non tantum de Barnabâ, sed et de Paulo, quem Joannes Marcus post illud frigusculum sectatus est. . . . nihil memine-rint. Grot. ibid.

Il étoit disciple de S. Pierre, et attaché à lui, dans le tems que l' autre étoit avec S. Paul, et S. Barnabe. Du Pin. Ibid.

Hereby we perceive the good temper of Mark. He was now at Antioch, and was willing to attend Paul and Barnabas in their journies, and actually went with Barnabas to Cyprus. And though Paul would not now accept of his attendance, he was afterwards fully reconciled to him. Mark is mentioned in several of his epistles sent from Rome, during his confinement there. I suppose, I shall hereafter show, that St. Paul's second epistle to Timothy was written in the summer of the year 61, not long after Paul's arrival at Rome. In that epistle he writes to Timothy, to come to him; and he desires him to bring Mark with him. 2 Tim. iv. 11. "Take Mark, and bring him with thee: for he is profitable to me for the ministry." Where Mark then was, does not clearly appear. It is probable, that he was either at Ephesus, or at some other place, where Timothy would find him in his journey from Ephesus to Rome: and unquestionably Mark did come with Timothy. He is mentioned in two of the epistles written by the apostle at Rome. Philem. ver. 24. and Col. iv. 10. "Aristarchus salutes you, and Mark, sister's son to Barnabas, touching whom ye received commandments; if he come unto you, receive him." Mark is not mentioned in the epistle to the Philippians. Perhaps he was not acquainted there, or upon some occasion was absent from the apostle, when that epistle was written: or rather, he is comprehended in those general expressions. ch, iv. 21. "The brethren that are with me, greet you." For in the epistle to the Philippians St. Paul does not mention his fellow-labourers by name as he does in the epistles to the Colossians, and to Philemon. Nor is he mentioned in the epistle to the Ephesians. To those who admit the true date of that epistle the reason will be obvious: it was written and sent away, before Mark came to be with St. Paul at Rome.

This is all we can say concerning St. Mark from the New Testament. But from that we can collect his excellent character, and may conclude, that after this time he no longer attended on Paul. It is not improbable, that going now into Asia, he there met with St. Peter, and accompanied him, till that apostle came to Rome, where he suffered martyrdom: where likewise Mark wrote, and published the gospel that goes by his name.

III. We will now inquire, whether there is any thing in other writers to illustrate the history of this evangelist.

Cave says, without hesitation, that[a] Mark was a Levite; but he does not say upon what authority. I do not remember that it is in any of the writers of which I have given a particular account, excepting[b] Bede. It is also in a commentary upon St. Mark's gospel, usually joined with Jerom's works, though[c] allowed not to be his. That writer says, that[d] Mark was a Levite and a priest. It is not unlikely that this was inferred from Mark's relation to Barnabas, who was a Levite of Cyprus. Comp. Acts iv. 36. and Col. iv. 10. But then Cave should not have denied, as he does in the same place, that Mark the evangelist is the same as John Mark mentioned in the Acts: for that, as I apprehend, is to remove out of the way the sole ground of this opinion.

By Eusebius we are informed, it[e] was said, that Mark going into Egypt, first preached there the gospel, which he had written, and planted there many churches. And afterwards in another chapter, he says, that[f] in the eighth year of Nero, Anianus, the first bishop of Alexandria after Mark, the apostle and evangelist, took upon him the care of that church. Of which Anianus he gives a great character, as beloved of God, and a wonderful man.

Epiphanius says, that soon after Matthew, Mark, companion of Peter, composed his gospel at Rome. And having[g] written it, he was sent by Peter into the country of the Egyptians.

Jerom, in his article of St. Mark, as[h] before quoted, after other things, says: 'Taking' the

[a] S. Marcus, Evangelista, quem cum Joanne Marco, de quo Act. xii. 12. male nonnulli confundunt, erat Levites. H. L. T. I. p. 24.

[b] Tradunt autem hunc, natione Israëliticâ, et sacerdotali ortum prosapiâ, ac post passionem ac resurrectionem Domini Salvatoris, ad prædicationem Apostolorum evangelicâ fide a sacramentis imbutum, atque ex eorum fuisse numero, de quibus scribit Lucas; quia multa etiam turba sacerdotum obediebat fidei. Bed. Prol. in Marc.

[c] Vid. Benedictin. Monitum, et Petav. Animadv. ad Epiph. H. 21. num. vi. p. 88.

[d] Marcus, Evangelista Dei, Petri discipulus, Leviticus genere, et sacerdos, in Italiâ hoc scripsit evangelium. Præf. in Marc. ap. Hierom. T. V. p. 886.

[e] Τουτον δε Μαρκον πρωτον φασιν επι της Αιγυπτου σταλαμενον, το ευαγγελιον ὁ δη και συνεγραψατο κηρυξαι, εκκλησιας τε πρωτον επ' αυτης Αλεξανδρειας συστησασθαι. κ. λ. H. E. l. 2. cap. 16.

[f] . . . πρωτος μετα Μαρκον τον αποστολον και ευαγγελιστην, της εν Αλεξανδρεια παροικιας, Ανιανος την λειτουργιαν διαδεχεται· ανηρ θεοφιλης ων, και τα παντα θαυμασιος. Ib. cap. 24.

[g] . . . και γραψας αποστελλεται υπο τε αγιου Πετρου εις την των Αιγυπτιων χωραν. H. 51. num. vi.

[h] Vol. ii. p. 552.

[i] Assumpto itaque Evangelio, quod ipse confecerat, perrexit ad Ægyptum, et primus Alexandriæ Christum annuntians constituit ecclesiam . . Denique Philo. . . videns Alexandriæ primam ecclesiam adhuc judaïzantem, quasi in laudem gentis suæ, librum super eorum conversatione conscripsit. De V. L. cap. 8.

'gospel, which himself had composed, he went to Egypt, and at Alexandria founded a church of 'great note...He died in the eighth year of Nero, and was buried at Alexandria, where he was 'succeeded, as bishop, by Anianus.'

From all these accounts, I think, it must appear to be probable, that if indeed Mark preached at all in Egypt, and founded a church at Alexandria; it must have been after he had written his gospel, and after the death of Peter and Paul at Rome. Nevertheless, when presently afterwards Eusebius, and Jerom likewise, speak of Mark's converts, and Philo's Therapeuts, as all one, they seem to have imagined, that Mark had very early preached in Egypt. But what they say upon that head is exceedingly strange and unaccountable. For they both suppose, that Mark had written his gospel at Rome, before he went into Egypt: and that his gospel was not written before the reign of Nero. If therefore Mark went at all to Alexandria, it was later, in the same reign: and Philo's Therapeuts could not be Christians, nor Mark's converts: but were a sort of people, who had a being, and had formed their institution, before the gospel could be published in Egypt, and before the rise of the christian religion.

By Baronius[a] and many others, it is said, that St. Mark, died a Martyr. This is admitted by[b] Cave, and the[c] late Mr. Wetstein: but it is disputed by[d] S. Basnage; and as seems to me, with good reason. For St. Mark is not spoken of as a Martyr by Eusebius, or other more ancient writers: and Jerom, as before quoted, says, St. Mark died in the eighth year of Nero, and was buried at Alexandria. He does not say, that he was crowned with martyrdom: as he would have done, if he had known of it: and his expressions seem to imply a natural death, Fabricius[e] in his account of St. Mark, says nothing of his having been a martyr.

IV. Having thus written the history of St. Mark, I shall now recollect the testimonies to his gospel, which we have seen in ancient writers, particularly, with a view of ascertaining the time of it: observing likewise whatever may farther lead us into the knowledge of his station and character, and whether he was one of Christ's seventy disciples or not.

The first writer to be here taken notice of is Papias, about A. D. 116. He says, 'That[f] the 'elder, from whom he had divers informations, said, Mark, being the interpreter of Peter, wrote 'what he remembered: but not in the order in which things were spoken and done by Christ. 'For he was not a hearer of the Lord, but afterwards followed Peter.'

Irenæus, as before[g] cited, about 178, says: 'After the death of Peter and Paul, Mark, the 'disciple and interpreter of Peter, delivered to us in writing the things that had been preached 'by Peter.' In another place[h] he calls Mark 'the interpreter and follower of Peter.'

Clement, of Alexandria, about the year of Christ 194, says: 'That[i] Peter's hearers at Rome, 'not content with a single hearing, nor with an unwritten instruction in the divine doctrine, 'entreated Mark, the follower of Peter, that he would leave with them in writing a memorial of 'the doctrine, which had been delivered to them by word of mouth: nor did they desist, until 'they had prevailed with him. Thus they were the means of writing the gospel, which is called 'according to Mark. It is said, that when the apostle knew what had been done, he was pleased 'with the zeal of the men, and authorised that scripture to be read in the churches.' That passage is cited from Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History.

Again, Eusebius says: 'Clement[k] informs us, that the occasion of writing the gospel accord-'ing to Mark was this. Peter, having publicly preached the word at Rome, and having spoken 'the gospel by the Spirit, many who were there, entreated Mark to write the things that had 'been spoken, he having long accompanied Peter, and retaining what he had said: and that 'when he had composed the gospel, he delivered it to them, who had asked it of him: which 'when Peter knew, he neither forbade it, nor encouraged it.'

Many remarks were formerly made upon these accounts of Clement, which cannot now be repeated. But it may be needful to say something here for reconciling Irenæus and him. Irenæus said, that Mark published his gospel after the death of Peter and Paul: whereas Clement supposes Peter to have been still living, and that this gospel was shown to Peter, who did not

[a] An. 64. sect. i. ii.

[b] Alexandriæ primus episcopus factus martyrium ibi subiit; quo vero anno, mihi hactenus incompertum. H. L. p. 24.

[c] Tandem vero in Ægyptum concessisse, atque Alexandriæ sanguine suo doctrinam Christi confirmâsse, historia ecclesiastica testatur. J. J. Wetsten. N. T. tom. I. p. 551.

[d] Ann. 66. num. xix. xx.

[e] Vid. Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. v. n. iii. tom. III. p. 130—132.

[f] Vol. i. p. 337. [g] P. 365.

[h] P. 366. [i] P. 394. [k] P. 394, 395.

[l] P. 330. 340. 395. 399.

disapprove of it; but the difference is not great. Clement says, that Mark's gospel was written at Rome at the request of the Christians there, who were hearers of Peter. If so, it could not be composed long before Peter's death. For I take it to be certain, that Peter did not come to Rome, until the reign of Nero was far advanced, nor very long before his own death. So that it may be reckoned not improbable, that Mark's gospel was not published, or did not become generally known, till after the death of Peter and Paul, as Irenæus says.

Tertullian, about the year 200, speaks of Mark as[a] an apostolical man, or companion of apostles: and says, 'That[b] the gospel, published by Mark, may be reckoned Peter's, whose interpreter he was.'

Says Origen, about 230. 'The[c] second gospel is that according to Mark, who wrote it as 'Peter dictated it to him: who therefore calls him his son in his catholic epistle.' See 1 Peter v. 13.

Eusebius, about 315, may be supposed to agree in the main with Clement and Irenæus, whose passages he has transcribed, and inserted in his Ecclesiastical History. And in a long passage of his evangelical demonstration, formerly transcribed[d] by us, he says: 'Peter out of 'abundance of modesty thought not himself worthy to write a gospel. But Mark, who was his 'friend and disciple, is said to have recorded Peter's relations of the acts of Jesus.' At the end of which passage he says: 'And[e] Peter testifies these things of himself: for all things in Mark 'are said to be memoirs of Peter's discourses.' He likewise says, 'that[f] Mark was not present 'to hear what Jesus said.' Nor[g] does it appear, that he thought the writer of the gospel to be John, surnamed Mark, nephew to Barnabas. But unquestionably he supposed him to be the same that is mentioned 1 Pet. v. 13.

Mark is mentioned among the other evangelists by[h] Athanasius, without other particularities. But in the Synopsis, ascribed to him, and by many supposed to be written by another Athanasius bishop of Alexandria, near the end of the fifth century, it is said, 'That[i] the gospel according to 'Mark was dictated by Peter at Rome, and published by Mark, and preached by him in 'Alexandria, and Egypt, and Pentapolis, and Lybia.'

The author of the Dialogue against the Marcionites, about 330, says, that[k] *Mark* was one of Christ's seventy disciples.

Epiphanius, about 368, says: 'Matthew[l] wrote first, and Mark soon after him, being a 'companion of Peter at Rome.' Afterwards he says, 'That[m] Mark was one of Christ's seventy 'disciples, and likewise one of those who were offended at the words of Christ, recorded John 'vi. 44, and then forsook him: but he was afterwards recovered by Peter, and being filled with 'the spirit wrote a gospel.'

Upon the last passage of Epiphanius, Petavius says: 'Mark[n] might, possibly, have seen 'Christ, and have been one of the seventy: but it is said by very few ancient writers of the 'church.'

In the Constitutions, Mark[o] is reckoned with Luke a fellow-labourer with Paul: which may induce us to think, that the author supposed Mark the evangelist to be John Mark, mentioned in the Acts, and some of St. Paul's epistles.

Gregory Nazianzen says, 'that[p] Mark wrote his gospel for the Italians,' or in Italy.

Ebedjesu says, 'the[q] second evangelist is Mark, who preached [or wrote] in Latin, in the famous city of Rome.'

Jerom's article of this evangelist, in his book of illustrious men, is to this purpose: 'Mark,[r] 'disciple and interpreter of Peter, at the desire of the brethren, at Rome, wrote a short gospel, 'according to what he had heard related by Peter: which when Peter knew, he approved of it, 'and authorized it to be read in the churches: as Clement writes in the sixth book of his Insti- 'tutions, and also Papias, bishop of Hierapolis. Peter also makes mention of this Mark in his 'epistle written at Rome, which he figuratively calls Babylon....Taking the gospel which himself 'had composed, he went to Egypt, and at Alexandria founded a church of great note....He

[a] Vol. i. p. 419—421. [b] P. 420.
[c] P. 532. [d] Vol. ii. p. 367, 368.
[e] P. 368. [f] P. 367.
[g] P. 380. [h] P. 400.
[i] P. 405. [k] P. 406.
[l] P. 418. [m] Ibid.
[n] Dissentit Papias apud Eusebium... Quod autem asserunt nonnulli, Marcum non vidisse Dominum, viderit necne, non affirmo. Videre quidem potuisse, temporum ipsa ratio persuadet. Neque vero damnanda est Epiphanii sententia, dum illum e LXXII discipulorum numero fuisse tradit, etsi contrarium alii patres tradant. Petav. ad loc. Animadv. p. 88.
[o] Vol. ii. p. 438. [p] P. 470.
[q] P. 488. [r] P. 551, 552.

'died in the eighth year of Nero, and was buried at Alexandria; where he was succeeded as 'bishop by Anianus.'

In the prologue to his commentary upon St. Matthew, Jerom says: 'The [a] second evangelist 'is Mark, interpreter of the apostle Peter, and the first bishop of Alexandria: who never saw 'the Lord himself, but related things as he had them from his master very truly, but not exactly 'in the order in which they were done.'

In his commentary upon Philem. ver. 24, he says, 'He [b] thinks that Mark there mentioned 'is the writer of the gospel.' That Mark may be well supposed to be John Mark, mentioned in the Acts, and in Col. iv. 10, where he is styled nephew to Barnabas. Whether that Mark was the evangelist was doubted of by some; nor was Jerom positive: but he was inclined to think him the same.

Augustine [c] calls Mark and Luke disciples of apostles; and says, that [d] Mark follows Matthew as his abridger: upon which some remarks were [e] made.

By Chrysostom [f] Mark is said to have written his gospel in Egypt, at the request of the believers there. However, at the end of that passage he says: 'In [g] what place each one of the evangelists wrote, cannot be said with certainty.' He likewise [h] calls Mark disciple of Peter, and Peter his master. He must have supposed him the same that is mentioned 1 Peter v. 13. But I do not recollect him to have any where said that he was the same as John Mark.

Victor, writer of a commentary upon St. Mark's gospel, about the year 401, says: 'He [i] 'was also called John: that he wrote a gospel after Matthew, and was the son of Mary, men- 'tioned Acts xii. For a while he accompanied Paul, and his relation Barnabas: but when he 'came to Rome, he joined Peter, and accompanied him. For which reason he is mentioned '1 Pet. v. 13. Mark is also mentioned by Paul, Col. iv. 10. 2 Tim. iv. 11....When he was obliged 'to go from Rome, and was earnestly desired by the believers there to write a history of the 'preaching of the heavenly doctrine, he readily complied. This, as he adds, is said to have been 'the occasion of writing the gospel according to Mark.'

Cosmas of Alexandria, about 535, says: 'Mark, [k] the second evangelist, wrote a gospel at 'Rome, by the direction of Peter.'

By Isidore of Seville, about 596, Mark [l] is said to have written his gospel in Italy. Afterwards he seems to say, it [m] was written at Alexandria: but perhaps no more is meant than that Mark preached at Alexandria the gospel which he had written.

Œcumenius, about 950, upon Acts xiii. 13, says: 'This [n] John who is also called Mark, 'nephew to Barnabas, wrote the gospel according to him, and was also disciple of Peter, of 'whom he says in his first epistle, Mark, my son, saluteth you.'

Theophylact flourished about 1070. His preface to St. Mark is to this purpose: 'The [o] 'gospel according to Mark was written at Rome ten years after Christ's ascension, at the 'request of the believers there. For this Mark was a disciple of Peter, whom he calls his son 'spiritually. His name was John. He was nephew to Barnabas, and was also a companion 'of Paul.'

Euthymius, about 1110, says: 'The [p] gospel of Mark was written about ten years after our 'Lord's ascension, at Rome, as some say, or in Egypt, according to others.' He says, 'that at 'first Mark was much with his uncle Barnabas, and Paul. Afterwards he was with Peter at 'Rome, as the first epistle of the apostle shows, whom he there calls his son: from whom also 'he received the whole history of the gospel.'

Nicephorus Callisti, about 1325, says: 'Two [q] only of the twelve, Matthew and John, have 'left memoirs of our Lord's life on earth: and two of the seventy, Mark and Luke.' And somewhat lower: 'After this Mark and Luke, published their gospels by the direction of Peter 'and Paul.'

I add here one author more, not particularly mentioned in the preceding part of this work, Eutychius, patriarch of Alexandria, in the tenth century: who says, 'that [r] in the time of the

[a] Vol. ii. p. 550.
[b] P. 552.
[c] P. 583.
[d] Ibid.
[e] P. 564.
[f] P. 602.
[g] Ibid.
[h] P. 603.
[i] P. 626.
[k] This Vol. p. 51.
[l] P. 74.
[m] P. 76.
[n] P. 84.
[o] P. 86.
[p] P. 89.
[q] P. 91.
[r] Et tempore Neronis Cæsaris scripsit Petrus, Apostolorum princeps, Evangelium Marci, dictante Marco, linguâ Romanâ, in urbe Romæ; sed attribuit illud Marco. Eutych. Ann. p. 335. Conf. ejusd. Origines. p. 35.

'emperor Nero, Peter, the prince of the apostles, making use of the pen of Mark, wrote a 'gospel at Rome, in the Roman language; and he published it under Mark's name.' By the Roman, probably, meaning the Greek language, which then very much prevailed in the Roman empire, as [a] Selden has observed.

V. Let us now briefly recollect what has passed before us, in several articles.

1. All the ancient writers in general suppose, the evangelist Mark to have been a companion of Peter in the latter part of his life, and to have had great advantages from that apostle's preaching, for composing a gospel.

2. Though some have doubted, who Mark was, many have been of opinion, that he was John Mark, son of Mary, a pious Jewish woman, and an early believer, of Jerusalem, and nephew to Barnabas.

3. If Mark the evangelist be John Mark, as seems to me very probable, he was well acquainted with Barnabas and Paul, and other apostles, and disciples, eye-witnesses of Jesus, beside Peter.

4. Some of the ancient writers, quoted by us, thought Mark to have been one of Christ's seventy disciples: which, I apprehend, cannot be either affirmed, or denied with certainty. But, if he was not one of them, he was an early believer, and an early disciple and companion of apostles, and intimately conversant with them: whereby, and by hearing Peter preach in Judea, and other places, and lastly at Rome, he was well qualified to write a gospel.

S. Basnage has some observations upon this point, which deserve to be taken notice of. 'Epiphanius [b] and the author of the Dialogue against the Marcionites, suppose Mark to have 'been one of Christ's seventy disciples. But that opinion, says he, does not appear to me well 'grounded. It seems incredible, that Peter should call Mark his son, if he was one of the seventy, 'who had a commission from Christ himself, and were almost equal to apostles. That ancient 'writer, Papias, excludes him from that number, saying, that Mark was not a hearer or follower 'of the Lord.....And Tertullian calls Mark Peter's interpreter, which office would be below 'the character of one of the seventy.....Nor does Origen make him one of the seventy, whose 'authority must be of great weight.....However, it seems to me very probable, that Mark was 'one of the five hundred brethren, who saw Christ after his resurrection: and having been an 'eye-witness of that, he was qualified to write a gospel.'

Upon which I observe: the supposition, that Mark might be one of the five hundred, spoken of by St. Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 6, is a mere conjecture, without any authority, either in scripture, or antiquity. But I would add a thought or two for strengthening the argument, that Mark was not one of the seventy disciples. Eusebius [c] in his Ecclesiastical History, has a chapter concerning the disciples of our Saviour; but Mark is not there named as one of them: nor does Jerom say any thing of it in his book of Illustrious Men; nor elsewhere, that I remember. The silence of Origen, Eusebius, and Jerom, upon this head, must amount to an argument of no small weight, that there was not in their times any prevailing tradition, that Mark was one of the seventy. It may be also reckoned an argument, that he was not of that number, in that he has not in his gospel taken any notice of them, or of the commission given to them: which is in St. Luke only, ch. x. 1—17.

I therefore conclude with saying, that Mark was an early believer, and an early disciple and fellow-labourer of apostles. But that he ever saw, or heard the Lord Jesus is not certain.

5. The general account of the above-named writer is, that Mark wrote his gospel at Rome. In this there is a remarkable agreement, with a very few exceptions. Chrysostom indeed speaks of its being written in Egypt; but he is almost singular. That it was written at Rome, or in Italy, is said not only by Epiphanius, Jerom, Gregory Nazianzen, Victor, and divers others; but the Egyptian writers likewise all along say the same thing: that it was written by Mark at Rome, in the company of the apostle Peter. So say Clement of Alexandria, Athanasius, the supposed

[a] Vid. Selden in Eutych. Origin. not. 28. p. 152.

[b] Marcum de LXX discipulis unum fuisse, credidit Epiphanius.... Nobis tamen non arridet ea sententia; cum incredibile sit, Petrum Marco filii nomen addidisse, si de septuaginta discipulis unus fuisset, quos Christus ipse legaverat, quique ab omni fere parte æquales erant Apostolis. Papias quoque, vetustus ille auctor, LXX discipulis Marcum eximit .... Ex Tertulliano quoque scimus, Marcum interpretis officio functum fuisse, quod infra LXX dignitatem fuit.... Neque LXX discipulis eum apposuit Origenes, cujus non minimi ponderis est testimonium.... Nobis tamen est admodum probabile, Marcum unum fuisse quingentorum fratrum, qui Christum a morte revocatum contemplati sunt; cuique, ut testi oculato, commissa est scribendi evangelii provincia. Basn. Ann. 66. num. xvii.

[c] H. E. l. 1. cap. xii.

author of the Synopsis of scripture, Cosmas, and Eutychius, all of Alexandria. Ebedjesu likewise, in his catalogue of Syrian writings, says, that Mark wrote at Rome. And the Latin author of the commentary upon St. Mark's gospel, quoted some while ago, says, that it was written in Italy.

6. This leads us to think, that St. Mark's gospel was not written before the year 63, or 64. For we cannot perceive any good reason to think, that St. Peter was at Rome, till about that time. And this date is supported by the testimony of that ancient writer Irenæus, that Mark published his gospel after the decease of Peter and Paul.

VI. These are observations which the above cited testimonies seem naturally to afford. But before we proceed any farther, it will be fit for us to take notice of the sentiments of learned moderns concerning the time of St. Mark's writing his gospel.

Cave supposes St. Mark to have published his gospel at Rome, in the year of Christ 65. His argument for it I place [a] below.

Mr. Jones's opinion was, that [b] this gospel was published between the year 64 and 67, or 68: when, according to his computation, Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom.

J. A. Fabricius [c] was for the year of Christ 63, the ninth of Nero.

Mill says, that [d] St. Mark published his gospel at Rome, in the year of Christ 63, after that the apostles Peter and Paul had been gone from thence, as Irenæus says.

But here I beg leave to observe, that, probably, Irenæus does not speak of these two apostles' removal from Rome, but of their decease. Secondly, Dr. Mill has no reason to suppose that Peter was at Rome during the time of Paul's two years' imprisonment there, especially at the period of it; but there is a great deal of reason to think otherwise: for we have several epistles of St. Paul, written near the end of that confinement, in which no notice is taken of Peter.

Basnage [e] closely following Irenæus, says, Mark's gospel was published in the year 66, after the decease of Peter and Paul: whose martyrdoms, according to him, happened in [f] the year 65.

So that it has been of late the opinion of many learned men of the best judgment in these matters, that St. Mark's gospel was not published till after the year of Christ 60. I readily assent to them so far. And as I am disposed to place the martyrdoms of these two great apostles at Rome, in the latter part of the year 64, or in 65, it seems to me probable, that St. Mark's gospel was composed in the year 64, or 65, and made public by him the first fair opportunity, soon afterwards, before the end of the year 65. That I mention as the latest date. I do not presume to say the time exactly; for it might be finished and published in the year 64.

I hoped to have had assistance from Mr. Wetstein in this disquisition, but have been somewhat disappointed. In his preface to St. Mark's gospel he concludes from Col. iv. 10, and Philem. ver. 24, that [g] St. Mark had been with the apostle Paul at Rome, in the time of his confinement there: that from thence he went to Colosse, and afterwards returned to Rome, where he is said to have written his gospel. Accordingly, as one would think, St. Mark's gospel could not be published before the year 64, or 65. But in his preface to St. Luke's gospel the same learned writer expresseth himself to this purpose: 'According [h] to some ecclesiastical writers 'Luke published his gospel fifteen, according to others two and twenty years after Christ's

[a] Rogatus Romæ a fratribus, scripsit evangelium, a Petro approbatum, idque Græco sermone Romanis satis familiari. Factum id circa ann. 65, Petro et Paulo jam morte sublatis. Cum enim illum epistolâ secundâ ad Timotheum, non longe ante martyrium scriptâ, Romam accersiverat Paulus probabile est, Marcum vel eodem, vel saltem sequenti anno illuc venisse, ibique evangelium vel primum condidisse, vel prius conditum in publicum edidisse. Certe Irenæus, l. 3. cap. i. et apud Eusebium, l. 5. c. viii. S. Marcum μετα την τουτων εξοδον evangelium suum conscripsisse diserte tradit. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 24.

[b] Mr. Jones's words are these: 'These with some other 'reasons, make it evident to me, that St. Peter was not at 'Rome, till the year of Christ 63 or 64, and consequently, 'that the gospel of St. Mark was not written before this 'time, but between that and the martyrdom of this apostle 'and St. Paul, in the year of Christ 67 or 68.' New and full Method, vol. iii. p. 88.

[c] Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. v. tom. iii. p. 124 et 131.

[d] Post Pauli ac Petri εξοδον, seu discessum ab urbe Româ . . . . " Marcus, discipulus et interpres Petri, et ipse, quæ a Petro annuntiata erant, perscripta nobis tradidit.' Inquit Irenæus . . Scripsit igitur Marcus Evangelium, juxta Irenæum, paullo post horum duorum Apostolorum discessum a Româ, qui accidisse videtur anno æræ vulgaris lxiii. Mill. Proleg. num. 101.

[e] De Marci Evangelio legimus apud Irenæum. . . . ' Post vero horum excessum'. . . . Quæ traditio magis apud nos valet, quam alia quælibet de tempore editi a Marco Evangelii chronologia. Basn. ann. 66. n. xii.

[f] Vid. ann. 65. num. ix.

[g] Inde Romam venit, Paulumque captivum invisit. Col. iv. 10. Philem. 24. Inde ad Colossenses, abiit, a quibus rogatu Pauli Romam rediit. 2 Tim. iv. 11. ubi evangelium conscripsisse. . . . dicitur. Wetsten. N. T. tom. i. p. 551.

[h] Evangelium autem edidit xv. aut secundum alios xxii. post Christi adscensionem annis. . . . Lucam multa ex Matthæo, ex Marco plura descripsisse, ex collatione patet. Ib. p. 643.

'ascension.....That he transcribed many things from Matthew, and yet more from Mark, is 'manifest.'

But if St. Luke wrote within two and twenty years after Christ's ascension, and transcribed a great deal from St. Mark; St. Mark's gospel must have been first published, and very early. If St. Mark's gospel was not published till the year 64, and St. Luke transcribed from him; St. Luke could not write till a good while after two and twenty years from Christ's ascension. I do not perceive therefore that Mr. Wetstein had any determined opinion concerning the date of these two gospels. Nor can I, as yet, persuade myself, that any of the evangelists transcribed each other.

VII. I will now observe some characters of time in the gospel itself, like those before taken notice of in St. Matthew.

1. From chap. vii. 14—23, it appears, that St. Mark fully understood the spirituality of the doctrine of Christ, recommending righteousness and true holiness, without an obligation to Jewish ritual ordinances and appointments.

2. His history of the Greek or Gentile woman, in the same chap. vii. 24—30, who besought Jesus to heal her daughter, and obtained her request, deserves notice here.

3. The call of the Gentiles, and the rejection of the Jews, as a people, are intimated in ch. xii. 1—12, in the parable there recorded of the householder, who planted a vineyard, and let it out to husbandmen: to whom after a while he sent servants, and then his son, to receive from them the fruit of the vineyard. But they abused the servants, and killed the son. It is added, "What therefore will the Lord of the vineyard do? He will destroy the husbandmen, and will let out the vineyard unto others." And what follows.

4. In ch. xiii. are predictions concerning the destruction of the temple, and the desolations of the Jewish people. And, particularly, at ver. 14—16, are remarkable expressions, intimating the near approach of those calamities, and suited to excite the attention of such as were in danger of being involved in them.

5. In his account of the institution of the eucharist, our Lord says, ch. xiv. 24, "This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many:" that is, for all men, not for Jews only, but for Gentiles also.

6. In ch. iv. 30—32, is the parable of the "grain of mustard seed, the least of all seeds, which becometh greater than all herbs:" representing the swift and wonderful progress of the gospel in the world: of which, it is very likely, St. Mark, at the time of writing, had some knowledge.

7. It is manifest, that he well understood the extent of our Saviour's commission to the twelve apostles: for he has recorded it in these words, ch. xvi. 15. "Go ye therefore into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature:" or the whole creation, that is, Jews and Gentiles, all mankind of every denomination.

8. Yea, it appears from the conclusion of his history, that before he wrote, the apostles (at least divers of them) had left Judea, and had preached in many places. Ver. 20, "And they went forth, and preached every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following."

9. Ch. xvi. 18, "They shall take up serpents." Some may think, that here is a reference to the history, which we have in Acts xxviii. 3—6. I do not say there is. But allowing it, I should not reckon it an objection to the genuineness of this part of that chapter: it would only be an argument for the late date of this gospel; and it has been so understood by [a] some. For my own part, I cannot say, that St. Mark has referred to it. But I make no question, that he was acquainted with the event there related, when he wrote his gospel.

VIII. I shall conclude this chapter with some observations upon St. Mark's gospel.

1. It confirms the accounts given by the ancients, that it is the substance of Peter's preaching. This was taken notice of just now in our recollection; but I choose to enlarge upon it here, and show, that the gospel itself affords evidences of its being written according to that apostle's discourses, or according to informations and directions given by him to this evangelist.

[a] Postremo, in ipsis evangeliis quædam exstare videntur criteria, ex quibus ea sero esse conscripta colligi potest. Phrasis μεχρι της σημερον, 'usque ad hunc diem,' Matt. xxviii. 15, justum spatium inter Christi resurrectionem et evangelium exaratum postulare videtur. Ita quæ Marcus, cap. xvi. 18, de serpentibus a Christi discipulis sine damno tollendis habet, ad Paulum, Romam tendentem, et quod ei in itinere in insulâ Mileto contigit, respicere videntur. Herman. Venema Diss. secund. de titulo ep. ad Ephes. cap. v. num. iv.

1.) In the first place I would here remind my readers of a long passage of Eusebius, the learned bishop of Cæsarea, formerly transcribed, of which I take here a very small part only.

Having observed several things very honourable to Peter related in the other gospels, he adds: 'Though [a] such things were said to Peter by Jesus, Mark has taken no notice of them: 'because, as is probable, Peter did not relate them in his sermons. For he did not think fit to 'bear testimony to himself by relating what Jesus said to him, or of him; therefore Mark has 'omitted them. But what concerned his denial of Jesus, he preached to all men, because he 'wept bitterly....For all things in Mark are said to be memoirs of Peter's discourses.'

2.) And [b] Chrysostom, reconciling Matthew's and Mark's accounts of Peter's denying Christ, says: 'These things Mark had from his master; for he was a disciple of Peter. And 'what is very remarkable, though he was a disciple of Peter, he relates his fall more particularly 'than any of the rest.'

3.) The [c] same great preacher explaining the history of our Lord's paying the didrachm or tribute-money to the temple, which is in Matt. xvii. 24—27, and particularly those words: "That take, and give unto them for me and thee," says, 'Mark, who was a disciple of Peter, 'omits this, because it was honourable to that apostle. But he relates the history of his denial 'of Christ. And perhaps his master forbid him to insert such things, as tended to aggran-'dize him.'

4.) No one has more largely treated this point than Mr. Jones, who has [d] a catalogue of several places in the gospels, containing things tending to Peter's honour, which are not mentioned in St. Mark's gospel.

(1.) The account of Christ's pronouncing Peter blessed, when he had confessed him: Christ's declaring, that he had his faith and knowledge from God: the promise of the keys, and of that large power, which is made to him: are omitted by St. Mark, though the former and the succeeding parts of this discourse are both told by him. See Matt. xvi. 16—20, compared with Mark viii. 29, 30.

(2.) The relation of St. Peter's being commissioned by Christ to work the miracle, by getting money out of the fish's mouth to pay the tribute-money, is told by St. Matthew, ch. xvii. 24—28, but omitted by St. Mark: though the preceding and subsequent stories are the very same as in St. Matthew. See Mark ix. 30—33.

(3.) Christ's particular expressions of love and favour to St. Peter, in telling him of his danger, and that he prayed particularly for him, that his faith might not fail, is omitted by St. Mark, but related Luke xxii. 31, 32.

(4.) St. Peter's remarkable humility above the rest of the apostles expressed in an unwillingness, that Christ should wash his feet, which none of the rest did express, with Christ's particular discourse to him; John xiii. 6, &c. is omitted by Mark.

(5.) The instance of St. Peter's very great zeal for Christ, when he was taken, in cutting off the high-priest's servant's ear, John xviii. 10, is not mentioned by Mark in particular, but only told in general, of a certain person that stood by. Mark xiv. 47.

(6.) St. Peter's faith in casting himself into the sea, to go to Christ. John xxi. 7, is not mentioned by St. Mark.[e]

(7.) Christ's discourse with Peter concerning his love to him, and his particular repeated charge to him, to feed his sheep: John xxi. 15, is omitted by St. Mark.

(8.) Our Saviour's predicting to Peter his martyrdom, and the manner of it: John xxi. 18, 19, is not related by St. Mark.

'These, adds that diligent author, are some instances of things, tending to St. Peter's 'honour, recorded by the other evangelists, none of which are so much as hinted by St. Mark. '.....All which cannot be accounted for any way more probable, than supposing that this 'apostle did not publish those circumstances, which were so much to his honour.'

Indeed, I think, they do confirm the accounts given of this gospel by the ancients. For these omissions cannot be so well ascribed to any thing, as to St. Peter's modesty and reservedness, who had not mentioned such things in his preaching, and discouraged the putting them

[a] Vol. ii. p. 367. [b] P. 603.
[c] Ibid.
[d] See New and full Method, part 3. p. 79—81.
[e] There is a like thing, and more extraordinary, related by Matthew only, ch. xiv. 28—31. I do not know, why Mr. Jones omitted it.

down in writing: insomuch, that as Tertullian says, the [a] gospel published by Mark, may be said to be Peter's.

5.) Nevertheless I must acknowledge, that there are some things in St. Mark's gospel honourable to Peter, which are not in any other: I shall mention two or three.

Says St. Mark, ch. i. 36. "And Simon, and they that were with him, followed after him." If thereby be intended the whole company of the apostles, that way of describing them is very honourable to Peter. But some may suppose, none to be intended, beside those mentioned, ver. 29. If so, it resembles Luke ix. 32. "But Peter, and they that were with him:" meaning John and James, and referring to ver. 28.

In Mark xiv. 3. Peter is mentioned as one of the four apostles to whom our Lord addressed himself, when he foretold the destruction of the temple, and the calamities attending it: which is a passage peculiar to St. Mark.

And ch. xvi. 7. The message, which the angels sent to the disciples by the women at the sepulchre, is thus expressed: "But go your way. Tell his disciples, and Peter, that he goes before you into Galilee." Peter is not mentioned, upon this occasion, by Matthew xxviii. 7, nor by any other of the evangelists.

Upon this text Whitby says very well: 'Peter is here named, not as prince of the apostles, 'but, as the fathers say, for his consolation, and to take off the scruple, which might be upon 'his spirit: whether by his three-fold denial of his master, he had not forfeited his right to be 'one of Christ's disciples.'

I now proceed to another observation.

2. St. Mark's gospel, as is evident to all, is the shortest of the four. Jerom, as before cited, says, Mark wrote a short gospel. And Chrysostom observed, that [b] Mark had the conciseness of Peter, following his Master.

3. Nevertheless there are in St. Mark many things peculiar to himself, not mentioned by any other evangelist.

I shall here put down several such things, and not those which are omitted by Matthew, but such things as are in Mark, and in no other of the evangelists.

1.) In the account of our Saviour's temptation in the wilderness, St. Mark says, ch. i. 13, "and was with the wild beasts:" not mentioned by any other evangelist, and yet very proper to show the hardships which our Lord underwent at that season.

2.) Ch. i. 20. In the account of the call of James and John, the sons of Zebedee, he says, "they left their father in the ship, with the hired servants:" a circumstance not mentioned by any other.

3.) Ch. i. 29. "And forthwith, when they were come out of the synagogue, they entered into the house of Simon, and Andrew, with James and John." In Matt. viii. 14, it is only, "come into Peter's house." In Luke iv. 38, "and entered into Simon's house."

4.) Ch. i. 33. "And all the city was gathered together at the door." Not in any other evangelist. Compare Matt. viii. 16. Luke iv. 40, 41.

5.) Ch. i. 35. "And in the morning rising up a great while before day, he went out, and departed into a solitary place, and there prayed." Ver. 36. "And Simon, and they that were with him, followed after him." Ver. 37. "And when they had found him, they said unto him: All men seek thee." This is not at all in Matthew, and is here much fuller, and with more particulars, than in Luke iv. 42.

6.) Ch. i. 45. Of the leper, cured by our Saviour, he says: "But he went out, and began to publish it much, and to blaze abroad the matter." Not particularly mentioned by the other evangelists. Compare Matth. viii. 4. Luke v. 14, 15.

7.) In the cure of the paralytic. ch. ii. 2. "And straightway many were gathered together, insomuch that there was no room to receive them, not so much as about the door. 3. And they come unto him, bringing one sick of the palsy, which was borne of four. 4. And....they uncovered the roof"....No other evangelist has so particularly described the crowd. In Mark only is it said, that this sick man was borne of four. He likewise more particularly describes the uncovering the roof. Compare Matt. ix. 1, 2. Luke v. 18, 19.

8.) In the history of the man with "a withered hand," cured in the synagogue, on a sabbath; ch. iii. 5. "And when he had looked round about on them with anger, being grieved

[a] See Vol. i. p. 420. [b] See Vol. ii. p. 604.

for the hardness of their hearts, he saith unto the man: Stretch forth thy hand." Not so full in any other evangelist. Compare Matt. xii. 9—13. Luke vi. 6—11.

9.) Ch. iii. ver. 6. "And the pharisees went forth, and straightway took counsel with the Herodians against him." Matt. xii. 14, mentions pharisees only. Luke vi. 11. mentions no persons by name.

10.) Ch. iii. 17. "And James the son of Zebedee, and John the brother of James; and he named them Boanerges." Not in any other evangelist.

11.) Ch. iii. 19....."And they went into the house. 20. And the multitude cometh together again, so that they could not so much as eat bread. 21. And when his friends heard of it, they went out to lay hold of him. For they said: He is beside himself." Whether that expression "he is beside himself," is to be understood of Christ, or of the multitude, this passage is peculiar to St. Mark.

12.) Ch. iv. 26. "And he said: So is the kingdom of God, as if a man should cast his seed into the ground, 27. And should sleep, and rise night and day, and the seed should spring and grow up, he knoweth not how. 28. For the earth bringeth forth fruit of itself, first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear. 29. But when the fruit is ripe, immediately he putteth in the sickle, because the harvest is come." This parable is peculiar to St. Mark. See Whitby upon the place, and likewise [a] Grotius.

13.) After the parable of the grain of mustard-seed, beside other things common to him and Matthew, he adds, ch. iv. 34, "And when they were alone, he expounded all things to his disciples." Compare Matt. xiii. 31—34. This particular leads us mightily to think, that either Mark was an eye-witness, or had the best and fullest information of things.

14.) Mark iv. 36. "And when they had sent away the multitude, they took him even as he was in the ship." This circumstance, peculiar to St. Mark, enables us to account for our Lord's fast sleep in his passage to the country of the Gadarenes. We perceive from St. Mark, that this voyage was undertaken in the evening, after the fatigue of long discourses in public, and without any refreshment. Our Lord's sleep in the midst of a storm is mentioned by all three evangelists. Matt. viii. 24—26. Mark iv. 37, 38. Luke viii. 23, 24. But this evangelist alone leads us to discern the occasion of it.

15.) Farther, in the same ver. 36, of ch. iv. "And there were also with him several other little ships." A particular peculiar to St. Mark.

16.) And in the account of this voyage across the sea, he says, ver. 38, that our Lord was "in the hinder part of the ship, asleep on a pillow:" two circumstances, wanting in the other evangelists.

17.) Certainly, these and other things are sufficient to assure us, that either Mark was an eye-witness: or, that he wrote things as related to him by an eye-witness, even Peter himself, as all the ancients say.

18.) In Matt. viii. 28—34. Mark v. 1—19. Luke viii. 26—39, are the several accounts of our Lord's healing the dæmoniac, or dæmoniacs, in the country of the Gadarenes; for Matthew speaks of two, Mark and Luke of one only. In St. Mark's history are divers things not in the other gospels. In him alone it is said, that "the man was always night and day in the mountains, and in the tombs, crying, and cutting himself with stones." And he only mentions the number of swine that perished in the sea, saying, "they were about two thousand."

19.) All the first three evangelists have given a history of our Lord's raising the daughter of Jairus, and healing the woman with an issue of blood, both in connection. Matt. ix. 18—26. Mark v. 22—43. Luke viii. 41—56. St. Mark has several things which are in neither of the other. Of the woman he says, ver. 26, "she had suffered much of many physicians....and was nothing bettered, but rather grew worse." At ver. 29, "And she felt in her body, that she was healed of that plague." At ver. 41, he inserts the very words which Jesus spake when he raised the daughter of Jairus: "Talitha Kumi." I have omitted some other things peculiar to St. Mark in the account of these miracles.

20.) Ch. vi. 13. In the account of the commission given to the twelve by Christ in his life-time, he says, "they anointed many with oil, and healed them:" which is mentioned by no other evangelist, as was observed of old by [b] Victor.

[a] Hæc parabola, aliis omissa, cum suam hic explicationem non habeat, explicari debet ex simili comparatione, quæ est apud Matt. xiii. 24. Grot. ad Marc. iv. 26.

[b] See Vol. ii. p. 627.

21.) Mark vii. 2, 3, 4. What is there said of the Jews' washing themselves, when they come from the market, before they eat: and of their "cleansing cups, pots, brazen vessels, and tables," is peculiar to St. Mark. Comp. Matt. xv. 1, 2.

22.) Ch. vii. 21, 22. Are the things that defile men. St. Matthew, ch. xv. 19, mentions seven things only. St. Mark has thirteen: and two of them, "an evil eye," and foolishness," are very singular.

23.) Ch. vii. 31—37. Our Lord bestows hearing and speech upon a deaf and dumb man.

24.) Ch. viii. 22—26. Our Lord cures a blind man at Bethsaida.

These two miracles are peculiar to St. Mark, being related by no other evangelist.

25.) Ch. x. 46—52, is the account of the miracle on the blind man near Jericho. St. Mark, ver. 46, calls him blind Bartimeus, son of Timæus: not mentioned by the other evangelists. See Matt. xx. 29—34. Luke xviii. 35—43. And at ver. 50, "he casting away his garment, rose, and came to Jesus:" a circumstance peculiar to St. Mark. Which shews his exact knowledge of the history, as did likewise his calling the man by his name.

26.) Ch. xi. 13. "For the time of figs was not yet:" that is, the time of gathering was not yet come. A most useful observation peculiar to this evangelist, showing, that as there were leaves, it was reasonable to expect fruit on this fig-tree, if it was not barren. Upon this text might be consulted [a] bishop Kidder, and [b] Mr. Hallet.

27.) Ch. xiii. 3, 4. "And as he sat upon the mount of Olives, over against the temple, Peter, and James, and John, and Andrew, asked him privately....When shall these things be?" No other evangelist has mentioned the names of the disciples, who put this question to our Saviour. Comp. Matt. xxiv. 1—3. Luke xxi. 5.

28.) In Mark xii. 41—44, and Luke xxi. 1—4, is the account of the people casting their gifts into the chests of the treasury in the temple. St. Mark says: "And Jesus sat over against the treasury." In which expression there is great propriety. And he alone mentions the value of the poor widow's two mites, saying, "which make a farthing."

29.) Ch. xiv. 51. "And there followed him a certain young man, having a linen cloth cast about his naked body. And the young men [the guards] laid hold on him." Ver. 52. "And he left the linen cloth, and fled from them naked." A particular in no other evangelist, yet very fitly taken notice of, as intimating the usual noise and disturbance, when a man is taken up in the night-time as a malefactor, and is carried before a magistrate. By [c] the noise of the people passing along that young person was excited to come hastily out of the house where he was, to inquire what was the matter. Mr. Le Clerc, in his French Testament, has an useful note upon this place. He observes the natural simplicity of the evangelist's narration; *which*, as he justly says, confirms the truth of their history.

30.) Ch. xv. 21. "And they compel one Simon, a Cyrenian, who passed by, coming out of the country, the father of Alexander and Rufus, to bear his cross." That particular, "the father of Alexander and Rufus," is in no other evangelist. Comp. Matt. xxvii. 32, and Luke xxiii. 26.

31.) Ch. xvi. 3, 4. "And they said among themselves, Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulchre: for it was very great." In no other evangelist.

32.) Ch. xvi. 7. "But go your way, tell his disciples, and Peter, that he goes before you into Galilee." The mention of Peter is peculiar to St. Mark. For in Matt. xxviii. 7, it is, "Go quickly, and tell his disciples." St. Luke has not recorded that message.

33.) I add nothing more of this kind. I have omitted many things, which are in this gospel, and no other, being apprehensive, that if I enlarged farther, I should be charged with prolixity.

34.) The particulars that have been alleged, are sufficient to assure us, that St. Mark is not an epitomiser of another author: and that he was well acquainted with the things of which he undertook to write a history. He writes as an eye-witness, or as one who had full and authentic information at first hand. In a word, St. Mark's gospel, though short, is a very valuable and masterly performance.

4. It may be proper for me to add one thing more: that I suppose the twelve verses at the

[a] Demonstration of the Messiah, Part ii. ch. ii. p. 38, 39.
[b] Notes and Discourses, Vol. ii. p. 114—125.
[c] Non de Apostolorum grege... sed ex villâ aliquâ horto proximâ, strepitu militum excitatus, et subito accurrens, ut conspiceret, quid ageretur. Grot. ad Marc. xi. 51.

end of the sixteenth chapter to be a genuine part of this gospel. If any doubt of it, I would refer them for their satisfaction to Dr. Mill, and to the observations of Grotius, at the beginning of that chapter, and to Beza upon the ninth verse. And for explaining those twelve verses, and reconciling them with the other evangelists, I refer to Grotius, and other commentators.

CHAP. VIII.

ST. LUKE, EVANGELIST.

I. *His History from the N. T.* II. *Testimonies of ancient Christian Writers to St. Luke, and his two Books, his Gospel, and the Acts.* III. *Remarks upon those Testimonies.* IV. *The Time of writing his Gospel and the Acts.* V. *Internal Characters of time in the Gospel.* VI. *The place where it was written.* VII. *A general recollection of St. Luke's Character.* VIII. *Observations upon his gospel.* IX. *Observations upon the book of the Acts.*

I. THE first time that we find any mention of St. Luke in the books of the New Testament is in his[a] own history. Acts xvi. 10, 11. Whereby it appears, that he was in Paul's company at Troas, before the apostle took shipping to go into Macedonia: in which voyage St. Luke was one of the company. ver. 8. "And they passing by Mysia, came to Troas." Ver. 9. "And a vision appeared to Paul in the night: There stood a man of Macedonia, and prayed him, saying, Come over into Macedonia, and help us." ver. 10. "And when he had seen the vision, immediately we endeavoured to go into Macedonia, assuredly gathering, that the Lord had called us to preach the gospel to them." ver. 11. "Therefore loosing from Troas, we came with a straight course to Samothracia."

In that journey St. Paul went from Samothracia to Neapolis, and thence to Philippi. 11—17. So far St. Luke speaks in the first person plural. But having finished his account of the transactions at Philippi, which reaches to ver. 40, the last of that chapter: at the beginning of the next ch. xvii. 1. he[b] changeth the person, and says: "Now when they had passed through Amphipolis, and Apollonia, they came to Thessalonica, where was a synagogue of the Jews."

Nor does he any more expressly speak of himself, until Paul was a second time in Greece, and was setting out for Jerusalem with the collections, which had been made for the poor saints in Judea, Acts xx. 1—6. "And after the uproar" [at Ephesus,] "was ceased, Paul called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia. And when he had gone over those parts, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece, and there

[a] From some words in the Cambridge manuscript, Bp. Pearson has argued, that Luke was in Paul's company from the year 43. Dein peragrat [Paulus] Phrygiam et Galatiam, et per Mysiam venit Troadem, ubi se illi comitem adjunxisse indicat Lucas, xvi. 10, qui antea etiam Antiochiæ cum Paulo fuit, et jam cum Troade assecutus est: ut colligere licet ex Act. xi. 28. ubi Codex Cantabr. habet, συνεστραμμενων δε ημων. Ab anno igitur 43, per octennium discipulus fuerat Antiochiæ. Annal. Paulin. p. 10. But it is not safe to rely upon one manuscript only, different from all others, and of no great authority. As Mr. Tillemont took notice of this observation of Pearson, I transcribe his thoughts about it. Selon le manuscrit de Cambridge, S. Luc dit qu'il étoit avec S. Paul à Antioche, dès l'an 43: ce que Pearson a reçu. Mais il ne seroit pas sûr de se fier à un manuscrit différent de tous les autres. Et quand cela se pourroit en quelques occasions, ce ne seroit pas à l'égard du manuscrit de Cambridge, qui est plein d'additions et altérations contraires au véritable texte de S. Luc. Mem. Ec. T. 2. S. Luc. note iii. Some may argue from these words, that Luke was a Gentile, converted by Paul at Antioch. And others might argue that he is the same as Lucius, mentioned Acts xiii. 1. But I should think it best for neither side to form an argument from this reading. Mr. Wetstein has referred us to a place of St. Augustine, where this text is quoted very agreeably to the Cambridge manuscript. In illis autem diebus descenderunt ab Jerosolymis Prophetæ Antiochiam. Congregatis autem nobis, surgens unus ex illis, nomine Agabus, &c. De Serm. Dom. l. 2. c. 17. But it is observable, that Irenæus l. 3. c. 14. init. a more ancient writer, enumerating St. Luke's journeys in St. Paul's company, begins at Troas. Acts xvi. 8—10. I presume, it must be best to rely upon him, and the general consent of all manuscripts, except one, in the common reading.

[b] Nevertheless it is supposed by many, that Luke continued with Paul. Irenæus calls him Paul's inseparable companion, after his coming to be with the Apostle at Troas. Adv. H. l. 3. c. 14. So likewise Cave. Cujus perinde sectator erat, et omnis peregrinationis comes. H. L. T. i. p. 25. See also Tillem. St. Luc. Mem. Ec. T. 2.

abode three months. And when the Jews laid wait for him, as he was about to sail into Syria, he purposed to return through Macedonia. And there accompanied him into Asia, Sopater of Berea...These going before, tarried for us at Troas. And we sailed away from Philippi...and came unto them at Troas in five days, where we abode seven days." So that Luke accompanied Paul, at that time, from Greece through Macedonia to Philippi, and also went with him from thence to Troas.

And it appears from the sequel of the history in the Acts, that Luke was one of those, who accompanied the apostle to Jerusalem, and stayed with him there. And when the apostle was sent a prisoner from Cæsarea to Rome, he was in the same ship with him, and stayed with him at Rome during the whole time of his two years' imprisonment there, with which the history of the Acts concludes.

From St. Paul's epistles written at Rome, in the time of that confinement, we have proofs of Luke's being with him. He is mentioned as with the apostle. 2 Tim. iv. 11. an epistle written, as I suppose, in the summer, after the apostle's arrival there. In Philem. ver. 24. he is one of those, who send salutations to Philemon, and is mentioned by the apostle, as one of his fellow-labourers. And, if Luke the beloved physician, mentioned Col. iv. 14, be the evangelist, that is another proof of his being then with the apostle.

St. Luke is also supposed by some to be "the brother, whose praise is in the gospel throughout all the churches," 2 Cor. viii. 18. but that is not certain.

As I think, that all St. Paul's epistles, which we have, were written, before he left Rome and Italy, when he had been sent thither by Festus, I must be of opinion, that the New Testament affords us not any materials for the history of St. Luke, lower than his own book of the Acts, which brings us down to the end of that period.

II. I now therefore proceed without farther delay, to observe what light may be obtained from ancient Christian writers. And as St. Luke's two books, his gospel and the Acts, were all along universally received; I intend here, for avoiding prolixity, to allege, chiefly, such passages only, as contain something, relating to the history and character of St. Luke, or the time of writing his two above-named works.

Irenæus, as before quoted: 'And[a] Luke, the companion of Paul, put down in a book the 'gospel preached by him.' And the coherence seems to imply, that this was done after the writing of St. Mark's gospel, and after the death of Peter and Paul. In a passage formerly cited[b] at length, Irenæus shows from the Acts, as we did just now, that Luke attended Paul in several of his journies and voyages, and was his fellow-labourer in the gospel. He likewise says: that[c] 'Luke was not only a companion, but also a fellow-labourer of the apostles, especially of *Paul*.' Again, he calls him 'a[d] disciple and follower of the apostles.' 'The[e] apostles, he says, envying 'none, plainly delivered to all the things which they had learned from the Lord. So likewise 'Luke, envying no man, has delivered to us what he learned from them, as he says: "Even as 'they delivered them unto us, who from the beginning were eye witnesses and ministers of the 'word."' By all which it seems, that Irenæus reckoned Luke to have been a disciple of the apostles, not a hearer of Jesus Christ himself.

Clement of Alexandria has borne a large testimony to this gospel, and the Acts, as well as to the other books of the New Testament. And as we learn from Eusebius, 'in[f] his Institu-'tions he mentions a tradition concerning the order of the gospels, which he had received from 'presbyters of more ancient times, and which is to this purpose. He says, that the gospels con-'taining the genealogies were written first:' according to that tradition therefore St. Matthew's and St. Luke's gospels were written before St. Mark's. Which, according to the same Clement and the tradition received by him, was written at Rome, at the request of Peter's hearers, or the Christians in that city.

Tertullian[g] speaks of Matthew and John as disciples of Christ, of Mark and Luke as disciples of apostles: therefore I think he did not reckon these to have been of the seventy, or hearers of Christ. However, he ascribes a like authority to these, and says, 'that[h] the gospel, which Mark 'published, may be said to be Peter's, whose interpreter Mark was. For Luke's digest also is

[a] Vol. i. p. 365. [b] P. 367.
[c] Ib. [d] Ib.
[e] Sic Apostoli simpliciter, nemini invidentes quæ didicerant ipsi a Domino, hæc omnibus tradebant. Sic igitur et Lucas, nemini invidens, ea quæ ab eis didicerat, tradidit nobis, sicut ipse testatur dicens: Quemadmodum tradiderunt nobis qui ab *initio* contemplatores et *ministri fuerunt* verbi. Adv. H. l. 3. cap. 14. n. 2.
[f] Vol. i. p. 394. [g] P. 422.
[h] P. 420.

'often ascribed to Paul. And indeed it is easy to take that for the master's which the disciples 'published.' Again: 'Moreover [a] Luke was not an apostle, but apostolical; not a master, but 'a disciple: certainly less than his master, certainly so much later, as he is a follower of Paul, 'the last of the apostles.' This likewise shows Tertullian's notion of St. Luke's character.

Origen mentions the gospels in the order now generally received. 'The [b] third, says he, is 'that according to Luke, the gospel commended by Paul, published for the sake of the Gentile 'converts.' In his commentary upon the epistle to the Romans, which we now have in a Latin version only, he says, upon ch. xvi. 21. 'Some [c] say Lucius is Lucas the evangelist, as indeed 'it is not uncommon to write names sometimes according to the original form, sometimes 'according to the Greek or Roman termination.' Lucius, mentioned in that text of the epistle to the Romans, must have been a Jew. Nevertheless, as Origen assures us, some thought him to be Luke the evangelist. The same observation we saw in [d] Sedulius, who wrote a commentary upon St. Paul's epistles, collected out of Origen and others.

Eusebius of Cæsarea, as transcribed formerly, speaking of St. Paul's fellow-labourers, says, 'And [e] Luke, who was of Antioch, and by profession a physician, for the most part a companion 'of Paul, who had likewise a more than slight acquaintance with the rest of the apostles, has left 'us in two books, divinely inspired, evidences of the art of healing souls, which he had learned 'from them. One of these is the gospel which he professeth to have written, as they delivered 'it to him, "who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word:" with all 'whom, he says likewise, he had been perfectly acquainted from the very first. The other is the 'Acts of the apostles, which he composed now, not from what he had received by the report of 'others, but from what he had seen with his own eyes.' And in another place, cited [f] also formerly, he observes, 'that [g] Luke had delivered in his gospel a certain account of such things, as he had 'been well assured of by his intimate acquaintance and familiarity with Paul, and his conversa- 'tion with the other apostles.' From all which, I think it appears that Eusebius did not take Luke for a disciple of Christ, but of apostles only.

In the Synopsis, ascribed to Athanasius, it is said, 'that [h] the gospel of Luke was dictated by 'the apostle Paul, and written and published by the blessed apostle and physician Luke.'

The author of the Dialogue against the Marcionites, says, 'that [i] Mark and Luke were dis- 'ciples of Christ, and of the number of the seventy.'

Epiphanius [k] speaks to the like purpose.

Gregory Nazianzen says, 'that [l] Luke wrote for the Greeks,' or in Achaia.

Gregory Nyssen says, 'that [m] Luke was as much a physician for the soul as for the body:' taking him to be the same that is mentioned Col. iv. 14.

In the catalogue of Ebedjesu it is said, 'that [n] Luke taught and wrote at Alexandria, in the 'Greek language.'

The author of the Commentary upon St. Paul's thirteen epistles seems to have doubted whether [o] the evangelist Luke be the person intended Col. iv. 14.

Jerom agrees very much with Eusebius, already transcribed: nevertheless I shall put down here somewhat largely what he says. 'Luke, [p] a physician of Antioch, not unskilful in the Greek 'language, a disciple of the apostle Paul, and the constant companion of his travels, wrote a 'gospel,—and another excellent volume, entitled the Acts of the Apostles....It is supposed that 'Luke did not learn his gospel from the apostle Paul only, who had not conversed with the Lord 'in the flesh, but also from other apostles: which likewise he owns at the beginning of his volume, 'saying, "Even as they delivered them unto us, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and 'ministers of the word." Therefore he wrote the gospel from the information of others: but 'the Acts he composed from his own knowledge.' So writes Jerom in his book of illustrious men.

In the prologue to his Commentary upon St. Matthew, he says, 'The [q] third evangelist is 'Luke, the physician, a Syrian of Antioch, who was a disciple of the apostle Paul, and published 'his gospel in the countries of Achaia and Bœotia.'

[a] Vol. i. p. 422. [b] P. 532.

[c] Sed et Lucium quidam perhibent esse Lucam Evangelistam, qui Evangelium scripsit, pro eo quod soleant nomina interdum secundum patriam declinationem, interdum Græcam Romanamque, proferri. In Rom. T. 2. p. 632. Basil. 1571.

[d] Vol. iii. p. 32. [e] Vol. ii. p. 371. [f] P. 369.

[g] ... Την ασφαλη λογον ων αυτος ικανως την αληθειαν κατειληφει, εκ της αμα Παυλω συνουσιας τε και διατριβης, και της των λοιπων αποστολων ομιλιας ωφελημενος, δια τε ιδιε παρεδωκεν ευαγγελιω. H. E. l. 3. c. 24. p. 96. c.

[h] Vol. ii. p. 405. [i] P. 406. [k] P. 418.

[l] P. 470. [m] P. 475. [n] P. 488. [o] P. 521.

[p] P. 552. [q] P. 550.

He observes elsewhere, 'that[a] some said Luke had been a proselyte to Judaism, before his 'conversion to Christianity.' He speaks of St. Luke in many other places, which I need not now take notice of.

Augustine says, 'that[b] two of the evangelists, Matthew and John, were apostles...Mark and 'Luke disciples of apostles.'

Chrysostom in the Synopsis, probably his, says, 'Two[c] of the gospels were written by John 'and Matthew, Christ's disciples, the other two by Luke and Mark, of whom one was disciple of 'Peter, the other of Paul. The former conversed with Christ, and were eye-witnesses of what 'they wrote: the other two wrote what they had received from eye-witnesses.' And to the like purpose in[d] his first homily upon St. Matthew. Again, he says, 'Luke[e] had the fluency of 'Paul, Mark the conciseness of Peter, both learning of their masters.' And upon Col. iv. 14, he says, this[f] is the evangelist.

Upon Col. iv. 14. Theodoret says, 'this[g] person wrote the divine gospel, and the history of 'the Acts.' He says the same upon[h] 2 Tim. iv. 11.

Paulinus[i] celebrates Luke, as having been first a physician of the body, then of the soul.

Here I would refer to the author of Quæstiones et Responsiones, probably written in the fifth century, who reckons both[k] the evangelists, writers of the genealogies, that is, Matthew and Luke, to have been Hebrews.

According to Euthalius,[l] Luke was a disciple of Paul, and a physician of Antioch.

Isidore of Seville, says, 'of[m] the four evangelists, the first and last relate what they had 'heard Christ say, or had seen him perform. The other two, placed between them, relate those 'things, which they had learned from apostles. Matthew wrote his gospel first in Judea; then 'Mark in Italy; Luke the third, in Achaia; John the last, in Asia.' In another place, he says, 'Of[n] all the evangelists Luke, the third in order, is reckoned to have been the most skilful in the 'Greek tongue. For he was a physician, and wrote his gospel in Greece.'

In Theophylact are these things. In his preface to St. Matthew's gospel he says, 'that[o] there 'are four evangelists, two of which, Matthew and John, were of the choir of the twelve apostles: 'the other two, Mark and Luke, were of the number of the seventy. Mark was a disciple and 'companion of Peter, Luke of Paul....Luke wrote fifteen years after Christ's ascension.' In the preface to his Commentary upon St. Luke he says, 'that[p] from that introduction it appears, 'Luke was not from the beginning a disciple, but only afterwards. For others were disciples 'from the beginning, as Peter, and the sons of Zebedee, who delivered to him the things which 'they had seen or heard.' Upon which some remarks were made by us in the place referred to. In his comment upon the history of the two disciples, whom Jesus met in the way to Emmaus, one of whom is said to be Cleopas. Luke xxiv. 18. Theophylact says: 'Some[q] have thought 'the other to be Luke the evangelist, who out of modesty declined to mention himself.' In his preface to the Acts, Theophylact says: 'The[r] writer is Luke, native of Antioch, by profes- 'sion a physician.'

Euthymius says: 'Luke' was a native of Antioch, and a physician. He was a hearer of 'Christ, and as some say, one of his seventy disciples, as well as Mark. He was afterwards very 'intimate with Paul. He wrote his gospel, with Paul's permission, fifteen years after our Lord's 'ascension.'

So Euthymius. But I should think, that very few, who supposed Luke to have been a native of Antioch, could likewise reckon him a hearer of Jesus Christ. But Euthymius, as it seems, puts together every thing he had heard or read, without judgment or discrimination.

What Nicephorus Callisti says, is, briefly, to this purpose. 'Two' only of the twelve, Matthew 'and John, left memoirs of our Lord's life on earth: and two of the seventy, Mark and Luke... 'Matthew wrote about fifteen years after our Saviour's ascension. Long after that Mark and 'Luke published their gospels by the direction of Peter and Paul. The same Luke composed 'also the book of the Acts of the apostles.'

To these authors I now add Eutychius, patriarch of Alexandria, in the tenth century, who

[a] Vol. ii. p. 553. [b] P. 583. [c] P. 601.
[d] P. 602, 603, and see 604. [e] P. 604.
[f] Οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ εὐαγγελιστής. In Col. hom. 12. T. XI. p. 412.
[g] See this Vol. p. 11. note.[b]
[h] In 2 Tim. T. III. p. 505.
[i] Vol. ii. p. 630. [k] See Vol. i. p. 343.
[l] This Vol. p. 39. [m] P. 74. [n] P. 75.
[o] P. 86. [p] Ibid. [q] P. 87.
[r] Ib. [s] P. 90. [t] P. 91.

says, 'In [a] the time of the same emperor, (that is, Nero) Luke wrote his gospel in Greek to 'a notable and wise man of the Romans, whose name was Theophilus: to whom also he wrote 'the Acts, or the history of the disciples. The evangelist Luke was a companion of the apostle 'Paul, going with him wherever he went. For which reason the apostle Paul in one of his 'epistles says: "Luke, the physician, salutes you." '

III. Having thus recited the testimonies of all these writers concerning the evangelist Luke, I shall now make some remarks.

1. We hence perceive, that the notion, that St. Luke was a painter, is without foundation, no notice having been taken of it in these ancient writers. Indeed this is said by one of our [b] authors, Nicephorus Callisti, in the fourteenth century, from whom a passage was quoted in the way of a summary conclusion. But we do not rely upon him for any thing not confirmed by other writers, more ancient, and of better credit. Nor is this account received by [c] Tillemont, or [d] Du Pin, but rejected by them, as altogether fabulous, especially the latter; though our Dr. Cave [e] was somewhat inclined to admit one testimony to this affair, whilst he rejected the rest. For a farther account of St. Luke's pretended pictures of the Virgin Mary I refer to [f] Mr. Bower.

2. We learn also, what judgment ought to be formed of the account given of St. Luke by [g] Hugo Grotius, and [h] J. J. Wetstein: which is, that he was a Syrian and a slave, either at Rome, or in Greece: and that having obtained his freedom, he returned to his native place, Antioch; where he became a Jewish proselyte, and then a Christian. Which those learned interpreters endeavour to make out in a somewhat different manner. But neither has alleged any ancient writer, saying, that the evangelist Luke was once a slave, and afterwards became a free-man. Some slaves indeed were skilful in the art of medicine, and practised it in the families of their Roman masters. But does it follow, that because Luke was a physician, that he was also a slave? This therefore being entirely destitute of foundation in antiquity must be esteemed the fiction of some learned critic, who was much delighted with his own ingenious speculations.

3. The account given of this evangelist by Eusebius, and Jerom after him, that he was a Syrian, and native of Antioch, may be justly suspected. We do not find it in Irenæus, nor Clement of Alexandria, nor Tertullian, nor Origen, nor in any other writer before Eusebius. Probably, therefore, it is not founded in any general, or well attested tradition: but was the invention of some conjectural critic, who having first imagined, out of his own head, that Luke was originally a Gentile, at length determined, that he was converted by Paul at Antioch. But all this was taken up without any good ground, or sufficient authority: and Luke may have been a believer, before either Paul or Barnabas went to Antioch. The same account is in Jerom: but he only follows Eusebius. He does not seem to have had any information about it from any others; which is an argument, that there was not any early tradition to this purpose.

[a] Etiam tempore hujus Imperatoris scripsit Lucas Evangelium suum Græce, ad virum nobilem ex sapientibus Romanis, cui nomen Theophilus, ad quem item scripsit Acta seu Discipulorum historiam. Erat autem Lucas Evangelista comes Pauli Apostoli, quocumque per aliquod tempus mansit. Unde est, quod Paulus Apostolus in quâdam epistolâ suâ dicit: Lucas medicus vos salutat. Eutych. Annal. p. 335, 336.

[b] ... ακριως δε την ζωγραφην τεχνην εξεπισαμενος. Nicepli. l. 2. cap. 43. T. I. p. 210.

[c] Saint Luc. Mem. Ec. T. II.

[d] Nicéphore et les nouveaux Grecs le font peintre. Et il y a en différens endroits des images de la Vierge, qu'on donne pour l'ouvrage de S. Luc. Ce sont des fictions, qui n'ont ni vérité ni apparence. Du Pin Diss. I. 2. ch. 2. sect. 5.

[e] Of more authority with me would be an ancient inscription, found in a vault near the church of S. Mary in via lata at Rome, supposed to be the place, where S. Paul dwelt: wherein mention is made of a picture of the B. Virgin, una ex vii. a B. Lucâ depictis: one of the seven painted by St. Luke. Cave's Lives of the Apostles, in English, p. 222.

[f] See his Lives of the Popes, Vol. III. p. 205, 206.

[g] Nostro autem nomen quidem Romanum fuisse arbitror, sed aliquanto longius. ... Quare et Lucas, si quid video, contractum est ex Romano nomine, quod suspicor fuisse Lucillium. Nam ea gens tum Romæ florebat. ... Erat noster hic Syrus, ut veteres consentiunt, et medicinam fecit. ... Syria autem multos Romanis servos exhibebat. Et medicina, ut ex Plinio atque aliis discimus, munus erat servile. Manumissi autem nomen patroni induebant, ut comœdiarum scriptor, Afer cum esset, dictus est a patrono Terentio Terentius. ... Ita hic a Lucillio Lucillius, et contracte Λουκας. Credibile est, cum Romæ medicinam factitâsset aliquamdiu, acceptâ libertate, rediisse in patriam, &c. Grot. Pr. in S. Lucam.

[h] Exercuisse medicinam Paulus ad Colossenses testatur; Eusebius autem et Hieronymus addunt fuisse natione Syrum Antiochenum. ... Interpretes porro conjecturâ probabili, tum ex nomine, tum ex arte quam profitebatur, colligunt, fuisse servum manumissum. Observant enim primo, nomen ejus in compendium fuisse redactum, ut pro Lucillio vel Lucano vocaretur Lucas. ... Observant secundo, servos et præcipue Syros medicinam factitâsse. ... Quod vero quidam existimant, eum Romæ serviisse, et a domino, qui ipsum manumiserit, nomine Lucam appellatum fuisse, non satis certum videtur. Nam, præter familiam Lucilliam, quæ Romana fuit, etiam Græcis illud nomen fuit impositum, ut ex Anthologiâ constat. Wetst. Pr. ad Luc. T. I. p. 643.

This story, I say, is in Eusebius, and Jerom, and some others after them, but not in all succeeding writers. Some of the ancients, as Epiphanius, and others, supposed Luke to have been one of Christ's seventy disciples: which is inconsistent with his being a native of Antioch. If any did not see this inconsistency, and allowed both, it must have been owing to want of due attention and consideration. And the supposition, made by some, that Luke was one of the seventy, shews, that there was no prevailing, and well attested tradition, that he was a native of Antioch. For if there had been any such tradition, it is not easy to conceive, how any should have held the opinion, that he was one of the seventy.

It was formerly observed, that [a] Chrysostom no where says in his remaining works, that Luke was of Antioch. Indeed, we [b] have lost one of his homilies upon the title and beginning of the Acts of the apostles. Nevertheless, it seems, that in some of his many homilies, still remaining upon that book, or elsewhere, we should have seen this particular, if it had been known to him. He takes notice, that [c] there might be seen in his time the house, in which Paul dwelled at Antioch. And he often speaks of the prerogatives of that city, in his homilies preached there. Methinks this also should have been mentioned as one: that Luke, whom (as is well known) he often celebrates, was a native of that city. If this had been then known, or generally believed, it is reasonable to expect, that it should have been frequently mentioned by Chrysostom, a native and presbyter of Antioch, who shined there as a preacher twelve years. This has disposed me to think, that in his time there was not at Antioch any prevailing tradition to this purpose.

Cave says, it [d] is likely, that Luke was converted by Paul at Antioch. Mill [e] says the same, rather more positively: which may now be the opinion of many. I have guessed, that it might be the opinion of the person, who first gave rise to the account, that Luke was a Syrian, of Antioch, mentioned in Eusebius. But I do not remember, that this is expressly said by any of the ancient writers, out of whom I have made so large collections in the preceding volumes; and the thing is altogether unlikely. If Luke had been a Gentile, converted by Paul, he would have been always uncircumcised, and unfit to accompany Paul, as he did. For the apostle would not have allowed the Greeks, or Gentiles, of Antioch, or any other place, to receive that rite. Nor are there in the Acts, or Paul's epistles, any hints that Luke was his convert. Whereas, if he had been so, there [f] would have appeared some tokens of it in the affectionate expressions of Paul toward him on the one hand, or in the respectful and grateful expressions of Luke toward Paul on the other hand.

4. It has been reckoned doubtful by divers learned men, whether the evangelist Luke was a physician.

This particular is different from the foregoing. Nor has it any connection with it. Luke may have been of Antioch, and not a physician. He may have been a physician, and not of Antioch. The question is, whether Luke, the beloved physician, mentioned by St. Paul, Col. iv. 14, be the evangelist. Divers of the ancients, as we have seen, have supposed him there intended. Chrysostom's expressions are these: 'This [g] is the evangelist: but he does 'not diminish him by naming him so late; he extols him, as he does Epaphras. It is likely, 'that there were others by that name.' This last particular, perhaps, may deserve to be taken notice of. He affirms, that this is the evangelist; but he supposeth, that there were others of the same name.

That distinguishing character, beloved physician, not given to the apostle's companion, and fellow-labourer, in any other epistle, has induced divers learned and inquisitive moderns to doubt, whether one and the same person is intended. Among these are [h] Calvin, [i] Sam. Bas-

[a] Vol ii. p. 605. [b] P. 604. [c] P. 614.

[d] ... a D. Paulo, dum Antiochiæ ageret, (uti verisimile est) conversus. Hist. Lit. T. I. p. 25.

[e] Scriptor operi huic suscipiendo, si quis unquam, summe idoneus; utpote qui ab ipso tempore conversionis, quæ contigit circa annum æræ vulgaris XLI. Ipsum enim Ἑλληνιστὰς istis, qui magno numero Antiochiæ conversi sunt, [Act. xi. 20.] omnino adnumerârim. Prol. n. 112.

[f] This thought occurred to Dr. Whitby, who, in his preface to St. Luke's gospel, speaks to this purpose: 'We are 'told that Luke was converted by Paul at Thebes. Answer. 'But this we have only from Nicephorus. And it is the less 'credible, not only because it comes to us so late, but also 'because it appears not from any credible author, that St. 'Paul ever was there. It is more probable from the silence 'of St. Luke, and St. Paul, who never calleth him his son, 'that he was a Christian, or a believer, long before.'

[g] Οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ εὐαγγελιστής . . . εἰκὸς εἶναι καὶ ἄλλους κεκλημένους τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ. Chry. in Col. iv. hom. 12. T. XI. p. 412.

[h] Non assentior iis, qui Lucam Evangelistam intelligunt. Nam et notiorem fuisse judico, quam ut opus fuerit tali indicatione, et splendidiore elogio fuisset insignitus. Certe coadjutorem suum, aut fidum saltem comitem, et certaminum participem, vocâsset. Potius conjicio, hunc abfuisse, et alterum medici epitheto ab illo discerni. Quamquam non con-

nage, [a] Dr. Heumann, whose observations and arguments I transcribe below. On the other hand [b] Estius, and [c] Mr. Jones, strongly argue, that the same Luke is here intended, who is mentioned by St. Paul in some other epistles, even our evangelist.

Upon the whole it must be acknowledged, that this distinguishing character, 'beloved physician,' has occasioned a difficulty. Nevertheless, I would hope, that it is not insuperable. It is allowed, that in all other places of St. Paul's epistles by Luke is intended the evangelist. We know from the book of the Acts, that Luke, the writer of it, went with Paul to Rome, and stayed with him to the end of his captivity there; nor is there any reason to surmise, that at the time of writing this epistle he might be absent from the apostle upon some special occasion: for he joins in the salutations in the epistle to Philemon of Colosse, sent at the same time with this epistle to the Colossians, where also he is styled a 'fellow-labourer.' Philem. ver. 24. So that I cannot but think it probable, that Luke the evangelist was by profession a physician.

5. St. Luke was a Jew by birth, at least by religion.

None of the writers out of whom we have made collections, call him a Gentile. Some, in Jerom's time, whose names we do not know, said, Luke had been a Jewish proselyte, that is, had been converted from Gentilism to Judaism, and afterwards became a Christian: but none, that I remember, expressly say that he was converted from Gentilism to Christianity; unless we should make an exception for Nicephorus Callisti, who in one place says so. But he is too late, and of too little credit to be much regarded: especially if he be singular. All our writers, who speak of Luke as a companion and disciple of apostles, must have supposed him to be a Jew: and some have said that he was one of the seventy, as we have seen.

That Luke was a Jew by birth, or at least by religion, may be argued from his being a constant companion of Paul in many places, particularly at Jerusalem. If Luke had been an uncircumcised Gentile, some exceptions would have been made to him. Nevertheless nothing of that kind appears either in St. Paul's epistles or in the Acts. Another thing leading to this supposition is his [d] following the Jewish computations of times: such as the passover, pentecost, the fast. Of all which instances may be seen in Acts xii. 3; xx. 6 and 16; xxvii. 9.

Here it will be objected, that "Luke the physician," mentioned Col. iv. 14, must have been a Gentile, because at ver. 10, 11, the apostle had mentioned "all those of the circumcision, who were his fellow-workers, and had been a comfort to him." To which I answer. It is not certain, that Luke, the evangelist, is the "beloved physician," there spoken of: we just now saw the reasons of doubting about it. But there is another solution. St. Paul [e] needs not to be understood to speak absolutely: there might be several exceptions to that proposition. Timothy was one, who joins with the apostle in sending the epistle: but he and Luke were so well known to all, as faithful to the apostle, that they needed not to be there mentioned. And Luke and Demas follow afterwards, somewhat lower, nearer the end of the epistle, very properly, ver. 14, "Luke the beloved physician, and Demas greet you." And I should be unwilling from this text, and the coherence, to conclude, that Demas was a Gentile. Says the apostle: Philem. ver. 24, "There salute thee Marcus, Aristarchus, Demas, Lucas, my fellow-labourers." The two first named were certainly Jews: I suppose, the other two were so likewise. Salutations from believers, of the Jewish people, would be very acceptable and encouraging to Gentile converts.

tendo, ut de re certâ, sed tamen conjecturas affero. Calvin. in Col. iv. 14.

[i] Sunt tamen in Scripturâ Lucam Evangelistam a Lucâ Medico distinguendi causæ, &c. Basnag. Ann. 60. n. xxxiii.

[a] Lucam Evangelistam fuisse medicum, Hieronymus aliique probari posse credunt ex Col. iv. 14. Sed ex hoc ipso loco confirmari posse puto contrarium. Si enim isto loco Paulus innuisset comitem suum omnibus notum, Lucam Evangelistam, simpliciter vocâsset Lucam, uti fecit, 2 Tim. iv. 11. At, ut significaret, se de alio Lucâ loqui, discriminis causâ addit ὁ ἰατρὸς. C. A. Heuman. Ep. Misc. T. II. p. 518.

[b] Sunt qui in dubium revocent, num de Lucâ Evangelistâ loquatur Apostolus. Hunc enim dicunt notiorem fuisse, quam ut artis nomine eum designaret. Ac saltem, inquiunt, eum coadjutorem suum, aut fidelem comitem, vocâsset. Verum, ut vetus et communis, ita probatissima sententia est. . . . Lucam Evangelistam medicum fuisse, et eum ipsum, cujus hic mentio est; (neque enim alium Lucam Paulo familiarem ulla prodit historia.) Quod vero tacuit hoc loco adjutorem, id diserte expressit ad Philemonem scribens, 'Demas et Lu-'cas, adjutores mei.' Non enim putavit Apostolus rem satis notam ubique inculcandam esse. Ubi illud observandum est, Apostolum assidue Lucam cum Demâ nominare, tam hoc loco, et ad Philemonem, quam etiam in secundâ ad Tim. ep. cap. iv. Quis ergo dixerit, alium atque alium esse Lucam cum eodem Demâ nominatum? Com. in Col. iv. 14.

[c] See Mr. Jones's New and Full Method, Vol. III. p. 103, 104.

[d] Quis vero cum veri specie aliquâ Lucam Evangelistam unum ex Judæis fuisse neget? Lucam, qui in designandis temporibus Judæorum disciplinam adhibet, Pentecostem scilicet, jejunium, tertiam noctis vigiliam; quæ omnia ex Judaïco more petuntur. Basnag. An. 60. n. xxxiii.

[e] Adde, quod iste sermo, 'hi soli,' non est ita rigidè accipiendus, ut absolutè excludat omnes alios, sed benigno sensu: hi fere soli sunt adjutores. Est. ad iv. Col. 11.

St. Luke says, Acts i. 19, "insomuch as that field was called in their proper tongue Aceldama:" whence some may argue, that he was a Jew. But it might be observed, that none of the evangelists, when they speak of the Jews, say any thing, to denote they were of that people. Says St. Matthew, ch. xxviii. 15, "And this saying is commonly reported among the Jews until this day." Mark vii. 3, "For the Pharisees, and all the Jews, except they wash their hands, eat not." John i. 19, "The Jews sent priests and Levites from Jerusalem," ch. v. 1, "After this there was a feast of the Jews." See also ch. xix. 40—42. And does not St. Paul say, 1 Thess. ii. 14, 15, "Ye became followers of the churches of God in Judea. For ye also have suffered like things of your own countrymen, even as they of the Jews: who both killed the Lord Jesus, and their own prophets." It might not be amiss to observe also Acts xxviii. 17—19. And I might refer to other places.

That this evangelist was a Jew, is the opinion of many learned and judicious moderns; particularly Mr. S. Basnage, whom I have cited at note [d] p. 193, and J. A. Fabricius, who [a] likewise is clearly of the same opinion. Indeed I think it ought not to be questioned.

6. Luke the evangelist was probably an early Jewish believer, soon after Christ's ascension, if not a hearer of Christ, and one of the seventy disciples.

Our most ancient writers, as we have seen, speak of Luke as a disciple of the apostles. Some have reckoned him one of the seventy, others have thought him to be Lucius, mentioned by St. Paul in the epistle to the Romans, and others have supposed that he was one of the two disciples that met Jesus in the way to Emmaus.

The large accounts which Luke has given in the book of the Acts of several below the rank of apostles, has made me think, that he was one of the same rank, and possibly one of them. There are three instances of this kind. The first is Stephen, one of the seven deacons, who, as we learn, "was full of faith and power, and did great wonders and miracles among the people:" against whom there arose a strong opposition, so that he was the very first martyr for Christ and his doctrine, and of whom St. Luke has recorded a long discourse before the Jewish council, ch. vii. The second is Philip, another of the seven, of whom St. Luke writes, that he first preached Christ to the Samaritans, ch. viii. 5—8; "so that the people with one accord gave heed to those things which Philip spake, hearing and seeing the miracles which he did;" and what follows. The same Philip afterwards, having first explained the scriptures to him, and brought him to sincere faith in Jesus as the Christ, baptized the chamberlain and treasurer of the queen of Ethiopia, a Jewish proselyte, and a man of great distinction, ver. 26—40. The third instance of this kind is that of the men of Cyprus and Cyrene, "who travelled as far as Phenice, Cyprus, and Antioch, preaching the word to Jews only." Who soon after their coming to "Antioch, spake unto the Greeks, preaching the Lord Jesus. And the hand of the Lord was with them; and a great number believed, and turned unto the Lord," ch. xi. 19—21. These were the men who first preached to Gentiles out of Judea: as Peter was the first who preached to Gentiles at the house of Cornelius in Cæsarea, ch. x. and not long before them. We have, as it seems, the names of three of those men. Ch. xiii. 1, "Simeon, called Niger, Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen." The second person here named may be our evangelist.

A like argument may be formed in favour of St. Luke's having been one of Christ's seventy disciples, in that he, and he only of all the evangelists, has inserted in his gospel an account of the commission which Christ gave unto them, ch. x. 1—20. And indeed some learned men of later times, as well as formerly, have been of opinion that Luke was one of the seventy. Among these is our Dr. Whitby, who [b] reckoned both Mark and Luke to have been of that number. J. A. Fabricius [c] was inclined to be of the same opinion. And in favour of it refers to the passages of Adamantius and Epiphanius, before taken notice of by us. This likewise was the sentiment of [d] Mr. Basnage.

[a] Lucas, sive Lucius,...incertum, num idem cum Lucâ medico, Col. iv. 14, quin Judæus fuerit, at antequam Christo nomen daret, ne dubito quidem, præcipue si verum est quod legas in Origenis sive Adamantii cujusdam dialogis, adversus Marcionitas, et Epiphanii LI. II. eum fuisse e numero LXX. discipulorum. Bib. Gr. l. 4. c. v. T. III. p. 132.

[b] See his Preface to St. Luke's gospel.

[c] ...præcipue, si verum est, quod legas in Origenis seu Adamantii cujusdam Dialogis adversus Marcionitas, et Epiphanii H. LI. n. xi. Neque adeo repugnat et Lucam et Marcum ex illis fuisse, licet veteres miro consensu, ut Marcum Petri, ita Lucam tradunt Pauli fuisse interpretem et sectatorem. Haud dubie enim Apostolorum etiam præ LXX. illis magna prærogativa erat, &c. Bib. Gr. l. iv. cap. v. T. III. p. 133.

[d] Ann. 60. num. xxviii.

Dr. C. A. Heumann has lately published a dissertation concerning Christ's seventy disciples, containing many curious observations: and he supposeth that [a] these several following were of that number. Matthias, chosen in the room of the traitor, Joseph, called Barsabas, surnamed Justus, and probably the seven deacons, or however some of them, and the four teachers and prophets of Antioch, Barnabas, Simeon called Niger, Lucius of Cyrene, whom he thinks to be our Luke the evangelist, and Manaen. Acts xiii. 1. His argument is to this purpose. We have not in the gospels the names of those disciples; nor did Christ form a college or company of them, as he did of the twelve, because it was a temporary office, which subsisted for a short time only. They were but once sent forth; and when they were returned, their commission was at an end. Nevertheless they hereby became qualified for public service: and it may be reckoned very probable, that if an opportunity was afforded, they would be very willing, after Christ's ascension, to exert themselves in his cause. And it is very likely that some of these seventy were chosen, and employed by the apostles as men who had been already exercised in the service of the gospel, and were thereby fitted for farther usefulness.

So that learned writer. And it must be acknowledged, that this is a specious argument: but it is rather founded in an ingenious speculation, than in the authority of testimony; which, in this case, would be more valuable.

Indeed Epiphanius, beside the places [b] formerly alleged, where he says, Mark and Luke were of the seventy, has another, where [c] he mentions a great many who were said to be of that number: as the seven deacons, all whom he mentions by name, and also Matthias, Mark, Luke, Justus, Barnabas, Apelles, Rufus, Niger. And therefore, we cannot deny, that in the time of Epiphanius, there were some, who entertained an opinion, that all these were of Christ's seventy disciples. Nevertheless, we do not find it in Irenæus, or Clement of Alexandria, or Origen, or any others of the highest antiquity, and best credit: nor in Eusebius, or Jerom, that I remember, who were acquainted with the writings of those ancient authors, and many others, which are not come to us. Eusebius has a chapter concerning the disciples of our Saviour: he says, the names of Christ's twelve apostles were well known; but [d] there was no where any catalogue of the seventy. However, he mentions Barnabas, Matthias, and the disciple put up with him, and one or two more, who were said to be of the seventy: but he takes not here any notice of Mark, or Luke, or of any of the seven deacons.

Matthias and Barsabas certainly were such men, as are described Acts i. 21, 22, and they may have been of the seventy: but we cannot be certain, because we have not been assured of it by any accounts, that demand full assent. Some of the seven deacons may have been of the seventy, as Stephen and Philip; but we do not know that they were. It is very probable, that all those deacons were not of the seventy, particularly, Nicolas, a proselyte, of Antioch. If Luke, the evangelist, be the same as Lucius, of Cyrene, there ariseth a strong objection against his having been one of the seventy. Simeon, called Niger, and Lucius, of Cyrene, mentioned Acts xiii. 1, and "the men of Cyprus and Cyrene," (of whom those two just mentioned, were a part,) were early believers, after Christ's ascension, and they may have heard and seen the Lord in person: but they cannot be well supposed to have been of the seventy. Christ's twelve apostles were of Galilee: it is likely, that the seventy also were of the same country, or near it. Christ sent them forth from him, to go over the land of Israel, and to return to him in a short time, where he should be: and his usual residence was in Galilee. It does not appear to me at all probable, that our Lord put into that commission any men, who were born, and usually resided abroad, in other countries, out of the land of Israel.

Hitherto, then, we have not any full proof, that our evangelist was one of the seventy. Let us proceed.

St. Luke ch. xxiv. 13—34, relates how two disciples met Jesus after his resurrection, as they were going to Emmaus. And he says, that the name of one of them was Cleopas. Theophylact in his comment upon this place, as [e] formerly shown, observes: 'Some [f] say, that one of these two was Luke himself: but that the evangelist concealed his own name.' Nicephorus

[a] Dissertatio de Septuaginta Christi Legatis. ap. Nov. Syllog. Dissertat. part I. p. 120—154.

[b] Hær. LI. num. vi. xi. [c] H. 20. num. iv.

[d] Των δε εβδομηκοντα μαθητων καταλογος μεν ουδεις ουδαμη φερεται. H. E. I. i. c. 12.

[e] This Vol. p. 87.

[f] Τινες τον ενα τουτων των δυο αυτον τον Λουκαν ειναι φασι· διο και αποκρυψε το εαυτου ονομα ο ευαγγελιστης. Theoph. in Luc. cap. xxiv. p. 539.

Callisti [a] in one place, makes no doubt, that Luke was the other disciple not named. It is likely, that he had met with it in more ancient writers. Sam. Basnage [b] readily declares himself of the same opinion. Indeed, I think, it has a great appearance of probability. It is much more likely, than the tradition, or interpretation in Epiphanius that [c] it was Nathanael. The same Basnage says, that if Nathanael had been the other, St. Luke would have named him.

St. Mark, ch. xvi. 12, 13, has a like account, but briefer, of two, to whom Christ appeared as "they were walking into the country." He does not name either of them. Grotius [d] allows that Mark's and Luke's histories are of the same persons. Both the evangelists speak of these as two of them. They were not of the twelve, but yet they were of their company, such as had been with Jesus: as is allowed by [e] Grotius, and [f] Beza. Nevertheless they say that [g] Luke is not the other. He is excluded, as they say, by the tenour of his introductions both to his gospel, and the Acts. Their reasonings will be considered presently.

However, supposing Luke to be the person here intended, I do not think that he is thereby shown to be one of the seventy. Cleopas, and the other were disciples of Christ and eye-witnesses: but it does not therefore follow that they were of the number of the seventy.

We proceed. Among the salutations in the epistle to the Romans are these, ch. xvi. 20. "Timothy my work-fellow, and Lucius, and Jason, and Sosipater my kinsmen, salute you." All these were Jewish believers, and the three last mentioned, as it seems, were the apostle's relations. That by Lucius some supposed the evangelist Luke to be intended, we have been informed by so ancient a writer as Origen. And it is very likely that St. Luke's name was written differently: Lucas, Lucius, and Lucanus. There is the more reason to think that the evangelist is here intended, because he must have been with the apostle at the time of writing the epistle to the Romans. Says Mr. Tillemont, 'Many [h] believe that St. Luke is he whom St. 'Paul in his epistle to the Romans calls Lucius, making his name a little more Latin. And it 'is the more likely, inasmuch as the Acts assure us, that St. Luke was then with St. Paul. If 'that be so, he was related to this apostle.' Grotius, who supposed our evangelist to have been of Antioch, taking notice of the above mentioned observation of Origen, says, that [i] Lucius in Rom. xvi. is the same as Lucius of Cyrene, mentioned Acts xiii. 1.

Fabricius [k] esteemed it somewhat probable that Lucius is the evangelist.

Dr. Heumann supposes [l] this Lucius to be St. Luke, and the same as Lucius of Cyrene, whom [m] he computes to be one of the seventy disciples, as before seen.

Mr. Basnage likewise argues very strongly, that [n] Lucius is our evangelist.

[a] Τοις περι Λεκαν και Κλεοπαν την ὁδον παρισι γνωριζεται, τρος ἑσπεραν εις δειπνον αυτοις συγκατακλιθεις. Niceph. l. i. c. 34. p 117.

[b] Nulla sane magis idonea ratio observatur animo, cur Cleopæ, non alterius, Lucas meminerit; quomodo Joannes, ubi de se mentionem agitat, nomen dissimulat suum. Si de grege Apostolorum fuissent, aut virorum multâ laude in evangelio celebratorum, uti Nathanaël, quod Epiphanio visum, iterum atque iterum dicemus, tam ejus quam Cleopæ nomen fœnerâsset. Ann. 33. num. CL.

[c] See Vol. ii. p. 420.

[d] Quare immerito Euthymius hic aliam putat historiam indicari, quam eam, quæ a Lucâ copiose describitur. Grot. ad Marc. xvi. 12.

[e] ... δυσιν εκ αυταν.] των μετα Ιησε γενομενων, ut supra dixit, ver. 10. Nam hoc nomine etiam alii extra xii. censentur, præcipue qui de numero erant illorum septuaginta. Grot. ad Marc. xvi. 11.

[f] Ex iis, εξ αυτων, nempe discipulis, non autem ex Apostolis. Aliorum enim præter Apostolos mentio facta fuit præcedente versu 9. Bez. in Luc. xxiv. 13.

[g] Alterum fuisse hunc nostrum Lucam, quidam ex veteribus arbitrantur, quorum opinio refellitur ex præfatione Actis Apostolorum præpositâ. Bez. ad Luc. xxiv. 18.

Duo ex illis, nempe eorum, quos modo λοιπων 'cæterorum,' nomine designârat, e sectatoribus Christi. Probabiliter sentiunt veteres, fuisse hos de numero LXX. ... Nomen alterius infra exprimit Lucas, Cleopam vocans. Alterum ipsum Lucam multi putârunt; quos satis ipse refellit in evangelii anteloquio, ab oculatis testibus se separans. Grot. ad Luc. xxiv. 13.

[h] Mem. Ec. tom. II. S. Luc.

[i] Docet nos Origenes, in annotationibus epistolæ ad Romanos, fuisse qui crederent Lucium eum, qui in eadem epistolâ nominatur. xvi. 21. esse hunc ipsum Lucam, et Lucium dici flexione Romanâ, Lucam Græcâ. Ego Lucium illum, cujus ibi meminit Paulus, puto non alium esse a Cyrenensi, quem noster hic nominat, Actor. xiii. 1. Grot. Præf. ad Evang. S. Luc.

[k] Fuerunt enim jam olim, qui, teste Origene, Lucam eundem putârunt cum Lucio, quem Paulus inter συγγενεις suos refert Rom. xvi. 21. Neque verisimilitudine destituitur hæc sententia. Fab. Bib. Gr. ubi supra. p. 132.

[l] Lucas non est verum, id est, pure expressum, nomen evangelistæ, sed vel Lucanus, (quem in modum et ex Silvanus factum est Silas) vel Lucius. Ac perverisimile est, evangelistam nostrum esse Lucium illum Cyrenæum, cujus fit mentio Act. xiii. 1. Quem nec diversum esse credo ab illo Lucio, quem Paulus, Rom. xvi. 21, vocat cognatum suum, simulque testatur, eum in suo comitatu fuisse. Heumann. Ep. Misc. T. II. p. 519.

[m] Jure igitur credimus, et hos quatuor [Act. xiii. 1.] fuisse e septuaginta illorum discipulorum numero. Jam inter hos si Lucius non est alius quam Lucas Evangelista, merito et Lucam nostrum recensemus inter septuaginta illos discipulos. Diss. de LXX. Christi Legat. sect. 20. p. 149.

[n] Lucam Evangelistam Paulo consanguineum fuisse verisimilitudinis multum habet. Lucium sane, cujus nomine

Indeed this opinion cannot be well said to be destitute of probability: since there is a good deal of reason to think that Luke was in the apostle's company when he wrote the epistle to the Romans. And if Lucius be not he, no mention is made of him; which is very unlikely.

If this be our evangelist, we hence learn that he was a Jew, and related to the apostle. And if this be Lucius of Cyrene, we know his character, and, in part, his history, from Acts xi. 19—21. and xiii. 1—4. He was an early Jewish believer, after Christ's ascension, and together with others was very serviceable in early preaching the gospel to Jews and Gentiles out of Judea. And, once more, if the other, who accompanied Cleopas in the way to Emmaus, be Luke the evangelist, he was a disciple and eye-witness of Jesus Christ: but I do not say one of the seventy.

Now we come to consider the objection of Beza, Grotius, and divers others: who have supposed, that St. Luke, in the introduction to his gospel excludes himself from the number of eye-witnesses. But though this has been a difficulty with many, there have been of late divers learned men, remarkable for inquisitiveness and good judgment, who are not much moved by it. One of them is Dr. Whitby in his preface to St. Luke's gospel, already taken notice of by us. Another is [a] Fabricius, a third [b] Basnage, the fourth Heumann: who in his forecited Dissertation observes, that [c] St. Luke's introduction imports no more, than that he was not an eye-witness from the beginning, nor an apostle. But he may have been for some while a follower of Christ, very consistently with what he there writes: and, probably, he was so. But he very fitly puts the credit and authority of his history upon the testimony of the apostles.

I shall likewise transcribe below a passage of Petavius [d] from his animadversions upon Epiphanius, though it be somewhat long. I do it the rather, because he is an older author than any of those hitherto cited in behalf of this interpretation. He is considering what Epiphanius says of Luke's being one of Christ's seventy disciples. The sum of what he advanceth is to this purpose: 'He dares not affirm, that Luke was a disciple of Christ, because many of the fathers 'have thought otherwise. But he says, there is nothing in St. Luke's introduction to induce us 'to think, he was not a disciple of Christ, or that he had not seen a large part of the things 'related by him: but rather the contrary. And he was willing to show, that Epiphanius is not 'contradicted by St. Luke himself.'

7. St. Luke was for a good while a constant companion of St. Paul. But he was also acquainted with the other apostles.

Tertullian and Chrysostom, as we have seen, call St. Paul Luke's master. But they need not to be understood to intend that Luke learned nothing from other apostles. So Irenæus said: 'Luke, the companion of Paul, put down in a book the gospel that had been preached by

Romanos salutat Apostolus, ex ipsius cognatis unus erat. Sunt vero non pertenues conjecturæ, quibus adducamur ad existimandum unum eumdemque virum cum Lucâ Lucium esse. Quæ antiqua sane sententia fuit, cujus meminit Origenes in Rom. xvi. . . . Silam quidem Paulus ipse Silvanum vocat. Aderat etiam Paulo comes Lucas, cum missa est ad Romanos epistola, quem insalutatos præteriisse, prorsus sit incredibile; quod tamen factum fuisset, si Lucius est a Lucâ diversus. Basn. ann. 60. n. xxxiii.

[a] Neque obstat porro, quod Lucas affirmat, se ea scribere, quæ acceperit ab illis, qui fuissent απ' αρχης αυτοπται. Nam non de omnibus LXX dici hoc poterat, quod Act. i. 21. et seq. ad Apostolum requiritur. Bib. Gr. T. III. p. 133.

[b] Ann. 60. num. xxviii.

[c] Repugnare quidem videri possit ipse Lucas cap. i. 2. scribens, se quæ tradat accepisse a τοις απ' αρχης αυτοπταις. Verum non se negat fuisse αυτοπτην, qui negat se αυτοπτην απ' αρχης fuisse. Concedimus itaque non ab initio statim, uti Apostolos, quos υπηρετας τε λογε appellat, interfuisse rebus a Christo gestis Lucam. Sed aliquo jam tempore functo suo munere Messiæ se applicuisse Lucam, et postea semper in ejus comitatu fuisse, quo minus credamus, hoc ipsius testimonium minime impedit. Accedit, quod modestiæ erat, Apostolorum potius, quam suum ipsius testimonium commendare, jubereque lectores, si forte sibi crediturі sint ægrius, fidem habere Apostolis, testibus nulli obnoxiis exceptioni. Heum. Diss. ib. num. xx.

[d] Quod Lucas e discipulorum numero fuerit, asserit et Dorotheus in Synopsi. . . Sed contra sentiunt plerique, et id ex ipsis Lucæ verbis colligunt, cum ait: Εδοξε κἀμοι. . Sed tantum abest, ut hæc discipulum Christi fuisse, ac non pleraque, cum ab eo gererentur, oculis usurpâsse negent, ut contrarium potius hinc educi possit. Verbum enim παρακολεθειν nonnunquam ad eam notitiam refertur, quæ oculis ipsis, ac propriâ intelligentiâ comparatur, non aliorum sermonibus; ut, cum Demosthenes εν τω περι παραπρεσβειας, de Æschine, cujus in legatione comes fuerat, sic loquitur: Και ὁ τετε πογηρευματα ειδως, και παρηκολεθηκως ἁπασι κατηγορω. Sic igitur Lucas ανωθεν παρηκολεθηκεναι πασιν ακριβως dicitur, hoc est, comperta, exploratque, ac spectata etiam, habuisse. Ac videri potest et nonnulla hic antithesis esse, ut cum superiore versu dixerit: Quemadmodum multi res a Christo gestas scribere aggressi sunt, καθως παρεδοσαν ἡμιν οἱ απ' αρχης, statim subjiciat: Εδοξε κἀμοι παρηκολεθηκοτι, hoc est, qui non, ut illi, εκ παραδοσεως, sed ex propriâ id scientiâ compererim. Cæterum, tametsi ad eum sensum accommodari Lucæ verba nihil prohibet, non idcirco tamen Christi discipulum fuisse certo pronuntiare ausim, cum huic adversari sententiæ longe plures Patres intelligam. Sed ista commemoravi, ut ne Lucæ ipsi de se testanti refragari quisquam Epiphanium arbitretur. Petav. Animadv. in Epiphan. Hær. LI. num. xi. p. 89, 90.

Paul.' But in another place he says, 'That [a] Luke was a fellow-labourer of the apostles, especially of Paul. And in another place he calls Luke [b] a follower and disciple of the apostle. And Eusebius said: 'Luke was for the most part a companion of Paul, but had also more than 'a slight acquaintance with the other apostles.' And Jerom says: 'It was supposed, that Luke 'did not learn his gospel from the apostle Paul only, who had not conversed with the Lord in the 'flesh, but also from other apostles. Which also he acknowledgeth at the beginning of his 'volume, saying, "Even as they delivered them unto us, who from the beginning were eye-'witnesses of the word."'

That must be right, I think, because it is agreeable to the writer's own words in the introduction to his work. I always consider Paul as an eye-witness: but he was not an eye-witness from the beginning, nor a minister of the word from the beginning. He must have had a distinct knowledge of all things concerning the Lord Jesus. Christianity, as has been often and justly said, is founded in facts. In order to preach it, Paul must have had knowledge of Christ's life, preaching, miracles, death, resurrection, and ascension. As he was not instructed by other apostles in the doctrine preached by him, he must have had it from revelation. And I suppose that a man, who, like Luke, often heard Paul preach, might have composed a gospel or history of Jesus Christ from Paul's sermons, preached in divers places, and to men of all characters: and the ancients seem to have supposed that Luke had thereby great assistances for composing his gospel; which I do not deny. Nevertheless it seems fairly to be concluded from his own introduction, that he had consulted others also.

It might not be amiss, if I had room for such observations, to compare St. Luke's gospel and the historical parts of St. Paul's epistles, and also of his discourses recorded by Luke himself in the book of the Acts. It is reasonable to think, that wherever any disciples of Jesus preached the christian religion, they gave an account of the things concerning Christ. Wherever the apostles, or others, preached, in order to induce faith in Jesus and his doctrine, their first discourses must have been historical. The reason of the thing leads us to this; and we are assured of it from their discourses, of which we have an account. We perceive this in the discourses of St. Peter at Jerusalem. Acts ii. 22—36. ch. iii. 12—16. ch. iv. 10. and at the house of Cornelius in Cæsarea, ch. x. 34—43. from Paul's discourses in the synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia. Ch. xiii. 23—38. at Athens, ch. xvii. 31. at Corinth, ch. xix. 8. before the governor Festus, and king Agrippa, ch. xxvi. and at Rome: though then many years had passed, since the ascension of Christ, and since his religion had begun to be preached, and propagated in the world. St. Luke's general account of Paul there is thus: "And Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ," ch. xxviii. 30, 31. 'That is,' says [c] Grotius, 'his miracles, doctrine, death, resurrection, and the mission of the 'Spirit: by which things men were assured, that the heavenly kingdom was set up.' And this may have been the occasion of the frequent use of those expressions, "preaching Christ, and preaching Jesus Christ," as equivalent to preaching the christian religion, or the doctrine of the gospel.

I must own, that in the survey of St. Luke's gospel, and St. Paul's discourses and epistles, I have not discerned any such special agreement, as to be induced to think that one of them had copied the other.

St. Paul says, at Antioch in Pisidia, Acts xiii. 23. "Of this man's seed has God raised unto Israel a Saviour, Jesus." And 2 Tim. ii. 8. "Remember, that Jesus Christ, of the seed of David, was raised from the dead, according to my gospel." These things are agreeable to St. Luke's gospel: but they are also in St. Matthew's; and must have been taught by all the apostles, and all preachers of the gospel.

Acts xx. 35. "And to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, it is more blessed to give than to receive." That saying of our Lord is not recorded by St. Luke in his gospel, nor by any other of the evangelists.

[a] Quoniam non solum prosequutor, sed et cooperarius fuerit Apostolorum, maxime autem Pauli. Iren. l. 3. c. 14. n. 1. p. 201. b.

[b] Lucas autem sectator et discipulus Apostolorum. Ibid. cap. x. [al. xi.] in p. 189.

[c] Miracula ejus, et præcepta, et mortem, et resurrectionem, et missionem Spiritûs Sancti; per quæ certifiebant homines de regno illo cœlesti. Gr. ad Act. xxviii. 31.

1 Cor. xv. 5—7. "And that he was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve: after that he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once...After that he was seen of James, then of all the apostles." St. Luke's account of our Saviour's appearances after his resurrection are in ch. xxiv. and Acts i. 1—12. And if they are observed, I suppose that no remarkable agreement between Paul and Luke will be discerned, but rather the contrary. The five hundred brethren, mentioned by St. Paul, probably saw Jesus in Galilee: where, as in Matt. xxvi. 32. xxviii. 7. and Mark xvi. 7. he appointed to meet the disciples: but of this there is nothing in St. Luke. And all our Saviour's appearances to his disciples, mentioned by him, were at Jerusalem, or in its neighbourhood. Nor does Luke give any hint of that particular appearance to James mentioned by St. Paul: not now to add any thing farther.

However, I shall transcribe below [a] some observations of Mr. Wetstein, relating to this matter.

8. It may be reckoned probable, that St. Luke died a natural death: forasmuch as none of the most ancient writers, such as Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus, Origen, Eusebius, Jerom, say any thing of his martyrdom. Gregory Nazianzen, in [b] one of his orations, seems to put Luke among martyrs. Nevertheless, as is well observed by [c] Tillemont, Elias Cretensis, in the eighth century, famous for his commentaries upon Gregory, supposeth it certain, that [d] Luke did not die a martyr any more than John, the apostle and evangelist: but that after having suffered much in the cause of Christ, and the gospel, he returned in peace to the God of peace. Gaudentius, bishop of Brescia, about 387, observes, that [e] in his time it was generally said, that Luke and Andrew finished their course at Patræ in Achaia. He does not say, in the way of martyrdom. I do not perceive Paulinus, about the year 403, to [f] celebrate Luke, as a martyr, but rather Nazarius, mentioned in the next verse. If martyr belongs to Luke, it may be understood in a general sense, as equivalent to confessor, or a great sufferer for the gospel.

9. Cave says, that [g] Luke lived a single life, and died in the 84th year of his age, about the year of Christ 70, but of what death is uncertain. And it is true, that Nicephorus, in the fourteenth century, says, that [h] Luke died in the 80th year of his age. And in some editions of Jerom's book of illustrious men there is a passage, near the end of the article of St. Luke, importing that he lived 84 years in celibacy. But Martiany, the learned Benedictine editor of Jerom's works, says, that [i] passage is not in any manuscripts: nor does he know whence that silly fiction was borrowed. Fabricius [k] confirms that account.

IV. There is no great difficulty in settling the time of St. Luke's writing his gospel. The Acts of the apostles were published in 63, or 64, and not long after his gospel, as is generally allowed. Accordingly Dr. Mill [l] supposeth those books to have been two parts of one and the same volume, and to have been published in the year of Christ 64. This argument was represented at length [m] formerly. The reader is referred to it, that I may not enlarge upon it in this place.

V. However, I cannot forbear to observe some marks of time in the gospel itself.

1. The occasion of writing it, as St. Luke assures us in the introduction, was, that many had already published narrations of these things. But it cannot be reasonably thought that many

[a] Si Lucas vel Pauli hortatu, vel peculiari Spiritûs Sancti afflatu, ad scribendum impulsus fuisset, rem memoratu tam dignam... silentio neutiquam transiisset. Quod vero quidam existimant, ex locis 2 Tim. ii. 8, et 1 Cor. xv. 4, collatis cum Luc. xxiv. 7, 34, probari, Lucæ, quod dicitur, evangelium ad Paulum potius auctorem esse referendum, nobis parum fit verisimile. Wetsten. ad Luc. cap. i. ver. 3. tom. I. p. 644.

[b] Orat. 3. p. 76.

[c] St. Luc. Mem. Ec. T. II.

[d] Quippe, ne longe abeam, Joannes.... et item Lucas, haudquâquam interempti fuere; verum, cum permultas propter Christum et ejus evangelium calamitates pertulissent, in pace ad eum, qui pacis Deus est, reversi sunt. El. Cr. Annot. p. 322, 323.

[e] Andreas et Lucas apud Patras, Achaiæ civitatem, consummati referuntur. Gaud. Serm. 17. ap. Bib. PP. tom. V. p. 969. C.

[f] Hic pater Andreas, et magno nomine Lucas,
Martyr et illustris sanguine Nazarius.
Paulin. Ep. 32. p. 210. Conf. Annot. p. 75. Paris, 1685.

[g] Vitam egit cœlibem, ac mortuus est anno ætatis 84, circa annum (ut nonnulli volunt) 70. Quo vero mortis genere, incertum est. Hist. Lit. p. 25.

[h] Ογδοηκοντα ετων γενομενος, ὡς φασιν. Niceph. l. 2. c. 43.

[i] Falso additur in hoc loco: 'Vixit octoginta et quatuor annos, uxorem non habens.' Nullum exstat vestigium horum verborum in manuscriptis codicibus. Neque novi, unde putida hæc commenta fluxerint. Martian.

[k] Sed illa Erasmus, Martinus Lipsius, et Suffridus Petri, in exemplaribus suis mss. non invenerunt. Fabr. in loc. ap. Bib. Eccles.

[l] Voluminibus hujus D. Lucæ partem posteriorem, seu λογον δευτερον quod attinet, librum dico actuum Apostolorum, haud dubium est, quin is scriptus fuerit statim post λογον πρωτον, sive evangelium. Proleg. num. 121.

[m] See in this Volume, ch. iv. sect. iv. p. 155—157.

should have written histories of Jesus Christ, presently after his ascension, nor indeed till many years after it.

2. There are several things in the gospel, from which it may be fairly argued, that it was not written till after Peter and Paul, and perhaps other apostles likewise, had preached to Gentiles, and received them into the church, without their embracing the peculiarities of the law of Moses.

3. In ch. ii. 10, the angel says to the shepherds near Bethlehem: "I bring you good tidings of great joy to all people." At ver. 30—32, Simeon says, at the presentation of Jesus in the temple: "Mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people: a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel." In ch. iii. 8, says John the baptist: "God is able of these stones to raise up children to Abraham." And I might here refer to ch. i. 78, 79. I suppose that when St. Luke recorded these things, he understood them: which he could not do, till after the gospel had been freely and fully published among Gentiles.

4. That St. Luke understood the spirituality of the doctrine of the gospel, may be concluded from the account which he has given of our Lord's discourse, recorded ch. vi. 20—49. I might for this refer to ch. i. 74, 75, and other places.

5. Ch. vii. 9. When our Lord had heard the centurion's profession of faith, "he marvelled at him, and said: I have not found so great faith, no not in Israel." In Matt. viii. 11, 12. is a farther enlargement. The like to which may be seen in Luke xiii. 28—30.

6. In ch. xiii. 6—9, is the parable of "the fig-tree, spared one year more:" representing the ruin of the Jewish church and people as near, if they did not speedily repent.

7. In ch. xi. 48—51, are predictions of the calamities coming upon the Jewish people. In ch. xiii. 34, 35, are our Lord's lamentations over the city of Jerusalem, in the view of the calamities coming upon it. See likewise ch. xvii. 22—37. ch. xix. 11—27. ch. xx. 9—18. ch. xxi. 5—11. and ver. 20—35. As St. Luke enlargeth so much in his accounts of these predictions, it may be argued, that the accomplishment was not far off when he wrote.

8. In ch. xiv. 16—24, is the parable of "a great supper;" when they who were first invited, refused to come: whereupon the invitations were enlarged, and made more general. And in the end he who made the supper declares, that "they who were first bidden, should not taste of it:" representing the call of the Gentiles, and the general rejection of the Jews for their unbelief.

9. In ch. xiii. 18—21, are the parables of the "grain of mustard-seed" and "leaven," representing the wonderful progress of the gospel; of which, probably, St. Luke had been witness, when he recorded them.

10. Ch. xxiv. 46, 47..."And he said unto them...that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem." When St. Luke wrote this, it is very likely, that he well understood the commission of the apostles, as reaching to men of all denominations, throughout the whole world.

11. But I need not enlarge farther on these internal characters of time, the other argument being sufficient and satisfactory.

VI. I must say something concerning the place where St. Luke's gospel was written.

Jerom, as before [a] quoted, in the prologue to his commentary upon St. Matthew says, that [b] Luke, the third evangelist, published his gospel in the countries of Achaia and Bœötia. In his book of illustrious men he says, the [c] Acts were written at Rome. Gregory Nazianzen says, that [d] Luke wrote for the Greeks, or in Achaia. And speaking of the provinces of divers of the apostles and evangelists, he [e] assigns Judea to Peter, the Gentiles to Paul, Achaia to Luke, Epirus to Andrew, Ephesus or Asia to John, India to Thomas, Italy to Mark: in which country, undoubtedly, many of the ancients believed this last mentioned evangelist to have written his gospel. Chrysostom does not say, where Luke wrote: but only that [f] he wrote for all in general.

We are told by [g] Philostorgius, that in the reign of the emperor Constantius St. Luke's reliques were translated from Achaia to Constantinople. It must therefore have been the

[a] Vol. ii. p. 550.
[b] In Achaiæ Bœotiæque partibus volumen condidit, p. 34.
[c] P 552 [d] P. 470.
[e] Εϛω Πετρȣ ἡ Ιȣδαια, τι Παυλῳ κοινον προς τα εθνη, Λȣκᾳ προς Αχαιαν. . . Μαρκῳ προς Ιταλιαν; Gregor. Or. 25. p 438. A.
[f] Vol. ii. p. 602.
[g] P. 318.

general persuasion in those times, that St. Luke had died, and had been buried in Achaia. Nicephorus says, that [a] when Paul left Rome, Luke returned to Greece, where he preached the gospel, and converted many: where also he suffered martyrdom, and was buried. Soon afterwards he says, that [b] in the reign of Constantius, Luke's body was translated from Thebes to Constantinople. The connection leads us by Thebes, to understand Thebes in Greece.

Grotius says, he thinks, that [c] about the time that Paul left Rome, Luke also went thence into Achaia, and there wrote his books, which we have, as Jerom likewise says. Cave thought, that [d] both St. Luke's books were written at Rome, and before Paul's captivity there was at an end.

But by Mill, Grabe, and Wetstein, it is said, that Luke published his gospel at Alexandria, in Egypt. Let us observe their proofs.

First of all [e] Mill and [f] Wetstein quote Œcumenius, as saying, that Luke preached at Thebes in Egypt. Nevertheless I do not find it in Œcumenius. And I suppose, that Simeon Metaphrastes, a writer of no great credit, in the tenth century, in his life of St. Luke, is their authority: for he is the writer quoted by [g] Grabe, though he does it cautiously. Nor does Metaphrastes say, that St. Luke published his gospel in Egypt: he supposeth it to have been written before he went thither. For he says, that [h] when Luke preached there, he sometimes argued from the Old Testament, and sometimes from the gospel, which he had written. It may be reckoned probable therefore, that this journey of St. Luke into Egypt, is a mere fiction, a thing without ground ascribed to him by some, after he had left Paul, and after he had written his gospel.

Nevertheless those learned men [i] have been pleased to argue from this passage of Metaphrastes, that Jerom mistook Thebes in Bœötia for Thebes in Egypt: which appears to me to be altogether arbitrary. I should rather think, that some later writer mistook the place, and instead of Thebes in Bœötia, thought of Thebes in Egypt, a very famous city, and better known to himself than the other.

It may be of use to take here more at large the passage of Nicephorus, in part quoted just now. 'Luke' [k] says he, 'was born at Antioch, which is in Syria, by profession a physician, 'and also *well skilled in painting*. He came to Paul at Thebes with its seven gates: where 'renouncing the error of his ancestors, he embraced the christian doctrine, and of a physician 'for the body, became a physician for the soul. He likewise wrote a gospel, as Paul dictated 'it to him, and also the Acts of the apostles. Whilst Paul was at Rome [or, when Paul had 'been at Rome,] he returned into 'Greece.' This, I think, must confirm our supposition, that somebody mistook Thebes in Egypt for Thebes in Bœötia. It is plain, that Nicephorus means Thebes of Greece. And he seems to have supposed in this place, that Luke was converted about the time that he came to be with Paul in Macedonia and Greece. See Acts xvi. 10. He says, Luke returned into Greece. Therefore the Thebes before-mentioned must have been in that country: nor was Paul ever at Thebes in Egypt. Luke therefore could not meet him, and be converted by him there. He calls it Thebes with its seven gates: so [m] Thebes in Bœötia was sometimes called.

[a] Συνδιαγων δ' εν 'Ρωμη τω Παυλω, επανηκει τη 'Ελλαδι αυθις, κ. λ. Niceph. l. 2. cap. 43. p. 210.

[b] Ibid. C.

[c] Puto autem Româ iisse Lucam in Achaiam, atque ibi ab eo conscriptos, quos habemus, libros. Quod et Hieronymus prodidit. Grot. Præf. in Evang. Luc.

[d] Utrumque anno Christi 59, S. Paulo nondum ex carcere dimisso, scripsisse videtur. In Luca H. L. p. 25.

[e] Certe post discessum a Româ Libyam petiisse nostrum hunc Evangelistam, ac apud Thebanos verbum prædicâsse, testatur Œcumenius, comment. in Lucam. Mill. Prol. n. 114.

[f] .... vel secundum Hieronymum.... in Achaiæ Bœotiæque finibus, qui tamen Thebas Ægyptias, ubi, teste Œcumenio, Lucas prædicavit, pro Bœotiis accepisse videtur. Wetst. N. T. tom. I. p. 643.

[g] Taceo recentiores, veluti Simeonem Metaphrasten, qui in Vitâ S. Lucæ Græce et Latine editâ ad calcem commentariorum Œcumenii, p. 857, D. ita scribit: totam Libyam percurrens in Ægyptum pervenit, &c. Grabe Spic. T. I. p. 33.

[h] Και νυν μεν απο της παλαιας παραγων γραφης, νυν δε αφ' ἑτερου ἑτος ανεταξατο ευαγγελια διερμηνευων αυτοις τα περι Χριστου. Sim. Metaphr. de Vit. S. Lucæ, p. 858. B.

[i] Neque aliunde in aliam sententiam ductum arbitror Hieronymum, qui in Achaiæ Bœotiæque finibus hoc Evangelium conditum ait, quam quod, seu lecto, seu ex traditione alicubi accepto, Lucam apud Thebanos prædicâsse, ac conscripsisse Evangelium, incolas istos fuisse existimârit Thebarum Bœotiarum, non autem Thebarum, urbis Ægypti superioris. Mill. Prol. n. 115. Vid. et Wetsten. citat. supra note [f].

[k] Niceph. l. 2. cap. 43. p. 210. A. B.

[l] All must be sensible that this story of Nicephorus is very strange. For in one place he without hesitation speaks of St. Luke, as the companion of Cleophas, mentioned Luke xxiv. 18, lib. I. cap. 34, p. 117, A. And he several times speaks of Mark and Luke, as two of Christ's seventy disciples. Lib. II. cap. 43. in et cap. 45. p. 213. B. και εκ των ο δυο ἑτερος, Μαρκον και Λουκαν.

[m] Vid. Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. lib. II. cap. 13.

Secondly. Another argument, that St. Luke's gospel was written at Alexandria, is, that [a] it is so said in the Syriac version.

But those titles are of no great weight. Before the three catholic epistles, received by the Syrians, is a title or inscription, importing, that [b] they were written by the apostles, James, Peter, and John, witnesses of our Saviour's transfiguration, taking James to be the son of Zebedee: whereas the epistle of James could not be written till long after his death, who was beheaded by Herod Agrippa, as related Acts xii. 1, 2. And St. Paul's second epistle to Timothy [c] is said by the same Syrians, to have been written at Rome, and sent by Luke: which is manifestly contrary to the epistle itself. See 2 Tim. iv. 11, 12.

St. Luke's gospel is also said in the Persic version, [d] to have been written at Alexandria. But then it is allowed, that this version was made from the Syriac, not from the Greek.

Thirdly, it is also urged, that there are *epigraphai* or inscriptions in some manuscripts, at the end of this gospel, where it is said, that it was written in the great city of Alexandria.

But it is well known, that those inscriptions at the end of the books of the New Testament are of little value, divers of them containing manifest mistakes: and they are in late manuscripts only, or however, such as are not of the highest antiquity.

Fourthly. Grabe [e] likewise insists upon a passage in the Apostolical Constitutions, where the apostles are brought in, relating what bishops had been appointed by them in their own time. And it is said, that in Alexandria, Anianus, the first bishop, was ordained by the evangelist Mark, and Abilius by Luke, also evangelist. And [f] Mill in like manner quotes the constitutions, after Grabe, though almost ashamed so to do.

But it should be considered, that the author of that work is anonymous, and unknown, and his time not certain. He says what he pleaseth, and has been convicted of falsehood in such accounts [g] as these, as well as in others. It has very much the appearance of fiction, that the first bishop of Alexandria should be ordained by Mark, and the second by Luke: and possibly it is a fiction of the writer himself; for I do not recollect, that this is said any where else. Epiphanius as well as more ancient writers, must have been totally unacquainted with this ordination, and with St. Luke's journies in Egypt: for he says, that [h] this evangelist preached the gospel in Dalmatia, Gaul, Italy, and Macedonia, but especially in Gaul.

Du Pin having taken notice of what is said relating to this matter in the inscriptions, which are in some manuscripts, the titles in the Syriac and Persic versions, Metaphrastes, and the Constitutions, concludes: 'All [i] these monuments deserve no credit. We ought to adhere to 'what is said by Jerom, as most probable: that this gospel was composed in Achaia, or 'Bœotia.'

Upon the whole, there appears not any good reason to say, that St. Luke wrote his gospel at Alexandria, or that he preached at all in Egypt. It is more probable, that when he left Paul, he went into Greece, and there composed, or finished, and published his gospel, and the Acts of the apostles.

VII. I would now offer something by way of character of this evangelist: but I shall do it briefly, and cautiously; and if I mention doubtful things doubtfully, I may hope to escape censure. It is probable, that he is Lucius, mentioned Rom. xvi. 21. If so, he was related to St. Paul the apostle. And it is not unlikely, that that Lucius is the same as Lucius of Cyrene, mentioned by name, Acts xiii. 1. and in general with others. ch. xi. 20. It appears to me very probable, that St. Luke was a Jew by birth, and an early Jewish believer. This must be reckoned to be a kind of requisite qualification for writing a history of Christ and the early preaching of

[a] Ita quippe sonat titulus ejus in versione Syriacâ, ante mille annos editâ: Evangelium Lucæ Evangelistæ, quod protulit et evangelizavit Græce in Alexandriâ magnâ. Grabe Spic. T. I. p. 33. Conf. Mill. Prol. n. 114.

[b] Sanctorum Apostolorum, Jacobi, Petri, Joannis, transfigurationis Christi spectatorum, epistolæ singulæ.

[c] Ad Timotheum vero secunda, Romæ scripta, fuit missa per eumdem Lucam Medicum et Evangelistam. Ebedjesu Catal. ap. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. III. p. 12.

[d] Et in versione Persicâ, quam tamen non ex Græco, sed Syriaco textu translatam existimat admodum R. Waltonus: Evangelium Lucæ, quod linguâ Græcâ Ægyptiacâ in Alexandriâ scripsit. Grab. ubi supr. p. 33.

[e] Atque hoc non parum confirmatur ex eo quod, lib. vii. Const. Apost. Clement. cap. 46. Lucas dicatur Alexandriæ fuisse, ibique episcopum Avilium ordinâsse. 'Urbis Alexandrinorum Anianus primus a Marco Evangelistâ ordinatus est, secundus vero Avilius a Lucâ, et ipso Evangelistâ.' Grabe ibid.

[f] Et si Constitutionum Apostolicarum seu auctori seu consarcinatori fides, in ecclesiâ Alexandriuâ a Marco primum fundatâ. . . . Avilium Aniani primi episcopi successorem, ordinaverit. Mill. Prol. n. 141.

[g] See in this work Vol. ii. p. 428, 429.

[h] Hær. L. I. num. xi. p. 433.

[i] Disserta. sur la Bible. liv. 2. ch. 2. sect. v. p. 39.

his apostles to advantage; which, certainly, St. Luke has performed. I do not perceive sufficient reasan to believe, that Luke was one of Christ's seventy disciples. But he may have been one of the two, whom our Lord met in the way to Emmaus, on the day of his resurrection, as related Luke xxiv. 13—35. He is expressly styled by the apostle "his fellow labourer," Philem. ver. 24. If he be the person intended. Col. iv. 14. (which seems very probable) he was, or had been by profession a physician. And he was greatly valued by the apostle, who calls him beloved: which must be reckoned much to his honour. For nothing could be so likely to recommend any man to St. Paul's esteem, as faithfulness to the interests of pure religion. It is undoubted, that he accompanied Paul, when he first went into Macedonia, Acts xvi. 8—40. And though we are not fully assured, that he continued to be with him, constantly afterwards, we know that he went with the apostle from Greece through Macedonia, and Asia, to Jerusalem, and thence to Rome, where he stayed with him the whole two years of his imprisonment in that city. This alone makes out the space of above five years. And it is an attendance well becoming Lucius of Cyrene; to which no man could be more readily disposed, than one of the first preachers of the gospel to the Gentiles. We do not exactly know when St. Luke formed the design of writing his two books; but, probably, they are the labour of several years. During St. Paul's imprisonment in Judea, which lasted more than two years, and was a time of inaction for the apostle, St. Luke had an opportunity for completing his collections, and filling up his plan. For in that time unquestionably Luke conversed with many early Jewish believers, and eye-witnesses of the Lord, and some of the apostles, who were still at Jerusalem. And I make no doubt, but that before that season he had conversed with several of the apostles, and other eye-witnesses of our Lord's person and works. Nor can any hesitate to allow the truth of what is said by some of the ancients, that Luke, who for the most part was a companion of Paul, had likewise more than a slight acquaintance with the rest of the apostles. Whilst he was with Paul at Rome, it is likely, that he had some leisure for composing and writing. When St. Paul left Rome, I imagine, that Luke accompanied him no longer: but went into Greece, where he finished, and published, one after the other, his two books. Which he inscribed to Theophilus, an honourable friend, and a good Christian in that country. Here Luke died, and, perhaps somewhat in years. Nor need it to be reckoned an improbable supposition, that he was older than the apostle.

VIII. I shall conclude this chapter with some observations upon St. Luke's gospel, and the Acts of the apostles. But those upon his gospel will chiefly relate to the introduction: though some were mentioned formerly.

1. St. Luke's two books, his gospel and the Acts, are inscribed to Theophilus: whereby some understand any good Christian in general, others a particular person.

Epiphanius[a] speaks as if he was in doubt, whether thereby should be understood a particular person, or a lover of God in general. Salvian[b] seems to have supposed it to be only a feigned name.

Augustin[c] and Chrysostom,[d] and many others, have thereby understood a real person. Theophylact expresseth himself after this manner: 'Theophilus,[e] to whom Luke wrote, was a 'man of senatorian rank, and possibly a governor: forasmuch as he calls him most excellent, the 'same title, which Paul useth in his addresses to Felix and Festus.' Œcumenius says, 'that[f] 'Theophilus was a prefect or governor.' However, we have no particular account in the ancients, who he was, or of what country.

Cave[g] supposed Theophilus to have been a nobleman of Antioch. And in his Lives of the Apostles and Evangelists,[h] written in English, he refers to the Recognitions: where is mentioned a rich man of Antioch of this name. But I do not esteem that to be any proof that St. Luke's Theophilus was of Antioch. That fabulous writer is not speaking of Paul, nor of Luke, but of

[a] Εἰτ' ἀν τινι Θεοφίλω τότε γράφων τοῦτο ἐλεγεν, ἢ παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ θεον ἀγαπωντι. Epiph. Haer. LI. n. vii. p. 429. A.

[b] Positus itaque in hoc ambiguæ opinionis incerto, optimum fere credidit, ut beati evangelistæ sacratissimum sequeretur exemplum: qui in utroque divini operis exordio Theophili nomen inscribens, cum ad hominem scripsisse videatur, ad amorem Dei scripsit; hoc scilicet dignissimum esse judicans, ut ad ipsum affectum Dei scripta dirigeret, a quo ad scribendum impulsus esset. Salvian. ad Salon. ep. 9. p. 216.

[c] De Consens. Evan. l. 4. c. 8. T. III.

[d] Chrys. in Act. Hom. i. T. IX. p. 3, 4.

[e] See this Vol. p. 86, 87.

[f] Ἡγεμων ην οὑτος ὁ Θεοφιλος, &c. Comm. in Act. T. II. p. 2. C.

[g] Utrumque opus inscripsit Theophilo optimati (ut credere fas est) Antiocheno. Hist. Lit. in Luca.

[h] P. 224.

Peter: who, as he says, in [a] seven days converted ten thousand people at Antioch. And Theophilus, the greatest man in the city, turned his house into a church. Moreover, supposing him to intend St. Luke's Theophilus, his authority is of no value. A writer at the end of the second century does not speak of his own knowledge. And if St. Luke published his books in Greece, which to me seems probable, I should be inclined to think, that Theophilus, to whom they are addressed, was a man of the same country.

2. It may be of more importance to inquire, whom St. Luke means by the many, who before him had attempted to write histories of Jesus Christ. Epiphanius says, that [b] St. Luke intended Cerinthus, Merinthus, and others. How Origen [c] expressed himself concerning this, in his preface to St. Luke's gospel; and how Jerom [d] in his preface to St. Matthew, may be seen by those, who are pleased to look back. They say, that many attempted to write gospels, as Basilides, Appelles, and others. And they mention divers gospels, not received by the church: such as the gospel of Thomas, and Matthias, the gospel of the Egyptians, and of the twelve. But it is not necessary to be supposed by us, that they thought that all, if any of those gospels were written before St. Luke's, or that he spoke of them; for Basilides and Apelles could not write gospels before the second century: and they might suppose, that several, if not all the others, mentioned by them, were written after St. Luke's. The meaning of what these ancient writers say, is, that the church receives four gospels only. There were many others. But to them may be applied the words of St. Luke: they only took in hand, or attempted. They did not perform as Matthew, and Mark, and Luke, and John did. And they might express themselves in that manner concerning gospels written after St. Luke's, as well as before it.

However, Theophylact, as was formerly [e] observed, in the preface to his Commentary upon St. Luke, expresseth himself, as if he thought the evangelist referred to the gospels according to the Egyptians, and according to the twelve.

3. We will now observe the judgments of some learned moderns. Grabe [f] allows, that St. Luke did not refer to the gospels of Basilides, or Thomas, or some others, mentioned by Origen, for they were not published till after St. Luke's death. But he thinks, that St. Luke might refer to the gospels according to the Egyptians, and according to the twelve, and some others not known.

That St. Luke might refer to the gospel according to the Egyptians, he thinks, for the following reasons, which I shall consider.

The first is, that [g] St. Luke's gospel was written in Egypt. To which I answer, that is said without ground, as has been lately [h] shewn.

Grabe's second argument is, that [i] Clement of Rome, or some other, in the fragment of the second epistle ascribed to him, has quoted the gospel according to the Egyptians. Which argument, as one would think, might have been spared: since Grabe himself allows that [k] second epistle to be supposititious, and not to have been composed till about the middle of the third century. If that be the true date of the epistle, it is too late a thing to warrant the supposition, that St. Luke referred to the gospel according to the Egyptians.

I shall take no farther notice of Grabe. But I imagine that the gospel, according to the

[a] Et ne multis immorer, intra septem dies, plus quam decem millia hominum credentes Deo baptizati sunt, et sanctificatione consecrati; ità ut omni aviditatis desiderio Theophilus, qui erat cunctis potentibus in civitate sublimior, domûs suæ ingentem basilicam, ecclesiæ nomine, consecravit. Recogn. l. x. cap. 71.

[b] . . . φασκων επειδηπερ πολλοι επεχειρησαν· ινα τινας μεν επιχειρηταs δειξη, φημι δε τες περι Κηρινθον, και Μηρινθον, και τες αλλες. H. LI. n. vii. in.

[c] See Vol. i. p. 552, 553.

[d] See Vol. ii. p. 562, 563.

[e] This Vol. p. 86.

[f] Reliqua quippe, ab Origene et Ambrosio nominata falsa evangelia, veluti Basilidis, aliudque Manichæorum, apostolo Thomæ perperam adscriptum, procul omni dubio post S. Lucæ obitum prodiere; adeo ut ea in primis evangelii verbis, in quorum explicatione Origenes et Ambrosius ista afferunt, respicere haud potuerit. Contra vero haud est absimile, ista secundum Hebræos et Ægyptios ante fuisse scripta, atque ad ea, unâ cum aliis pluribus jam ignotis, Lucam intendisse digitum, dum præfatus est, &c. Gr. Spic. T. I. p. 31, 32.

[g] Evangelium, de quo agitur, ab Ægyptiis editum fuisse ante Lucæ Evangelium, hunc que istud inter alia, si non præcipue, respexisse, dum in proœmio plures historias evangelicas memorat, ad quas emendandas, et defectus eorum supplendos suam literis consignâsse se innuit, probabile redditur ex eo, quod Lucas Evangelium scripsisse dicatur Alexandriæ in Ægypto. Id. ib. p. 33. in.

[h] See before, p. 202.

[i] Accedit, quod jam Clemens Romanus, vel quisquis est auctor ep. 2. ad Corinthios, certe antiquissimus, isto evangelio usus esse ex fragmento mox recitando, colligatur. Ibid. p. 34.

[k] Cæterum quæras, quando epistola illa Clementi supposita fuerat, respondeo, id seculo iii. et quidem medio, factum esse. Ib. p. 269. in.

Egyptians, was not composed before the second century. Clement of Alexandria is the first known catholic author that has cited it; and in his time it was very obscure and little known. This[a] was shown formerly.

Dr. Mill does not much differ from Grabe. He thinks, that[b] of the many narrations, to which St. Luke refers, the two principal were the gospels according to the Hebrews, and according to the Egyptians.

The general account which Mill gives of those memoirs or narrations, seems to be very just and reasonable; and I intend to transcribe him here largely, 'About[c] the year 58, or somewhat 'sooner,' says Mill, 'were composed by some of the faithful, evangelical narrations, or short 'histories of Christ. This appears from St. Luke's introduction to his gospel. From which we 'learn, in the first place, that they were not our evangelists, Matthew and Mark: for Matthew 'was an eye-witness; nor can two be called many. In the next place it is to be observed, 'that these narrations consisted of things most surely believed among us, that is, as I understand 'it, of the things fulfilled and done by Christ among the first professors of the faith; of which 'number Luke reckons himself. Lastly, from the words of that introduction it appears, that 'those narrations were received either from the apostles themselves, or from their assistants in 'the work of the gospel. It is therefore manifest, that there were some of the first Christians, 'who before Luke (and also, as we may suppose, before Matthew and Mark) wrote histories of 'the things done by Christ, and received from apostolical traditions: and that not with a bad or 'heretical design, as many insinuate, who comment upon this introduction of St. Luke, but with 'the same design as our evangelists; that Christians might have at least some account in writing 'of the Lord's actions. Nevertheless it may be also inferred, from what St. Luke here says, 'that their histories were inaccurate and imperfect, there were in them some things not certain, 'or well attested, and possibly here and there some mistakes. For which cause it seemed good 'to him, who had attained to full information, to write a complete and copious history of the 'things done by Christ.'

If this account be right, some consequences may be deduced, which will be of use to us.

And indeed it seems to me to be very right. There were several histories of Christ, to which St. Luke here refers. They were composed with a good view, like to that of our evangelists. But they were defective and inaccurate. If there were any mistakes, I would imagine that they were not numerous, nor in things of the greatest importance. Nor were the writers sufficiently qualified for the work which they had undertaken. This, I think, to be intimated by St. Luke, though modestly, and without censoriousness, in what he says of himself, "that he had perfect understanding of all things from the very first:" which, probably, could not be said of the composers of the narrations, to which he refers. They were men who had an honest zeal; but they had written too hastily before they had obtained full information: for which reason their histories could not answer the end aimed at.

These things being allowed to be right, several consequences may be deduced by us.

In the first place, and in particular, we hence learn, that the gospel, according to the twelve, or according to the Hebrews, was not one of those narrations, or memoirs, to which St. Luke

[a] See Vol. i. p. 407, 408.

[b] Ex dictis autem hisce historiolis. . . duæ præ cæteris celebratæ erant, quæ et ipsæ Evangelia appellabantur, secundum Hebræos alterum, alterum secundum Ægyptios. Proleg. n. 38. vid. et. n. 39—41. et n. 112, &c.

[c] Sub hoc quidem tempus, annum dico LVIII. seu etiam aliquanto ante, contextæ fuere a fidelibus quibusdam istius ævi διηγησεις evangelicæ, seu historiolæ de rebus Christi. Patet hoc ex Evangelii D. Lucæ proœmio: Exinde colligimus, in primis equidem πολλους hosce, qui historias conficiebant, alios prorsus fuisse ab Evangelistis nostris, Matthæo et Marco. Erat enim Matthæus unus ex αυτοπταις, ideoque nec ab istorum traditionibus pendebat, sicut hi quos memorat Lucas. Ne dicam, quod duos duntaxat nemo πολλους dixerit. Deinde vero notandum, eos narrationes suas instituisse περι των πεπληροφορημενων εν ημιν πραγματων, hoc est, ut ego lubens interpretor, 'de rebus apud primos fidei professores, quorum numero seipsum accenset Lucas, a Christo impletis sive gestis. Denique liquet ex verbis modo citatis, traductas fuisse narratiunculas istas seu proxime, seu mediate saltem, ab Apostolis ipsis, eorumque in opere evangelico adjutoribus. Manifestum est igitur, fuisse e primis Christianis nonnullos, qui ante Lucam, [addo etiam Matthæum et Marcum] res Christi, (seu Evangelia) ex apostolicis traditionibus undecumque acceptas conscripserant; idque non studio aliquo maligno, seu hæretico, quod insinuant fere qui in hoc Lucæ proœmium commentati sunt; sed eodem plane fine, quo Evangelistæ nostri; ut haberet scilicet ecclesia rerum a Domino nostro gestarum qualem notitiam. Cæterum cum in iis quæ sequuntur apud Lucam, singula Christianæ rei historiam spectantia accurate se assecutum esse dicat Evangelista. . . haud obscure quidem hinc colligi videtur, των πολλων istorum διηγησεις minus accuratas fuisse, minusque perfectas; ita quidem, ut in his, quæ tradiderant, aliqua hinc inde occurrerint parum certa, ne dicam a vero aberrantia. Unde omnino visum sit ipsi, plenariam historiæ hujusce cognitionem consecuto, integrum jam et luculentum rerum a Christo gestarum Commentarium scribere. Mill. Proleg. num. 35—37.

refers. For these were very short histories ['historiolæ' as Mill calls them:] that was a full gospel, or large history of Jesus Christ. Many, in Jerom's time, supposed it to be the authentic gospel of St. Matthew: which, certainly, is not a short and imperfect memoir. From the notice taken of that gospel by several ancient writers, especially by Jerom, it appears to me very probable (and I should think must appear very probable to others likewise) that the gospel according to the twelve, or according to the Hebrews, either was St. Matthew's original Hebrew gospel, with additions; or his original Greek gospel, translated into Hebrew, with additions. But this last seems to me most likely, as has been often said already upon divers occasions.

Secondly. Another thing to be deduced from Mill's account, if right, is, that [a] the gospel according to the Egyptians was not one of the narrations, to which St. Luke refers. For that gospel was not composed upon the same principles with those of our evangelists. It was an heretical gospel, as appears from the fragments of it, collected by Grabe, and [b] probably it was composed in the second century, by some encratites, enemies of marriage.

Thirdly. I add one thing more, whether it be a consequence from what has been already said, or not: that nothing remains of the narrations, to which St. Luke refers, not so much as any fragments, they not being quoted in any christian writings now extant.

3. I shall now transcribe a part of Dr. Doddridge's remarks upon St. Luke's introduction. 'This must refer to some histories of the life of Christ, now lost. For Matthew and Mark, 'the only evangelists that can be supposed to have written before Luke, could not with any 'propriety be called many. And of these two, Matthew at least wrote from personal knowledge, 'not from the testimony of others. I conclude, that the books referred to are lost: as I am well 'satisfied that none of the apocryphal gospels, now extant, published, particularly by Fabricius 'and Jones, can pretend to equal antiquity, with this of St. Luke....And St. Luke seems to 'allow these histories, whatever they were, to have been honestly written, according to informa-'tion received from capable judges.'

Mr. Beausobre, speaking of these memoirs, says 'The [d] life of our Saviour was so beautiful, 'his character so sublime and divine, his doctrine so excellent, and the miracles by which he 'confirmed it, were so shining and so numerous, that it was impossible but many should under-'take to write memoirs of them. This produced many histories of our Saviour, some more, 'others less exact. It is great pity that they are lost: for we might have consulted them, and 'could have judged for ourselves concerning the character of the writers, and their compositions. 'St. Luke, who speaks of narrations, or gospels that had preceded his own, intimates indeed, 'that they were defective, but he does not condemn them as fabulous, or bad.'

5. That is right. Those memoirs were not bad, nor fabulous: but they were imperfect, as I apprehend, to a great degree; nor do I lament the loss of them. I can pay so much deference to the judgment of christian antiquity, especially the earliest of all, as to believe, that those many narrations to which St. Luke refers, did not deserve to be preserved, or to be much taken notice of, after the publication of the gospels of our first three evangelists. I imagine, that when once these came abroad, the former appeared to the faithful so low, and mean, and defective, that they could not bear to see, or read them.

IX. I shall now make some observations upon the other work of our evangelist.

1. The book of the Acts was written, according to [e] Mill, in the year 64. And from what has been argued by us in several places, that must appear to be as likely a time as any. It could not be written till after St. Paul's confinement at Rome was come to a period; I suppose it to have ended in the former part of the year of Christ 63. And I think it probable, that St. Luke finished this book the same, or the next year, either at Rome, or in Greece.

2. It cannot be disagreeable to recollect here some of the observations of ancient writers upon this book, the only book of the kind which we have, containing a history of the preaching of Christ's apostles after his resurrection.

[a] I am not singular in supposing, that the gospel according to the Egyptians is not intended by St. Luke. Beza says the the same strongly. And, as I imagine, he justly asserts it not to have been written, till after St. Luke's gospel. Quod istos ait Lucas non satis commode præstitisse: minime tamen, opinor, fabulosas, imo etiam impias narrationes intelligens, tandem ecclesiæ sub Nicodemi, Nazaræorum, Thomæ, Ægyptiorum, nominibus impudentissime obtrusas. Bez. ad Luc. cap. i. ver. 1.

[b] Vid. Grabe Spic. T. I. p. 31—37.

[c] See his Family Expositor, Vol. I. p. 1.

[d] Hist. de Manich. tom. I. p. 449.

[e] Prolegom. num. 121.

3. Tertullian[a] often speaks of the importance of this book, as showing Christ's fulfilment of the promise of the Holy Ghost to his disciples.

4. 'The[b] Acts of the apostles,' says Jerom in his letter to Paulinus concerning the study of the scriptures, 'seems to promise a bare history, and an account of the early infancy of the 'church: but if we consider, that the writer is Luke the physician, we shall at the same time 'discern, that every word is suited to heal the maladies of the soul.'

5. Says Augustin: 'Luke[c] after having written a gospel, containing a history of Christ's words 'and works to the time of his resurrection and ascension, wrote such an account of the Acts of 'the apostles, as he judged to be sufficient for the edification of believers. And it is the only 'history of the apostles, which has been received by the church: all others having been rejected 'as not to be relied upon.'

6. I beg leave to refer my readers to the passages of Chrysostom, already[d] transcribed, relating to this book: and to the whole of his first homily upon it. I add now only one passage more out of the same homily. 'The[e] gospels,' says he, 'are the history of the things which 'Christ did and spake. The Acts, the history of the things which another Paraclet spake and did.'

7. It is not needful for me to make a distinct enumeration of the things contained in this book. Every one who has perused it with care, cannot but know, that it contains an account of the choice of Matthias to be apostle in the room of the traitor, of the wonderful and plentiful pouring out of the gift of the Holy Ghost upon the apostles, and other disciples of Jesus at Jerusalem, at the Pentecost next succeeding his crucifixion, and of the testimony borne by the apostles to his resurrection and ascension in their discourses, and by many miracles, and various sufferings: their preaching first at Jerusalem, and in Judea, and afterwards by themselves, or their assistants, in Samaria: and then to Gentiles in Judea, and afterwards out of it, as well as to Jews: and of the conversion of Paul, and his preaching, miracles, labours, sufferings, in many cities and countries, parts of the Roman empire, and the polite world, and at length in Rome itself.

8. If we were to indulge ourselves in making remarks upon this useful and excellent performance, nothing, perhaps, would be more observable than its brevity and conciseness: by which means many things must have been omitted, which happened during the period of that history. For it is very true, which Chrysostom said, that[f] Luke leaves us thirsting for more.

9. Says Le Clerc: 'Luke's[g] apostolical history relates the beginnings of the preaching of the 'gospel among Jews and Gentiles, chiefly by the ministry of Peter and Paul: for of the other 'apostles he is almost entirely silent....I wish,' says he, 'that some other apostolical man, of like 'judgment and integrity, had written the history of the other apostles, and had undertaken to 'supply what was wanting in Luke's history, and that this work had come down to us.' But, however desirable it may now appear to us, we cannot perceive, from ecclesiastical history, that ever such a work was published.

10. Estius imagined, 'that[h] Luke, possibly, intended to write a third book, to supply, par-'ticularly, the omissions of the two years, which St. Paul spent at Rome.' But I verily believe, there is no ground at all for that conjectural supposition.

11. Again: Le Clerc, above-mentioned, thinks, 'that[i] Luke breaks off the history of St. Peter, of whom he had said so much before, very abruptly, in those words, Acts xii. 17. "And he departed, and went to another place." Nevertheless St. Luke afterwards drops St. Barnabas in a like manner. ch. xv. 39. And in the end he will take his leave of the apostle Paul himself without much more ceremony.

[a] See Vol. i. p. 422.

[b] Actus Apostolorum nudam quidem sonare videntur historiam, et nascentis ecclesiæ infantiam texere. Sed, si noverimus scriptorem eorum Lucam esse medicum, cujus laus est in evangelio, animadvertemus pariter, omnia verba illius animæ languentis esse medicinam. Ad Paulin. ep. 50. al. 103. T. IV. P. II. p. 574.

[c] See Vol. ii. p. 584, 585.

[d] Ibid. p. 604, 605.

[e] Τα μεν ουν ευαγγελια ων ὁ Χριστος εποιησεν και ειπεν ιστορια τυγχανει· αι δε Πραξεις, ων ὁ ἑτερος παρακλητος ειπε και εποιησε. In Act. Hom. i. tom. IX. p. 9. B.

[f] P. 605.

[g] Hic vero desinit Lucæ Historia Apostolica, quâ initia prædicationis evangelicæ apud Judæos, Ethnicosque, et ministerio quidem Petri et Pauli potissimum, scribere adgressus est. De cæteris Apostolis altum ubique apud eum est silentium... Utinam vero vir quispiam apostolicus, pari judicio, et fide, cæterorum res gestas literis mandâsset, quæ narrationi Lucæ desunt supplere voluisset, idque opus ad nos pervenisset. Cler. H. E. An. 61. n. iv.

[h] Sed proculdubio multa actorum Pauli a Lucâ sunt omissa ... Ac fortasse Lucas meditabatur tertium librum, in quo repeteret acta illius biennii... sicut Act. I. quædam exposuit tacita ultimo capite Evangelii. Est. ad Act. Ap. xxviii. 30.

[i] Mirum est, Lucam, postquam liberationem Petri e carcere narravit cap. xii. 17, eumque 'in alium locum,' hoc est, extra Ierosolymam, ivisse dixit, ne verbulum quidem de eo habere, de quo tam multa alia dixerat. Id. ibid.

12. Those omissions are no reflection upon the writer, nor any disparagement to his history. The proper deduction to be made by us is this: we hereby perceive, that it was not the design of St. Luke, to aggrandize Peter, or Paul, or any of the apostles, nor to write their lives: but to record the evidences of our Saviour's resurrection, and to write a history of the first preaching and planting the christian religion in the world. This design he has admirably executed: and having filled up his plan, he concluded.

13. However, undoubtedly, many things are omitted by St. Luke: some of which we may learn from St. Paul's epistles. I shall observe some omissions.

14. St. Luke has not, in the course of his history, mentioned the writing of any of St. Paul's epistles. It is probable, that he was at Corinth when the apostle wrote thence his large epistle to the Romans. Nevertheless he takes not any notice of it, nor of the epistles written by St. Paul at Rome, when he certainly was with him, nor indeed of any other. By comparing the epistles themselves, and St. Luke's history of the apostle in the Acts, we are enabled to trace the time and place of divers of those epistles: but they are no where particularly mentioned by the historian.

15. In Acts ix. 19—26. St. Luke, after the account of St. Paul's conversion, speaks of his being at Damascus, and his preaching there, and of the opposition, which he there met with from the Jews, and his escape thence, and then going to Jerusalem. But St. Paul, Gal. i. 17, 18. informs us, that after his conversion he went into Arabia, and then returned to Damascus: and that three years passed between his conversion and his going to Jerusalem. This is an instructive instance: for the omission is certain, and undoubted. I am of opinion, that St. Luke did not omit the journey into Arabia, because he did not know of it: but designedly, and because he did not judge it necessary to be mentioned. Jerom[a] has taken particular notice of the omission of that journey into Arabia.

16. Like omissions are in St. Luke's gospel. I shall take notice of two.

1.) Having given the history of our Lord's presentation at the temple, he says, ch. ii. 39. "And when they had performed all things according to the law of the Lord, they returned into Galilee, to their own city, Nazareth." Nevertheless, I think the holy family did not go directly from Jerusalem to Nazareth, but to Bethlehem. There, as I suppose, our Lord received the homage of the Magians. And afterwards, to avoid the persecution of Herod, they removed thence to Egypt, and then returned to Nazareth. All which is recorded Matt. ii. 1—13.

The visit of the Magians must have been after the presentation at the temple. If it had been before, and if they had presented "their gifts, gold, and frankincense, and myrrh:" mentioned Matt. ii. 11. Mary would not have made the lesser offering for her purification, mentioned Luke ii. 23, 34. Nor could the child Jesus have been safely brought to Jerusalem, or such notice have been taken of him at the temple, as St. Luke particularly relates, ch. ii. 25—38, if "Herod and all Jerusalem," had been just before alarmed by the inquiries of the Magians: "Where is he that is born king of the Jews?" Matt. ii. 1, 2. Omitting therefore all those things, St. Luke says, as above observed, and afterwards they returned to Nazareth, the place of their usual abode: which is agreeable to Matt. ii. 22, 23.

2.) Another thing observable is, that all our Saviour's appearances to his disciples, after his resurrection, recorded by St. Luke, ch. xxiv. were at Jerusalem, or near it. He takes not any notice of our Saviour's meeting the disciples in Galilee, so particularly mentioned Matt. xxviii. 7, and Mark xvi. 7. St. John also, ch. xxi. 1—23, speaks of our Saviour's showing himself to the disciples at "the sea of Tiberias." And St. Paul assures us, that our Lord was "seen of above five hundred brethren at once," 1 Cor. xv. 6; which, probably, was in the same country. And though at the beginning of his book of the Acts, St. Luke resumes the account of our Saviour's showing himself to the disciples after his resurrection, there is nothing more about Galilee, than in the former relation. Insomuch, that, if we had St. Luke's histories only, we might have been apt to conclude, that all the appearances of our Saviour to his disciples were at Jerusalem, or near it, and no where else.

17. St. Paul's epistles inform us of many things omitted by St. Luke. But we should have

[a] Lucam vero idcirco de Arabiâ præterisse, quia forsitan nihil dignum apostolatu in Arabiâ perpetrârat; et ea potius compendiosa narratione dixisse, quæ digna Christi evangelio videbantur. Nec hoc segnitiæ Apostoli deputandum, si frustra in Arabiâ fuerit; sed quod aliqua dispensatio et Dei præceptum fuerit, ut taceret. Hier. in Ep. ad Gal. cap. i. T. IV. p. 235.

known many more, if we had had a parallel historian. A comparison of St. Luke's history of our Saviour, with that of the other evangelists, may assure of this.

18. In the eleventh chapter of the second epistle to the Corinthians, St. Paul mentions divers visions and revelations, with which he had been favoured: but St. Luke has not taken notice of any of them. St. Paul in his speech to the people at Jerusalem, recorded by St. Luke, Acts xxii. 17, mentions a trance which he had in the temple. But St. Luke has no where told us the exact time of it; nor has he otherwise mentioned it.

19. I do not think that these things were omitted by St. Luke, because St. Paul concealed them from him; or because by some other means he was unacquainted with the time and place of them: but it was a regard to brevity that induced him to pass them over. They were not necessary to be inserted in his history: without them he has recorded sufficient attestations of Paul's apostolical authority, and of the truth and divine original of the doctrine taught by him.

20. Says St. Paul, unwillingly, and constrained by the disadvantageous insinuations and charges of self-interested and designing men. 2 Cor. xi. 23. "Are they ministers of Christ? (I speak as a fool:) I am more. In labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft."

"In prisons more frequent." Therefore before writing this epistle, in the year 57, Paul had been imprisoned several times: though St. Luke has mentioned before this time one imprisonment only, which was at Philippi. Acts xvi. 23—40. Upon which Estius [a] observes, that Paul did and suffered many things not mentioned in the Acts. And Rom. xvi. 7. "Salute Andronicus and Junia, my kinsmen and my fellow-prisoners...who also were in Christ before me." Paul was not a prisoner when he wrote the epistle to the Romans, in the beginning of the year 58. But [b] he had been in prison before with those two early Christians, his relations: but where, or when, we cannot exactly say.

21. Ver. 24. "Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one." Nevertheless St. Luke has not mentioned one of those times. Estius conjectures that [c] Luke omitted these, and many other things, because he was not with the apostle when they happened, and Paul out of modesty forbore to tell him of them. I rather think that Luke was fully acquainted with Paul's history: but he aimed at brevity, and judged the things mentioned by him to be sufficient.

22. Ver. 25. "Thrice was I beaten with rods:" meaning, I suppose, by Roman magistrates. But St. Luke has mentioned one instance only of this; which was at Philippi, when Paul and Silas both underwent this hard usage. Acts xvi. 19—40. Of this [d] likewise Estius has taken notice in his Commentary.

"Once was I stoned:" undoubtedly meaning at Lystra in Lycaonia, as related by St. Luke Acts xiv. 19, 20.

"Thrice I have suffered shipwreck." St. Luke has recorded but one instance, which was not until after this time, in the apostle's voyage from Judea to Rome: Acts xxvii. which therefore must have been the fourth.

"A night and a day have I been in the deep." At one of those times I escaped with the utmost difficulty, by getting on a plank, and floating in the sea a night and a day, or a whole day of four and twenty hours.

23. Ver. 26. "In journeyings often, in perils of waters," or rather "rivers." Which [e] are sometimes very dangerous. But St. Luke has not recorded any dangers of the apostle upon rivers, either in crossing them, or sailing upon them.

24. Says Tillemont, in his life of St. Paul: 'The [f] greatest part of interpreters think, that St. Paul made no voyages, but those which are taken notice of in the Acts.....Nevertheless we

[a] De Paulo autem incarcerato ante hanc epistolam, in Actis Apostolorum non legimus quidem, nisi cap. xvi. ubi a Philippensibus in carcerem missus legitur. Sed permulta Paulus et fecit et passus est, quæ in Actis non scribuntur. Est. ad 2 Cor. xi. 23.

[b] Porro concaptivos intellige, quod aliquando communia cum Paulo vincula pro Christo passi fuissent. Ubi tamen, aut quando factum sit, ignoratur. Est. ad Rom. xvi. 7.

[c] Sed cur Lucas in Actis ne unius quidem flagellationis ex quinque meminit? Ideo videlicet, quod de Paulo pene ea sola, quibus ipse præsens fuit, sigillatim recenseat; alia vero vel silentio pertranseat, vel summatim ac breviter referat.... Quâ in re notanda humilitas Pauli, qui suas tot et tam graves pro Christo passiones Lucæ comiti suo non aperuerit, ne hic quidem recitaturus, nisi coëgisset eum amor salutis Corinthiorum. Id. ib. ad ver. 24.

[d] 'Ter virgis cæsus sum'—a Gentilibus. Erat enim Romanis consuetudo virgis cædere nocentes. Id. Porro Lucas tantum semel meminit hujus contumeliæ Paulo illatæ, scilicet Act. xvi. ubi scribit eum, unâ cum Si. virgis cæsum a Philippensibus. Est in loc.

[e] 'Periculis fluminum'—quæ interdum non minus periculosa sunt navigantibus, quam mare. Est. in loc.

[f] Mem. Ec. T. i. St. Paul. note xviii.

'must necessarily acknowledge, that beside what St. Luke informs us of the sufferings of St. 'Paul this apostle was five times scourged by the Jews, twice beaten with rods, and thrice 'shipwrecked. All this happened before he wrote his second epistle to the Corinthians; that is, 'in the time of which St. Luke has written the history. Nevertheless St. Luke says nothing of 'all this. It is certain therefore, that either he has omitted the circumstances of the most 'remarkable events which he relates, or that St. Paul made several voyages, of which he has taken 'no notice.'

25. The reason of St. Luke's silence here I take to be the same as has been already assigned of his silence upon other occasions: it was not necessary that these things should be related. To have written an account of all the apostle's journies and dangers, would have rendered the work more voluminous and prolix than was judged proper. When St. Luke set about composing and publishing this book, he had all the materials before him, and his plan was formed. Agreeably to which he determined to write at large the history of St. Paul's voyage from Judea to Rome, in which are many remarkable incidents, and to omit some other of the apostle's journies and voyages: though divers of them likewise were attended with affecting circumstances.

26. The chapter, from which I have just now transcribed several things, concludes in this manner: Ver. 31—33. "The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is blessed for evermore, knows that I lie not. In Damascus the governor under Aretas the king, kept the city of the Damascenes with a garrison, desirous to apprehend me. And through a window in a basket was I let down by the wall, and escaped his hands."

I have often reflected with great satisfaction on St. Luke's not omitting this dangerous attempt upon the apostle's liberty and life: with which himself was so much affected, and which he has here mentioned with such solemnity. The history of it may be seen in Acts ix. 23—25.

I now proceed to some other things.

27. St. Paul assures us Gal. ii. 1—3, that when he went up to Jerusalem upon occasion of the debate concerning the manner of receiving Gentile converts, he took Titus with him: which is not said by St. Luke, Acts xv. though he gives a particular account of Paul's going from Antioch to Jerusalem upon that occasion. Nor indeed has St. Luke once mentioned Titus in his history: though St. Paul wrote an epistle to him, and has mentioned him several times in his epistles sent to others.

28. Gal. ii. 11—21. St. Paul speaks of Peter's being at Antioch, before he and Barnabas had separated: but St. Luke says nothing of it. Jerom, in his Commentary upon the epistle to the Galatians, says: 'We [a] are not to wonder, that Luke has taken no notice of this. For by 'the usual privilege of historians he has omitted many things performed by Paul, and which we 'know from himself.'

29. Rom. xvi. 3, 4. St. Paul applauds an action of great generosity in Aquila and Priscilla: but St. Luke has not informed us of the place, or occasion of it. Doubtless he did not omit it, for want of respect to those excellent Christians, whom he has mentioned more than once, ch. xviii. 18, and 26. But that particular did not come within the compass of his design.

30. Many things, not expressly mentioned by St. Luke, may be argued and concluded to have been done, from those which he has recorded.

1.) In Acts iv. 23—30, is recorded a prayer of the apostles, in which they request, that they may be enabled to work miracles for farther confirming the doctrine taught by them. And unquestionably their prayer was heard, and their request granted, and they did work many miracles in the name of Christ, more than are related by St. Luke.

2.) Acts v. 12. "And by the hand of the apostles were many signs and wonders done among the people:" and what follows. Whence it may be concluded, that [b] many miracles were wrought, not only by Peter and John, but also by the other apostles also, beside those which are particularly recorded. See also ch. ii. 43.

3.) Says Mr. Biscoe: 'Many [c] and great miracles are related in the history of the Acts to

[a] Nec mirum esse, si Lucas hanc rem tacuerit, quum et alia multa, quæ Paulus sustinuisse se replicat, historiographi licentiâ prætermiserit. In Gal. cap. ii. T. IV. p. 244.

[b] Œcumenius says, that Luke omitted many miracles wrought by the Apostles, for avoiding ostentation. Πολλων δε θαυματων επιτελεμενων υπο των αποστολων, ως και αγωτερω εμνησθη ὁ ταυτα γραφων Λουκας, [cap. ii. 43.] θελενος εκεινων ονομασι μνημονευει, αλλ' εκεινο γραφει μονον αφ' ᾧ παντες εκινηθησαν. . . . η και ὁτι ᾧ κομπε χαριν ἡ συγγραφη αυτω αυτη εσπευδασθη. Œcum. in Act. Cap. iii. tom. i. p. 25. A. B.

[c] The History of the Acts confirmed. ch. xi. sect. 8. p. 407, 408.

'be wrought by St. Paul and his fellow-labourers in their preaching the gospel to the Gentiles. 'And agreeably hereto St. Paul says, 2 Cor. xii. 12. "Truly the signs of an apostle were wrought 'amongst you in all patience, in signs and wonders, and mighty deeds." And to the Romans, 'ch. xv. 18, 19.....I make no doubt, says that learned writer, but the apostles wrought miracles 'in every city, where they came with a view to preach the gospel, and make converts. St. 'Luke is so very succinct in his history of the Acts, that he often omits them. He gives an 'account of only a miracle or two wrought at Philippi in his whole account of St. Paul's 'journey from Antioch to the West, when he converted a great part of Macedonia and Achaia: 'though it is evident from St. Paul's own epistle, already quoted, that he at that time did many 'signs and wonders at Corinth. And that he did the same at Thessalonica is not obscurely 'intimated in his first epistle to the Thessalonians, ch. i. 5. We read nothing in the Acts of 'the apostles of what St. Paul did in Galatia the first time, more than that he went through it. 'Acts xvi. 6. And all that is added the second time he was there is, that "he went over all the 'country of Galatia, strengthening all the disciples," ch. xviii. 23. Which indeed is an intima- 'tion, that the first time he was there he preached the gospel among them, and made converts. 'But from his epistle to the Galatian churches it is fully evident that he wrought miracles 'among them, and conferred on them gifts of the Holy Spirit. For he asks them: "He that 'ministreth to you the spirit, and worketh miracles among you, doth he it by the works of the 'law, or by the hearing of faith?" Gal. iii. 5. That he means himself, is manifest from the 'whole tenor of the epistle. See ch. i. 6. ch. iv. 11, 13, 14, 19.'

There follow other like observations, which I may not transcribe.

4.) Mr. Biscoe, as above, makes no doubt but the apostles wrought miracles in every city, where they came, with a view to preach the gospel, and make converts. I am of opinion, that this may be truly supposed of Paul particularly, and that it may be concluded from what St. Luke has written. For, according to him, Paul wrought miracles in Cyprus. Acts xiii. 11. at Lystra, xiv. 10. at Philippi, xvi. 16—18. See also 25, 26, and very many at Ephesus, xix. 11—17. And at Troas he raised Eutychus to life, xx. 9—12. In his voyage from Judea to Rome he wrought miracles, xxviii. 3—6, and 7—10. From these miracles, recorded by St. Luke, it may be well argued, that St. Paul wrought miracles in all, or most other places, where he went and made any stay, preaching the gospel. In particular, it may be argued, that Paul wrought miracles at Athens and at Rome. What they were we cannot say, because they have not been recorded by St. Luke, nor by any other credible writer. But that miracles were performed by the apostle in those cities, appears to me very probable.

5.) St. Luke [a] has not given any account of St. Paul's appearing before the emperor Nero at Rome, when he was sent thither by Festus. Nevertheless, that Paul was brought before Nero soon after his arrival at Rome, is highly probable. And though St. Luke has not expressly said so, it may be concluded from what he has said. For he has again and again sufficiently intimated that Paul was certainly to appear before the emperor, to whom he had appealed. See Acts xxv. 10, 11, 12, 21. xxvi. 32. xxvii. 24. xxviii. 19. The apostle therefore was brought before Nero, and pleaded before him. But St. Luke forbore to give a distinct account of it, because he had already given a particular account of Paul's pleadings before Felix and Festus, and Agrippa; and from them may be concluded what was the tenor of his apology before the emperor himself.

6.) St. Paul, in his epistle to the Christians at Rome, says, ch. i. 11. "I long to see you, that I may impart unto you some spiritual gift, to the end ye may be established." And ch. xv. 29. "I am sure, that when I come unto you, I shall come in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ." And unquestionably, the event was agreeable to these wishes and expectations.

7.) St. Luke has not particularly recorded those things in his history: but from what he has said they may be inferred. Says our historian. Acts xxviii. 13—16. "And we came the next day to Puteoli. Where we found brethren, and were desired to tarry with them seven days. And so we went toward Rome. And from thence, when the brethren heard of us, they came to meet us, as far as Appii Forum, and the three taverns. Whom when Paul saw, he thanked God, and took courage. And when we came to Rome, the centurion delivered the prisoners to

[a] Mirum, quod Lucas hic nullam faciat mentionem primæ defensionis Pauli, de quâ ipse 2 Tim. iv. quam factam fuisse primo anno, quo Romam venit, non dubitandum. Est. ad Act. xxviii. 30.

the captain of the guard. But Paul was suffered to dwell by himself, with a soldier that kept him." And ver. 30. "Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house."

8.) From the things here said it may be fairly concluded, that during the apostle's stay at Rome, there was a very delightful communication of civil and religious offices between him and the believers there, according to the abilities and the exigences of each. Before he left Rome, the Philippians seem to have sent him a supply by Epaphroditus. Philip. iv. 10—18. But it may be well supposed, that the price of his lodging, and the expenses of his maintenance, were provided for, chiefly, by the Christians, whom he found at Rome, when he came thither, and by the converts, which he made afterwards. The soldiers likewise, who by turns attended upon him, would expect to be considered, if they carried it civilly toward their prisoner. All which, we may suppose, was taken care of by the good Christians at Rome: who, as St. Luke assures us, went out to meet him, and conducted him into the city.

CHAP. IX.

ST. JOHN, APOSTLE AND EVANGELIST.

I. *His History from the N. T.* II. *His Age.* III. *When he left Judea, to go to Ephesus.* IV. *His History from ecclesiastical Writers.* V. *The Time, when he was banished into Patmos.* VI. *How long he was there.* VII. *Testimonies of ancient Writers to his Gospel.* VIII. *Opinions of learned Moderns concerning the Time when this Gospel was written.* IX. *An Argument, to prove, that it was written before the Destruction of Jerusalem.* X. *Objections considered.* XI. *Observations upon this Gospel.*

I. JOHN was the son of Zebedee, a fisherman upon the sea of Galilee, probably [a] of the town of Bethsaida, and [b] Salome. John was the younger brother: for James is always [c] mentioned first, except in Luke ix. 28, and John is generally reckoned the youngest of all Christ's disciples.

Though Zebedee was by trade a fisherman, he needs not be reckoned poor: for, as St. Mark has particularly observed, he was not only master of a boat, and nets, but had "hired servants," ch. i. 20. Moreover, we may recollect what Peter said to Christ, who also had been a fisherman upon the same sea: "We have left all, and followed thee," Matt. xix. 27. They left their employments, by which they gained a subsistence: and for the present there was self-denial in their attendance upon Jesus.

It is not unlikely, that Zebedee died not long after these two brothers were called to be apostles. However, the circumstances of the family may be collected from what is said of their mother, who is mentioned Matt. xxvii. 55, and Mark xv. 40, among "those women, who followed Jesus out of Galilee, and ministred unto him." That ministry is described, Luke viii. 3. To which might be added, that she is mentioned among those women that bought sweet spices to embalm the body of Jesus, Mark xvi. 1. Luke xxiii. 55. And our Lord, having recommended his mother to this disciple, it is said, that "he took her to his own home," John xix. 27.

If Salome was related to our Lord in the manner supposed by [d] Theophylact, or some other way, with which we are not distinctly acquainted, that may have been, in part, the ground and

[a] Zebedæum gente Galilæum fuisse, ex loco commorationis circa lacum Gennesareth, suspicamur. Incertius autem, Bethsaïdensem pronuntiare, ut plerique faciunt; cum id nitatur tantum testimonio Evangelii, sociis Andreæ ac Petro hoc oppidum adsignantis. Neque tamen argumenta ad manus sunt, quibus vulgatam hanc opinionem impugnemus. Lampe. Prolegom. in Johan.

[b] Compare Matt. xxvii. 56, with Mark xv. 40, and xvi. 1.

[c] So Matt. iv. 21. ch. x. 2. Mark i. 19. ch. iii. 17. ch. x. 35. Luke v. 10. Acts i. 13.

[d] See this Vol. p. 87

reason of several things mentioned in the gospels, as the petition of these two brothers, disciples, for the first two places in Christ's kingdom: John's being the beloved disciple, and friend of Jesus, and being admitted to some freedoms denied to the rest: and, possibly, [a] performing some offices about his person: and, finally, our Lord's committing to him the care of his mother, so long as she should survive him.

In Acts iv. 13. It is said of Peter and John, that they were ignorant, and unlearned men. Which, indeed, is nothing else, but that they were neither [b] doctors, nor magistrates, but men of private stations, who had not been educated in the schools of the Rabbies: or, as Dr. Doddridge has happily translated this text, illiterate men, and in private stations of life. So Œcumenius says, that [c] St. John in sending a letter to Gaius had Paul for an example, who wrote to Timothy, and Titus, and to Philemon, an idiot: that is, a man of a private station: whereas Timothy and Titus had a public character in the church, as they were evangelists.

There can be no doubt, that Zebedee's sons, as the children of all pious Jews at that time, were well acquainted with the scriptures of the Old Testament. They had read them, and had heard them read and explained in the synagogues. They had also been accustomed to go to Jerusalem at the feasts, and had discoursed with many upon the things of religion. They now were in expectation of the appearing of the Messiah, foretold in the law and the prophets: but, undoubtedly, were in the common prejudice of the nation, that it would be, in part at least, a worldly kingdom. And it is very likely, that they had heard John preach: though they did not attend statedly upon him as his disciples: for all the people of Judea, in general, went to John's baptism.

Says St. John, i. 35, 36. "Again, the next day after, John stood, and two of his disciples. And looking upon Jesus as he walked, he saith: behold the lamb of God"...From ver. 40, we learn, that one of these two, which heard John speak, was Andrew, Simon Peter's brother. And [d] some have supposed, that our evangelist, who writes this, was the other: which I do not look upon as certain, though I do not deny it.

Whether the other was John, or not, it ought to be reckoned unquestioned, that before he was called to be an apostle, he had seen and heard the Lord Jesus, and had been witness of some miracles wrought by him. It appears to me very probable, that [e] he was one of the disciples, who were present at the wedding in Cana of Galilee, where water was made wine. John ii. 1—11.

The call of James and John, to attend upon Jesus statedly, is related Matt. iv. 21, 22. Mark i. 19, 20. Luke v. 1—10.

St. Mark putting down the names of the twelve apostles, when he mentions James and John, says, that our Lord "surnamed them Boanerges, which is, sons of thunder." ch. iii. 17. By which it seems unreasonable to suppose that our Lord intended to reproach them with some fault in their natural temper, as if they were fierce and furious: though [f] a learned writer has intimated so much. That [g] name must have been very honourable, prophetically representing the resolution and courage with which they would openly and boldly declare the great truths of the gospel, when fully acquainted with them. How John answered this character, we know from what is said of him in the book of the Acts, and from his own writings, and from things recorded of him in ecclesiastical history. How well James, the other brother, answered that character, may be concluded from his being beheaded by Herod Agrippa at Jerusalem, not many years

[a] Opus scilicet erat ipsi aliquo, quem interdum ad matrem mitteret, (quod non ita raro factum esse, facile intelligitur) quo uteretur ad lavandos sibi pedes, ad induendos sibi et exuendos calceos, [vid. Matt. iii. 11. Marc. i. 8. Luc. iii. 16. Joan. i. 27.] qui sibi præsto esset ad mandata subita, qui in cubiculo sibi adjaceret dormienti, qui alia sibi præstaret minuta officiola domestica, qui propterea perpetuus sibi esset pedisequus, nec nisi jussus ab ipso recederet. Heuman. Diss. Syll. tom. II. p. 338.

[b] Ἀγράμματοι, 'sine literis;' id est, non versati in doctrinis thalmudicis, quales illiterati Hebræis. Nam scripturas sacras Apostoli et legerant, et memoriâ tenebant. Και ἰδιῶται. Idiotæ sunt Hebræis, qui neque Magistratus sunt, neque Legisperiti. Grot. in loc.

[c] Πρὸς δὲ Γαΐαν ἕνα γράφων ἔχει Παῦλον Τίτῳ γράφοντα καὶ Τιμοθέῳ, καὶ πρὸς Φιλήμονα δὲ ἰδιώτην. Œcum. T. II. p. 600. C.

[d] Duorum alter ver. 41. nominatur. Alter videtur ipse Evangelista noster fuisse, uti visum in vitâ ejus. Lib. I. cap. 2. Lampe, in Joh. cap. i. ver. 35, 36.

[e] However, Basnage disputes this. Neque probabile admodum, Joannem his interfuisse nuptiis. Quod si concederetur, &c. Basn. Ann. 30. num. xxxviii.

[f] 'However it was, our Lord, I doubt not, herein had 'respect to the furious and resolute disposition of those two 'brothers, who seem to have been of a more fierce and fiery 'temper than the rest of the Apostles.' Cave's Life of St. James the Great, num. 5. p. 142.

[g] Vid. Fr. Lamp. Prolegom. l. i. cap. 2 num. xii—xv.

after our Lord's ascension. Which, we cannot doubt, was owing to an open and stedfast testimony to the resurrection of Jesus, and to other services for the church: whereby he hath greatly signalized himself in the short period of his life after our Lord's ascension. Possibly [a] he had, with a freedom, not a little offensive, spoken of the calamities coming upon the Jewish people, if they did not repent, and believe in Jesus as the Christ: as also John the Baptist had declared in his preaching, Matt. iii. 7—12. Luke iii. 17. and Stephen in his, Acts vi. 13, 14. James [b] was the first martyr for Christ among the apostles; and bids fair for obtaining his petition, in a higher sense, than it was at first intended: of "sitting on the right hand or the left hand of Christ in his kingdom." And the other brother, surviving all the other apostles, bore the longest testimony to the truth of the gospel.

This account of that name is agreeable to [c] what Grotius says in his Annotations. But Dr. Heumann [d] has another thought. He observes, that Simon, to whom Jesus gave the name of Peter, is often so called: but we do not read that the two sons of Zebedee were any where else spoken of by the name Boanerges, either by themselves or others. He thinks that the words should be thus rendered: 'And he had surnamed them Boanerges:' that is, upon a particular occasion he so called them. That occasion [e] he supposes to be the history related Luke ix. 52—56. That is an ingenious conjecture. But if this name had been given them in the way of reproof and censure, as Christ once called Peter Satan, Matt. xvi. 23. Mark viii. 33, one would scarcely expect to see it here. The place, as seems to me, leads us to think the name honourable, as well as Peter. Which has been the general opinion of all times.

In Suicer's Thesaurus, at the word Βροντη may be seen the observations of many ancient writers upon this name. I take Theophylact's only; who says, that [f] when Christ called these two disciples sons of thunder, he intimated that they would be great preachers, and eminent divines.

From the time they were called by Christ, they statedly attended upon him. They heard his discourses, and saw his miracles.

They were two of the twelve, whom [g] Christ sent forth upon a commission, to preach in the Land of Israel; which was of great use to them; thereby [h] they learned to trust in God, and were prepared for the greater difficulties of their apostleship afterwards.

John addressed himself to Christ, saying, "Master, we saw one casting out dæmons in thy name; and we forbade him, because he followeth not with us".....So in Luke ix. 49, 50. And more at large in Mark ix. 38—41. But it was a thing, in which several were concerned. For John says: "We saw one casting out dæmons in thy name; and we forbade him." The history,

[a] Accedit altera ratio, quæ eos adhuc propius spectabat, nempe quod in scopo ministerii sui præ cæteris Apostolis Baptistæ similes futuri. Nempe sicut Baptista in eo totus erat, ut per tonitru præconii sui judicium jam tum Judæis imminens indicaret et averteret; ita et ministerium fratrum horum potissimum ad Judæos spectaturum erat. Jacobus quidem eâ fini post adscensionem Domini nunquam, quod scimus, ab Hierosolymâ discessit, donec pro fide martyrium subiret. Hoc vero ei evenisse, quam maxime probabile est, quia invidiosa præ cæteris ejus concio fuit, periculum instans incredulorum ex Judæis omni datâ occasione ingeminans, &c. Lamp. ib. l. i. cap. 2. num. xv.

[b] It has long been the general opinion of the people of Spain, that this James, the son of Zebedee, planted the gospel in that country. Gaspar Sanctius, a learned Spanish Jesuit, wrote a treatise in defence of it, beside what he says in his Commentary upon the Acts of the apostles. But it is inconsistent with the history in the Acts: none of the Apostles left Judea so soon; nor is this opinion founded on the testimony of any ancient writers, of good credit; and it is now generally given up, even by Popish writers. Vid. Baron. A. D. 41. num. i. Tillemont S. Jaques Le Majeur, et note vi. Mem. Ec. tom. I. I transcribe here the Judgment of Estius. Deinde, quando occisus est, vixdum cœperat evangelium gentibus prædicari, ut ex præcedentibus et sequentibus patet. Nec dum Apostoli dispersi erant in remotas gentes; sed ejus rei commodum tempus exspectabant. Denique nullus scriptor antiquus certæ fidei refert, Jacobum Hispanias vidisse. Est. in Act. Ap. Cap. xii. ver. 2. ——Vid. et Basnag. Ann. 44. num. iv. v. et Dictionnaire de Moreri. S. Jaques le Majeur.

[c] Omnino mihi videtur Christus, in hujus nominis impositione respexisse ad Aggæi vaticinium. cap. ii. 7. .... quod de evangelii prædicatione exponit Scriptor ad Hebræos. xii. 26. Ad hanc ergo maximam rerum mutationem significat Christus, Zebedæi filios eximios sibi ministros fore. Et certe destinatam illis excellentiam quamdam inter ipsos Apostolos vel hoc ostendit, quod cum Petro seorsim a cæteris multarum rerum testes sunt assumti. Adde jam quod Jacobus primus Apostolorum omnium sanguine suo Christi doctrinam obsignavit; et quod Johannes omnibus Apostolis superstes diutissime testimonium perhibuit veritati. Grot. ad Marc. iii. 17.

[d] Nova Sylloge Dissert. part. I. p. 254—259.

[e] Legimus, et adversus Petrum, indigne se gerentem, in hæc verba erupisse Christum: Apage, Satana. Jam uti Satanas non factum est ordinarium Petri cognomen, sic nec Zebedæi fratres nisi semel nominati sunt Boanerges. Nec proinde laudis hoc nomen est, (quæ quidem inveterata est opinio) sed nomen vitii. Non est, inquam, appellatio honorifica, sed invectiva. Ib. p. 259.

[f] Τινες δε βροντης ονομαζει τους τε Ζεβεδαιε, ως μεγαλοκηρυκας και θεολογικωτατους. In Marc. tom. I. p. 205. C.

[g] See Matt. x. 6. Mark vi. 7. Luke ix. 1.

[h] See Luke xxii. 35.

as recorded by the evangelists, led me to think so: and Mr. Lampe [a] was of the same mind. Moreover, it might be done some while before.

Our Lord was going from Galilee to Jerusalem before the feast of tabernacles, as some think, or before the feast of the dedication, as [b] Dr. Doddridge argues. And, as he was to pass through the country of "Samaria, he sent messengers before his face: and they went, and entered into a village of the Samaritans, to make ready for him. But they did not receive him, because his face was, as though he would go unto Jerusalem. When his disciples, James and John, saw this, they said: Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven, and consume them, even as Elias did. But he turned, and rebuked them, and said: Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of.....And they went to another village," Luke ix. 51—56. Some have been of opinion, that the messengers sent by our Lord, to prepare entertainment for him, were these two disciples. If so, this proposal might be suspected to proceed as much from resentment of an injurious treatment of themselves, as of their master. But to me that is not certain: I rather think, that those messengers were different persons. So [c] likewise argues Mr. Lampe.

The two brothers, James and John, were ambitious of high posts of honour and dignity in Christ's kingdom: which, with others, they esteemed to be of a worldly nature. The petition was presented by their mother, but at their instigation. And they seem to have been present at the same time: for our Lord's answer is directed to them, Matt. xx. 20—23. Mark x. 35—40.

The two brothers, James and John, and Peter, were the only disciples that were admitted to be present with our Lord at the raising of the daughter of Jairus, Mark v. 37. Luke viii. 51. The same three disciples were taken up by Christ into the mount, when he was transformed in a glorious manner, and Moses and Elias appeared talking with him, Matt. xvii. 1. Mark ix. 2. Luke ix. 28. The same three were admitted to be present at our Lord's devotions in the garden, when he retired from the rest. But they all failed to watch with their Lord, as he had desired, Matt. xxvi. 36—45. Mark xiv. 32—42.

Says St. Mark xiii. 1, 2. "And as he went out of the temple, one of his disciples saith unto him, Master, see what manner of stones, and what buildings are here. And Jesus answering, said unto him, Seest thou these great buildings! There shall not be left one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down." Compare Matt. xxiv. 1, 2. It follows in Mark xiii. 3, 4. "And as he sate on the mount of olives, over against the temple, Peter, and James, and John, and Andrew, asked him privately: tell us, when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign, when all these things shall be fulfilled?" Whereby we perceive, that to those four disciples, especially, our Lord addressed himself, when he delivered the predictions concerning the great desolation coming upon the Jewish people, recorded in that chapter, and in Matt. xxiv. and Luke xxi.

This apostle and Peter were the two disciples whom Jesus sent to prepare for eating his last passover. Luke xxii. 8. Compare Matt. xxvi. 17—19. Mark xiv. 13—16.

Our Lord sitting at supper with his disciples, said, "one of you will betray me." Peter beckoned to John, who leaned on the bosom of Jesus, "that he would ask, who it should be of whom he spake:" which he did. And our Lord gave him a sign, by which he might know, whom he intended, John xiii. 21—26. This is an instance of the freedom which John might take, as the beloved disciple and friend of Jesus.

When our Lord was apprehended by the Jewish officers, we are informed by St. Mark xiv. 51, 52. "And there followed him a certain young man, having a linen cloth cast about his naked body: and the young men laid hold of him. And he left the linen cloth, and fled from them." Some have thought that this young man was John. Cave [d] gives a good deal of countenance to that supposition. Others [e] have thought him to be James, the Lord's brother. But Grotius, and justly, wonders, that [f] any should have been of opinion that he was one of the apostles.

[a] Ubi supr. l. i. cap. 2. num. 18.

[b] Family Expositor, Vol. II. p. 183.

[c] Cui tamen in eo non accedimus, quod filios Zebedæi ipsos illos legatos putat fuisse, quos Jesus in vicum Samaritanorum hospitium rogaturos miserat. Unde ob illatam sibi injuriam videntur exacerbati esse, sed textus legatos illos a filiis Zebedæi satis clare distinguit. Accedit, quod Jesus ad illos τραφεις, conversus, fuerit: quod indicat, illos, cum Domino consilium proponerent, non fuisse Domino obvios, sed pone eum sequentes. Lampe, Proleg. l. 1. cap. 2. n. xix. not. (b).

[d] 'Indeed, upon our Lord's first apprehension, he fled after the other apostles; it not being without some probabilities of reason, that the ancients conceive him to have been that "young man," that followed after Christ, "having a linen cloth cast about his naked body;" whom when the officers laid hold upon, he left the linen cloth, and fled naked away.' Cave's Life of St. John, num. ii. p. 151.

[e] See Whitby upon Mark xiv. 51.

[f] Non de Apostolorum grege, (quod miror, veteribus in mentem venire potuisse) nec e domo, in quam Christus in

That Peter followed our Lord at a distance, and was admitted into the hall of the Jewish high priest, we are assured from all the gospels. It has been supposed by many, that John shewed the like testimony of affection and respect for his Lord; for he says, ch. xviii. 15. "And Simon Peter followed Jesus, and so did another disciple. That disciple was known to the high priest, and spake to her that kept the door, and brought in Peter."

Nevertheless it may be questioned, whether John hereby intends himself. Chrysostom supposeth him to be meant, and that St. John concealeth his name out of humility and modesty. To the like purpose also [b] Theophylact. Nor had [c] Jerom any doubt here. But Ammonius was cautious in saying who it was; though he thought it might be John.

Let us now observe the sentiments of moderns. Whitby upon this place says: 'He was 'not to be John: for he being a Galilean as well as Peter, they might equally have suspected 'him upon that account.' However, to this it may be answered, that John being known to the high priest, he was safe. But then another difficulty will arise; for it may be said, how came John to be so well known to the high priest and his family, as to be able to direct the servant to admit a stranger, as Peter was, and at that time of night?

Grotius likewise thought that [e] this other disciple could not be John, or any one of the twelve, but rather some believer, an inhabitant of Jerusalem, and, possibly, the person at whose house our Lord had eaten the paschal supper.

Lampe [f] hesitates: and at length allegeth the sentiment of a learned writer, who conjectured that this other disciple was Judas the traitor. For Judas, he thinks, was soon touched with remorse for what he had done: and he might follow Jesus to the high priest's, hoping, that by some means he might escape out of the hands of those to whom he had betrayed him. Judas being there himself, might be very willing to let in Peter. Whether this conjecture be specious or not, I cannot say: but it does not seem to me very likely, that St. John should characterize Judas by the title of "another disciple," after he had betrayed his Lord and Master.

After all I am not able to determine this point. At first reading this place of St. John, we are naturally enough led to think, that by "the other disciple" should be meant himself. But upon farther consideration there arise difficulties that may induce us to hesitate.

Whether he followed Jesus to the hall of Caiaphas, or not, we are assured that he attended the crucifixion, and seems to have been the only one of the twelve that did so. John xix. 25—27. "Now there stood by the cross of Jesus his mother...When Jesus therefore saw his mother, and the disciple standing by, whom he loved, he saith unto his mother, Woman, behold thy son. Then saith he to the disciple, Behold thy mother. And from that hour that disciple took her unto his own home." There might be several reasons for that determination: as John's being a relation, the sweetness of his temper, and his having somewhat of his own. He had been the beloved disciple or friend of Jesus; and therefore was the most proper to be thus trusted: and doubtless this designation was perfectly agreeable to our Lord's mother.

urbe diverterat, sed ex villâ aliquâ horto proximâ, strepitu militum excitatus, et subito accurrens, ut conspiceret, quid agerent. Grot. ad Marc. xiv. 51.

[a] Τις εστιν ὁ αλλος μαθητης; Ὁ ταυτα γραψας. κ. λ. Chr. in Joan. hom. 83. al. 82. T. VIII. p. 491.

[b] Τις ην ὁ αλλος μαθητης; Αυτος ουτος ὁ ταυτα γραψας· αποκρυπτει ἑαυτον δια ταπεινοφροσυνην. κ. λ. Theoph. in Joh. xviii. p. 809.

[c] Unde et Jesus Joannem Evangelistam amabat plurimum, qui propter generis nobilitatem erat notus Pontifici, et Judæorum insidias non timebat; in tantum ut Petrum introduceret in atrium, et staret solus Apostolorum ante crucem, matremque Salvatoris in sua reciperet. Ad Princip. virg. ep. 96. al. 16. T. IV. p. 780.

[d] Quisnam iste sit discipulus, non temere affirmandum est, quia tacetur. Solet autem se idem Joannes ita significare, et addere, quem diligebat Jesus. Fortassis ergo hic ipse est. Quisquis tamen sit, sequentia videamus. In Joann. Evang. Tr. 113. T. III. P. 2.

[e] Et sane non est probabile, aut ipsum Joannem hic intelligi (cur enim, Galilæus cum esset, minus interrogaretur ab adstantibus, quam Petrus?) aut aliquem ex Duodecim, sed alium quemdam Hierosolymitanum, non æque manifestum fautorem Jesu: quales multi erant in urbe, ut supra didicimus, xii. 42. Valde mihi se probat conjectura existimantium, hunc esse eum, in cujus domo Christus cœnaverat, ob id quod legitur. Matt. xxvi. 18. Grot. ad Joh. xviii. 15.

[f] Scripseram hæc, cum J. Casp. Merhenii Observat. Crit. in Pass. J. C. consulens, novam ab eo hypothesin proponi deprehenderem,... quæ notatu non indigna est. Ipsum siquidem Judam proditorem pro hoc discipulo habet, quem Joannes nominatu post turpissimum proditionis crimen indignum censuit.... Id autem quod potissimum in rem spectare videtur, neque a nostrâ sententiâ, quam de consilio Judæ in prodendo servatore fovemus, abludit, ita habet: 'Judam, post commissum scelus, pudore suffusum, pedetentim cohortem fuisse secutum, atque in Petrum ita incidisse, cui scelus suum excusare, quin negare potuit, se eâ mente Christo osculum dedisse, ut Christum proderet, sed ut periculum imminens ei subindicaret. Nos sane de eo vix dubitamus, Judam pœnitentiâ sceleris jam tum fuisse tactum, atque conscientiæ stimulis ea propter agitatum, facile potuisse eo consilio Iesum captum sequi, ut resciret, annon aliquâ ratione, pro solito, Jesus manus captorum evasurus esset. Liberam jam lectori optionem relinquimus. Lampe, in Evang. Joann. cap. xviii. tom. III. p. 523. note (*f*)

John saw his Lord expire on the cross; and still farther: "One of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and forthwith came there out blood and water. And he that saw it bare witness and his record is true," ch. xix. 34, 35. And undoubtedly he also stayed afterwards, and saw the body of Jesus laid in the sepulchre, and the stone placed at the mouth of it; as related by himself ch. xix. 38—42. Comp. Matt. xxvii. 58—60. Mark xv. 45—47. Luke xxiii. 50—56.

Early in the morning, on which our Lord rose from the dead, Mary Magdalene and other women, came to the sepulchre, and saw it was open, the stone having been taken away. Mary Magdalene knowing where she should find the two apostles, Peter and John, went back to the city, and told them that "they had taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre: and," says she, "we know not where they have laid him. So they ran both together to the sepulchre." And by what they saw there, they were led to the persuasion that Jesus was risen from the dead; as related John xx. 1—10.

John was present with the other disciples when Jesus showed himself to them in the evening of the day on which he arose, and likewise eight days after, ch. xx. 19—29.

He has also particularly related the history of our Lord's showing himself to several disciples at the sea of Tiberias; when they had an extraordinary draught of fishes, in number one hundred and fifty three. There were present at that time "Simon Peter, Thomas, Nathanael, the sons of Zebedee, and two other disciples," ch. xxi. 1—23. Beside other things which I omit, our Lord having had discourse with Peter, and having foretold his martyrdom, Peter put to him a question concerning John, saying, "Lord, what shall this man do? Jesus, saith unto him: If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? Follow thou me. Then went this saying abroad among the brethren, that that disciple should not die. Yet Jesus said not unto him: he shall not die: but if I will, that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?" Thus checking, as I apprehend, Peter's curiosity. However, it has been supposed by judicious commentators, that here is an intimation that John should not die before the destruction of Jerusalem. Nor is there any doubt but he survived that event, which few or none of the other apostles did. Though[a] our Lord's words may be understood to contain only an obscure intimation, that whereas Peter's days would be shortened by martyrdom, this disciple should be preserved till he died in the ordinary course of nature.

From all which we perceive, that[b] St. John was present at most of the things related by him in his gospel: and that he was an eye and ear-witness of our Lord's labours, journeyings, discourses, miracles, his low abasement even to an ignominious death, and his being alive again, and then ascending to heaven.

Having[c] been present with the rest of the apostles at the Lord's ascension, he[d] returned with them from mount Olivet to Jerusalem, and continued with them, joining with them in their devotions, and in the choice of another, to supply the place of Judas: and[e] partook in the plentiful effusion of the Holy Ghost upon the apostles and their company on the day of Pentecost next ensuing.

Peter and John, who often accompanied each other, healed the lame man at the temple, and upon that occasion preached to the people who assembled about them. For which they were brought before the Jewish council, and after some debates, were dismissed, with orders not to preach any more in the name of Jesus, Acts iii. and iv. 1—22.

Some while after this, the number of believers still increasing in Jerusalem, John and the rest of the apostles were apprehended, and put in the common prison. But they were the same

[a] Ita obscure significat, Johannem, non, ut Petrum morte violentâ moriturum, sed tali, quâ, sine hominum vi solveretur, ubi Christus tempus idoneum judicâsset. Quod et contigit, ut veterum plures consentiunt. Grot. ad Joan. xxi. 22.

[b] Ex ipsâ historiâ evangelicâ Joannis probabile fit, omnibus eventibus, itineribus, miraculis, concionibus servatoris nostri ipsum interfuisse. . . cum probabile sit, illum fuisse inter discipulos duos Joannis Baptistæ, a quibus collectionis discipulorum initium Jesus fecit, uti L. i. cap. 2. sect. ii. ostendimus, inde colligimus, evangelistam nostrum statim ab initio rebus, quas scribit, interfuisse, et hanc esse veram rationem, cur non altius filum historiæ suæ inciperet. Ex omnibus quoque sequentibus narrationibus nulla est, in quâ absentem evangelistam nostrum statuamus fuisse, nisi forte excipere velis illa, quæ in palatio Annæ et Caïaphæ acciderunt. Cap. xviii. 13—17. De quibus tamen res est dubia, quia definiri accurate nequit, annon discipulus, qui Petrum in palatium Caïaphæ introduxerit, ipse evangelista noster fuerit. Sed licet ille præsens non perceperit, a Petro tamen, socio intimo, statim proculdubio audivit. Et forte per ejus relationem excitatus est, ut ad Prætorium Pilati summo mane advolaret, atque ita cum reliquis mulieribus Jesum ad crucem sequeretur. . . . Ex quo patet, quantâ eum emphasi præ cæteris apostolis et evangelistis dicere potuit: Quæ audivimus, quæ vidimus. 1 Jo. i. 1, 2, Lamp. Proleg. l. 2. cap. 4. num. vi.

[c] Mark xvi. 19. Luke xxiv. 50—53. Acts i. 1—12.

[d] Acts i. 12—26. [e] Acts ii. 1—13.

night delivered by an angel, who commanded them to "go and speak in the temple to the people; which they did "early in the morning:" whereupon they were again taken up and brought before the council, who consulted how they might put them to death. But by the advice of Gamaliel that design was laid aside. "And when they had beaten them, they commanded that they should not speak in the name of Jesus, and let them go. Whereupon the apostles departed from the presence of the council, rejoicing...And daily in the temple, and from house to house, they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ."

Afterward, there being a violent persecution at Jerusalem, many were scattered abroad. Philip, one of the seven, went down to Samaria, and preached to them, and wrought many miracles, insomuch that great numbers believed. When the apostles, who were at Jerusalem, heard of this, they sent unto them Peter and John, that they might receive the Holy Ghost. Having performed that service, they returned to Jerusalem: and in their way preached the gospel in many villages of the Samaritans, Acts viii. 5—25.

From what St. Paul says in the second chapter of the epistle to the Galatians we perceive, that John was present at the council of Jerusalem: of which an account is given Acts xv. Which council was held in the year 49, or 50, or thereabout. And it may be reckoned probable, that till that time John had stayed in the land of Israel, and had not been abroad in any Gentile countries.

I would add, that though no miracles are related to be done by St. John beside those which have been here taken notice of, I reckon it very probable, that many miracles, beside those particularly mentioned by the historian, were wrought by him and other apostles during their stay in Judea. This may be inferred from general expressions of St. Luke in several places. "And many signs and wonders were done by the apostles," Acts ii. 43. "And with great power gave the apostles witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus," ch. iv. 33. "And by the hands of the apostles were many signs and wonders wrought among the people," ch. v. 12. Comp. iv. 29, 30.

From the book of the Revelation, ch. i. 9. we learn, that St. John was for a while in the island called Patmos, where he was favoured with visions and revelations.

Thus far we have endeavoured to collect the history of this apostle from the New Testament.

II. From ecclesiastical history we learn, that St. John lived to a great age, and that in the latter part of his life he resided in Asia, particularly at Ephesus, the chief city of that country.

Concerning his abode in Asia we have divers testimonies of good credit. *Irenæus in* [a] two places of his work against heresies, both [b] cited by Eusebius, says, that John the apostle lived in Asia till the time of Trajan, [who succeeded Nerva in the year of Christ 98.] Eusebius,[c] understands Clement of Alexandria to speak to the like purpose. Origen also says, that [d] John having lived long in Asia, died at Ephesus. Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, about 196, is an unexceptionable witness, that [e] John was buried in that city. Jerom [f] in his book of Illustrious Men, and in his books against Jovinian, says, 'that the apostle John lived in Asia, to the time of Trajan; and 'dying at a great age, in the sixty-eighth year after our Lord's passion, was buried near the city 'of Ephesus.' Supposing our Lord to have been crucified in the year 32, of the vulgar æra, which [g] seems to have been Jerom's opinion, sixty-eight years will reach to the year 100, or the third of Trajan: at which year of that emperor the death of St. John is placed by Jerom in his [h] Chronicle.

What was John's age, when called by Christ, we are not informed. Baronius [i] thought he might then be about 22 years of age. Having been with Christ three years, he was about 25 years of age when our Lord was crucified. Tillemont [k] supposes St. John to have been about 25 or 26 years of age when called to be an apostle. Lampe [l] thinks, that he was about the same age with our Saviour. For my part, I cannot persuade myself that any of Christ's apostles, when called to attend upon him, that they might be his witnesses to the world, were much under the

[a] Iren. adv. Hær. l. 2. cap. 22. n. v. p. 148. ed Mass. et l. 3. cap. 3. p. 178.
[b] Euseb. H. E. l. 3. cap. 23. in.
[c] Vid. Euseb. Ibid.
[d] Ap. Euseb. l. 3. cap. 1.
[e] Ap. Euseb. l. v. cap. 24. in.
[f] Vol. ii. p. 553, 554.
[g] Vid. Basnag. Ann. 101. num. ii.
[h] P. 165. ex ed. Scalig.
[i] Ann. 101. num. ix.
[k] S. Jean l'evangeliste, art. x. et note xv. Mem. tom. I.
[l] Quâre nihil impedit, quo minus ejusdem ferme ætatis cum servatore nostro fuerit. Prolegom. in Jo. l. i. cap. 2. num. i. note [a]

age of thirty. If it hence follows, that John was a hundred years of age, or, thereabout when he died, it is not at all incredible, nor unlikely.

III. As it is an allowed point, that John dwelt in Asia in the latter part of his life; we may be reasonably desirous to know when he settled in that country; and for determining this, the books of the New Testament may afford good hints. For [a] in all St. Luke's history of the preaching and travels of Paul, particularly in Asia, no mention is made of John: which may induce us to think, that he was not there at that time. Nor are there any salutations sent to John in any of St. Paul's epistles written at Rome: several of which were sent to Ephesus, or other places, not very remote from it: as the epistle to the Ephesians, the second epistle to Timothy, probably, at Ephesus, the epistle to the Colossians, and the epistle to Philemon, at Colosse.

I will now observe the opinions of some learned moderns. Baronius thought, that [b] this apostle did not come to reside in Asia, until after the death of St. Peter, and St. Paul. Du Pin says: 'we [c] do not exactly know when he came into Asia: perhaps it was about the year 70.' Tillemont was of opinion, that [d] St. John did not come to reside in Asia, till about the year 66. But he supposeth, that upon some occasion, he had before that been in that country, without making a stay there: which last, as I apprehend, is said without any good authority. Mr. Lampe was of opinion, that [e] John did not leave Judea, till after the death of James, called the Less, and but a short time only before the destruction of Jerusalem.

To me it seems not unlikely, that St. John came into Asia about the time that the war broke out in Judea, in the year 66, or a short time before, when, probably, St. Peter and Paul had been before crowned with martyrdom.

As St. John stayed a good while in Palestine, it may be reasonably concluded, that the virgin Mary did not go with him to Ephesus, as [f] Baronius and some others have thought, but died before he went thither: which was the opinion of [g] Cave, and [h] Basnage.

IV. St. John having had a long life, many things have been said of him, some true, others false. Most of them have been already taken notice of in several chapters of this work: it may not be improper to recollect them here, with some remarks.

1. Apollonius, who wrote against the Montanists, and flourished about the year 211, says, in a fragment preserved by Eusebius, 'That [i] by the divine power John raised up a dead man to life at Ephesus.' Which miracle is also taken notice of by [k] Sozomen, and [l] Nicephorus, and may have been really done. But if we had a more circumstantial history of it, and if it had been mentioned by some other early writers, beside Apollonius, it would have been more credible.

2. There was a book forged with the title of the Travels of Paul and Thecla by a presbyter, who was deposed for so doing, as related by Tertullian. Jerom says that he was a presbyter in Asia, and that he was convicted before St. John of being the author of it, and for that reason was deposed. Of this matter we have already spoken distinctly, and therefore refer to what was then said. [m]

3. It is also related of our apostle, that going to bathe at Ephesus, and perceiving that Cerinthus, or, as others say, Ebion was already in the bath, he came out again hastily, and would not make use of the bath. The probability of which account was examined formerly. [n]

4. It is said, that by order of the emperor Domitian, St. John was cast into a caldron of boiling oil at Rome, and came out again, without being hurt. The [o] truth of which story likewise has been considered by us.

5. Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus in the latter part of the second century, says, that John was

[a] 'In the division of provinces, which the apostles made 'among themselves, Asia fell to his share, though he did not 'presently enter into his charge. Otherwise, we must have 'heard of him in the account which St. Luke gives of St. 'Paul's several journeys into, and residence in those parts.' Cave's Life of St. John, sect. iv.

[b] A. D. 97. num. ii.

[c] Du Pin Diss. Prel. l. 2. ch. 2. sect. vi.

[d] St. Jean. art iv.

[e] Post ejus (Jacobi Minoris) excessum neminem ex των δωδεκα grege et constantius et diutius Hierosolymis substitisse nostro Apostolo; ita ut vix exiguo ante exordium intervallo, inde se avelli pateretur. Proleg. l. i. cap. 2. n. xv. p. 29.

[f] A. D. 44. n. xxix.

[g] 'Probable therefore it is, that he dwelt in his own house 'at Jerusalem, at least till the death of the blessed Virgin.' Cave's Life of St. John, sect. iv.

[h] Vid. Basnag. An. 40. num. xxxviii.

[i] See Vol. i. p. 480.

[k] Soz. l. 7. cap. 27. p. 750.

[l] Niceph. l. 4. cap. 25.

[m] See Vol. i. p. 435.

[n] See Vol. i. p. 325. and Vol. ii. p. 555.

[o] See Vol. i. p. 420, note [b] and Vol. ii. p. 555.

Christ's high priest, wearing on his forehead a golden plate: which account [a] has been considered, and the judgments of divers learned men upon it alleged.

6. Eusebius has a story, from a work of Clement of Alexandria, of a young man in a city of Asia, not far from Ephesus, who after having been instructed in the Christian religion took to evil courses, and became profligate: but nevertheless was afterwards brought to repentance by our apostle. This account is inserted at large by Eusebius [b] in his Ecclesiastical History. It has been repeated in like manner by Simeon Metaphrastes in his life of St. John. Chrysostom [c] referred to it. It is also briefly told in the [d] Paschal Chronicle. I have already taken notice of this [e] story. S. Basnage [f] thinks it to be a fable, or feigned apologue, contrived to convey useful instruction. Mr. Lampe [g] is favourable to this history. And, perhaps, it may be true, abating some circumstances: which are not seldom added to such accounts, to render them the more entertaining.

7. Jerom has given an account of St. John's method of preaching, when he was of a great age, and was not able to make a long discourse. This [h] was taken notice of by us in a proper place: nor is the truth of it, though related by Jerom only, disputed, either by [i] Lampe, or [k] Le Clerc.

8. It is generally supposed, that [l] John is one of those apostles who lived a single life: it is said by [m] Tertullian, and Jerom; which last affirms, that [n] ecclesiastical history assures us of it; and he makes it the ground of all the peculiar privileges of this apostle.

9. Another thing, said of John, is, that he was banished into Patmos, an island of the Mediterranean sea, not far from the coast of Asia. And if he is the writer of the book of the Revelation, which we do not now dispute, the thing is unquestioned. But I have deferred the consideration of this particular, till now, because learned moderns are not agreed about the time of it.

V. I shall therefore first put down the accounts of ancient authors, and then observe the opinions of learned men of later times.

Irenæus says of the Revelation, 'that [o] it was seen no long time ago, but almost in our age, 'at the end of the reign of Domitian.' And though Irenæus does not say that St. John was then in Patmos, yet since he supposeth him to be the person, who had the revelation, he must have believed him to be then in Patmos, as the book itself says, ch. i. 9.

Clement, of Alexandria, in his book, entitled, Who is the rich man that may be saved, as cited by Eusebius, speaks [p] of 'John's returning from Patmos to Ephesus, after the death of the 'tyrant:' by whom, it is probable, he means Domitian.

Tertullian, in his apology, speaks of Domitian, as [q] having banished some Christians, and afterwards giving them leave to return home: probably intending St. John, and some others. In another work he says, 'that [r] John having been sent for to Rome, was cast into a vessel of boil-'ing oil, and then banished into an island:' in the time of Domitian, as is most probable.

[a] See Vol. ii. p. 554, 555. [b] L. 3. cap. 23.

[c] Ad Theodor. Laps. T. I. p. 31. ed. Bened.

[d] Chr. Pasch. p. 251. D. [e] See Vol. ii. p. 555.

[f] Apologo quam historiæ videtur esse propior. . . Ac sane nescimus, si vera historia est, cur Clemens μυθῳ, fabulæ, nomen ipsi primum imposuerit. Fabula fuit ratione rei significantis, veritasque respectu rei significatæ, quæ mentibus proponebatur, nempe eximii pastoris officium, ac vis pœnitentiæ. Non insolens erat antiquis, uti apologis ejusmodi ad informandos mores. . . . Si cui tamen placet de Joanne Clementis narrationem veram historiam esse, quia sic Veteribus visum, de hac re quidem contendere nolumus. Basn. ann. 97. num. x.

[g] Prolegom. l. i. cap. v. num. iii—ix.

[h] Vol. ii. p. 554.

[i] Licet enim Hieronymus solus hujus narrationis auctor sit, nihil tamen occurrit, quod non cum more Joannis, ut cum ratione ecclesiæ ejus temporis, apprime convenit. Lamp. Proleg. l. i. cap. v. n. xi.

[k] H. E. ann. 99. num. i.

[l] Vid. Lamp. Proleg. l. i. cap. i. num. xiii.

[m] Joannes Christi spado. De Monog. cap. 17. p. 688.

[n] Talem fuisse eunuchum, quem Jesus amavit plurimum, evangelistam Joannem, ecclesiasticæ tradunt historiæ: qui recubuit super pectus Jesu: qui, Petro tardius ambulante, elatus virginitatis alis cucurrit ad Dominum; qui in secreta divinæ se nativitatis immergens, ausus est dicere: In principio erat Verbum, &c. In Is. cap. LVI. tom. III. p. 410.

Joannes vero noster, quasi aquila, ad superna volat, et ad ipsum Patrem pervenit, dicens: In principio erat Verbum, &c. Exposuit virginitas, quod nuptiæ scire non poterant. Et, ut brevi sermone multa comprehendam, doceamque, cujus privilegii sit Joannes, imo in Joanne virginitas, a Domino virgine, mater virgo virgini discipulo commendatur. Adv. Jovin. l. i. T. IV. P. II. p. 169. Vid. et ad. Princip. virg. ep. 96. al. 16. ib. p. 780. f.

[o] See Vol. i. p. 371.

[p] Επειδη γαρ τε τυραννε τελευτησαντος, απο της Πατμε της νησε μετηλθεν εις την Εφεσον. κ. λ. Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 3. c. 23. p. 92.

[q] Tentaverat et Domitianus, portio Neronis de crudelitate. Sed, quâ et homo, facile cœptum repressit, restitutis etiam quos relegaverat. Apol. cap. 5.

[r] . . . habes Romam. . . ubi Apostolus Joannes, posteaquam in oleum igneum demersus, nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur. De Pr. Hær. cap. 36. p. 245.

Origen, explaining Matt. xx. 23. says: 'James [a] the brother of John, was killed with a sword 'by Herod. And a Roman emperor, as tradition teaches, banished John into the island Patmos 'for the testimony which he bore to the word of truth. And John himself bears witness to his 'banishment, omitting the name of the emperor, by whom he was banished, saying in the Reve-'lation: "I John, who also am your brother and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom 'and patience of Jesus Christ, was in the isle of Patmos, for the word of God and for the testi-'mony of Jesus Christ." And [b] it seems, that the Revelation was seen in that island.'

Victorinus, bishop of Pettaw about 290, again and again says, that [c] John was banished by Domitian, and in his reign saw the Revelation.

Eusebius, giving an account of Domitian's persecution, says: 'In [d] this persecution, as it is 'said, John, the apostle and evangelist, being still living, was banished into the island Patmos 'for the testimony of the word of God.'

Epiphanius, as formerly [e] shown, says: 'John prophesied in the isle of Patmos, in the reign 'of Claudius.' And in another place, then only referred to, he says: 'John wrote his gospel 'in his old age, when he was more than ninety years old, after his return from Patmos, which [f] 'was in the time of Claudius Cæsar.'

Jerom, in his book of Illustrious Men, as [g] formerly cited, says: 'Domitian in the four-'teenth year of his reign raising the second persecution after Nero, John was banished into 'the island Patmos, where he wrote the Revelation.' And in another work, also cited [h] for-merly, he says again: 'John was a prophet, as he saw the Revelation in the island Patmos, 'where he was banished by Domitian.' And I shall now transcribe below [i] in his own words, without translating them, his comment upon Matt. xx. 23, where he speaks of St. John's having been banished into Patmos: but does not name the emperor, by whom he was banished.

Sulpicius Severus says, 'that [k] John, the apostle and evangelist, was banished by Domitian 'into the island Patmos: where he had visions, and where he wrote the book of the Reve-'lation.'

Arethas in his commentary upon the Revelation, supposed to be written in the sixth century, says, upon the authority of Eusebius, that [l] John was banished into Patmos by Domitian.

Isidore, of Seville, near the end of the sixth century, says, 'Domitian [m] raised a persecu-'tion against the Christians. In his time the apostle John having been banished into the island 'Patmos saw the Revelation.'

We may now make a remark or two.

1. All these testimonies are of use, whether they name the island where John was banished, or the emperor by whom he was banished, or not. They all agree that St. John was sent thither by way of punishment, or restraint, for bearing witness to the truth: which confutes the opinion of Lightfoot, 'that [n] John travelling in the ministry of the gospel, up and down, from 'Asia westward, comes into the isle Patmos, in the Icarian sea, an island about thirty miles 'compass: and there on the Lord's day he has these visions, and an angel interprets to him all 'he saw.'

2. All these writers, who mention the time of the Revelation, and of the banishment, say, it was in the time of Domitian, and that he was the emperor, by whom St. John was banished: except Epiphanius, who says it was in the time of Claudius. As he is singular, it should seem that he cannot be of any great weight against so many others.

Nevertheless, as some learned men, particularly Grotius, have paid great regard to Epiphanius in this point, it is fit we should consider what they say.

Says Grotius in a tract, entitled, A Comment upon divers Texts of the New Testament,

[a] Comm. in Matt. T. I. p. 417. Huet.

[b] Και εοικε την αποκαλυψιν εν τη νησω τεθεωρηκεναι. Ibid. C.

[c] See Vol. ii. p. 97.

[d] H. E. l. 3. cap. 18.

[e] Vol. ii. p. 419.

[f] ...την επι Κλαυδιε γενομενην Καισαρος. Hær. 51. num. xii.

[g] See Vol. ii. p. 553. [h] P. 554.

[i] Quæritur, quomodo calicem martyrii filii Zebedæi, Jacobus videlicet et Joannes, bibérint; quum scriptura narret Jacobum tántum Apostolum ab Herode capite truncatum, Joannes autem propria morte vitam finierit. Sed, si legamus ecclesiasticas historias, in quibus fertur, quod et ipse propter martyrium sit missus in ferventis olei dolium, et inde ad susciendam coronam Christi athleta processerit, statimque relegatus in Patmon insulam sit, videbimus, martyrio animum non defuisse, et bibisse Joannem calicem confessionis. Comm. in Matt. tom. IV. P. I. p. 92.

[k] See Vol. ii. p. 622.

[l] Εξορισον δε αυτον γενεσθαι εν Πατμω τη νησω ὑπο Δομετιανε, Ευσεβιος ὁ Παμφιλε εν τω χρονικω αυτε βιβλιω παρατιθεται. Andr. in Apoc. ap. Œcum. tom. II. p. 654. D.

[m] This Vol. p. 76.

[n] Harmony of the N. T. Vol. I. p. 341.

relating to Antichrist: particularly upon the tenth verse of the seventeenth chapter of the Revelation: 'John [a] began to be illuminated with divine visions in the island Patmos, in the 'time of Claudius; which was the opinion of the most ancient Christians. See Epiphanius in 'the heresy of the Alogians. Claudius, as we learn from Acts xviii. 2, "commanded all Jews 'to depart from Rome." Under the name of Jews, Christians also were comprehended, as 'has been observed by many learned men. And it cannot be doubted, but many governors of 'the Roman provinces followed that example. So therefore John was driven from Ephe[illegible]

That argument was long ago examined by [b] David Blondel, who says, 1. [illegible] that the most ancient writers said that St. John was sent into Patmos by C[illegible] phanius only who says so: he is altogether singular. There are no ancien[illegible] after him, who have said this. 2. As Epiphanius is singular, he ought not [illegible] 3. There was no persecution of the Christians in the reign of Claudius. Ther[illegible] no proof from any ancient monuments, that Christians, as such, suffered banishment under that emperor. It is allowed that [c] Nero was the first Roman emperor who persecuted the Christians. 4. The edict of Claudius only banished the Jews from Rome. It did not affect the Jews in the provinces, as appears from the New Testament itself, particularly Acts xviii. and xix. It is manifest from the history in the Acts, that in the reign of Claudius, in other parts of the empire out of Rome, the Jews enjoyed as full liberty as they did before. Paul and Silas, Aquila and Priscilla, dwelt quietly at Corinth; where the men of their nation had their synagogue, and assembled in it according to custom without molestation. 5. Nor could the governors of provinces banish either Jews or Christians out of their governments, without order from the emperor: and that they had no such order, is apparent. Neither Jews nor Christians were molested by them at Ephesus, as may be perceived from the history in the nineteenth chapter of the Acts. That they were not molested by them at Corinth, appears from the preceding chapter. 6. St. John could not be banished from Ephesus by Claudius, or the governors under him: for he was not in that city during the reign of that emperor, nor in the former part of the reign of Nero, as has been shewn. He did not come thither till near the end of the reign of the last mentioned emperor: therefore he could not be sooner banished from Ephesus.

These observations, if I am not mistaken, are sufficient to confute the opinion of Grotius.

Sir Isaac Newton was of opinion, that [d] St. John was banished into Patmos, and that the Revelation was seen in the reign of Nero, before the destruction of Jerusalem.

'Eusebius,' says he, [e] 'in his Chronicle and Ecclesiastical History follows Irenæus: (who 'said the Apocalypse was written in the time of Domitian:) but afterwards in his Evangelical 'Demonstration he conjoins the banishment of John into Patmos, with the deaths of Peter and 'Paul.'

To which I answer, first, that [f] the Ecclesiastical History was not written before the Evangelical Demonstration, but after it: for the Demonstration is referred to at the end of the second chapter of the first book of the Ecclesiastical History. Secondly, Eusebius in his

[a] Cœpit autem Joannes in Patmo esse, et Dei visis illuminari Claudii temporibus; quæ vetustissimorum Christianorum est sententia, non Domitiani, ut volunt alii. Vide Epiphanium in Hæresi Alogorum. Claudius Judæos, sub quorum nomine tunc et Christiani censebantur, ut multis viris doctis observatum est, Roma pepulerat, Act. xviii. 2. Quod exemplum non dubium est quin imitati sint multi Præsides Romanarum provinciarum. Ita Epheso expulsus Joannes. Grot. Commentatio ad loca quædam N. T. quæ de Antichristo agunt, aut agere putantur. Opp. tom. III.

[b] Des Sibylles l. 2. ch. iii. p. 145—148, à Charenton. 1649.

[c] Consulite commentarios vestros. Illic reperietis, primum Neronem in hanc sectam, tum maxime Romæ orientem, Cæsariano gladio ferocisse. Sed tali dedicatore damnationis nostræ etiam gloriamur. Tertull. Ap. cap. vi.

Nerone imperante.... qui dignus exstitit, qui persecutionem in Christianos primus inciperet. Sulp. Sev. Hist. Sacr. l. 2. cap. 39.

Nam primus Romæ Christianos suppliciis et mortibus affecit. P. Oros. l. 7. cap. 7. Vid. et Euseb. H. C. l. 2. cap. 25. p. 67.

[d] Sir Isaac Newton's opinion is much the same with that of John Hentenius of Mechlin, confuted by David Blondel in the same work, and in the next chapter to that, in which he confuted Grotius. Hentenius and Newton argue much alike. It may be suspected, that Newton incautiously borrowed some of his weak arguments. Says Blondel: 'Jean Hentenius en sa préface sur le Commentaire d'Aréthas.... a le discours qui suit: 'Il me semble, que Jean... a été relé-'gué par Néron en Patmos au même temps que celui là a 'tué dans Rome.... Pierre et Paul. Tertullien, voisin des 'temps des mêmes Apôtres, assure cela même en deux lieux. 'Eusèbe aussi traite la même chose au livre de la Démonstra-'tion Evangélique, combien qu'en ses Chroniques, et en l'His-'toire Ecclésiastique il dit que cela est arrivé sous Domitien: 'ce que aussi Saint Hiérome et plusieurs autres suivent. Mais 'à ces livres ci, comme écrit, les années précédentes, si grande 'autorité n'est pas attribuée, qu'à celui de la Démonstration 'Evangélique, vu qu'il a été depuis, et plus correctement éla-'bouré.' Blondel des Sibylles. l. 2. ch. iv. p. 148, 149.

[e] Newton's Observations upon the Apocalypse of St. John, chap. i. p. 236.

[f] See in this work, Vol. ii. p. 358. Vales. Annot. in Euseb. p. 8, 9. Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. 5. cap. iv. tom. VI. p. 57—59.

Demonstration is not different from himself in his Ecclesiastical History. In his Demonstration, having spoken of the imprisonment of all the apostles at Jerusalem, and of their being beaten, and of the stoning of Stephen, the beheading of James the son of Zebedee, and the imprisonment of Peter, he adds: 'James [a] the Lord's brother, was stoned, Peter was crucified at Rome 'with his head downward, and Paul was beheaded, and John banished into an island.' But he does not say, that all these things happened in the time of one and the same emperor. It is plain, that it is not his design to mention exactly the time of the sufferings of all these persons. Nothing hinders our supposing, that the apostles Peter and Paul were put to death by order of Nero, and John banished by Domitian, many years afterwards, agreeably to what himself writes in his Chronicle and History.

It follows in Sir Isaac Newton. 'And [b] so do Tertullian, and Pseudo-Prochorus, as well 'as the first author, whoever he was, of that very ancient fable, that St. John was put by Nero 'into a vessel of hot oil.'

I place below [c] the words of Tertullian, to which Sir Isaac refers. And I answer: it is true, that Tertullian speaks of the death of Peter and Paul, and of John's being cast into boiling oil, and then banished, all together: but he does not say, that all happened in the same reign. St. John's banishment is the last thing mentioned by him: and, probably, it happened not, till after the death of Peter and Paul. It is likely, that Tertullian supposed it to have been done by the order of Domitian; for in another place he speaks of the persecution of that emperor, as [d] consisting chiefly in banishments.

'... and Pseudo-Prochorus.' What place of Prochorus, who pretended to be one of the seven deacons, and is called by Baronius [e] himself a great liar, Sir Isaac Newton refers to, I do not know. But in his history of St. John he is entirely against him. For [f] he particularly relates the sufferings, which St. John underwent in the second persecution of the Christians, which was raised by Domitian. That emperor sent orders to the proconsul at Ephesus, to apprehend the apostle. When the proconsul had got St. John in his power, he informed Domitian of it; who then commanded the proconsul to bring him to Rome. When [g] he was come, the emperor would not see him, but ordered him to be cast into a vessel of scalding oil, and he came out unhurt. Then Domitian commanded the proconsul to have St. John back again to Ephesus. Some time [h] after that, by order of the same Domitian, John, and others at Ephesus, were banished into Patmos. Domitian [i] being dead, they returned to Ephesus with the leave of his successor, who did not persecute the Christians. So Pseudo-Prochorus.

Since the great Newton has been pleased to refer to such a writer, I shall take notice of another of the like sort; I mean Abdias, who assumed the character of the first bishop of Babylon. What he says is to this purpose: that [k] John, who survived the other apostles, lived to the time of Domitian, preaching the word to the people in Asia. When Domitian's edict for persecuting the Christians was brought to Ephesus, and John refused to deny Christ, or to give over preaching, the proconsul ordered that he should be drowned in a vessel of boil-

[a] ...καὶ Πέτρος δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης κατὰ κεφαλῆς σταύρεται, Παῦλος τε ἀποτέμνεται, Ἰωάννης τὲ νήσῳ παραδίδοται. Dem. Ev. l. 3. p. 116.

[b] As before, p. 236.

[c] Ista quam felix ecclesia, ubi Petrus passioni Dominicæ adæquatur; ubi Paulus Joannis exitu coronatur; ubi Apostolus Joannes, posteaquam in oleum igneum demersus, nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur! De Præsc. cap. 36. p. 245.

[d] Tentaverat et Domitianus ... sed, quâ et homo, facile cœptum repressit, restitutis etiam quos relegaverat. Apol. cap. 5.

[e] — in multis mendacissimus hic auctor fuisse convincitur. An. 92. hom. i.

[f] Secundam vero persecutionem Domitianus excitârat, cujus temporibus Joannes Ephesi morabatur. Imperator autem Domitianus epistolam misit Ephesum ad Proconsulem civitatis. ... Proch. de Vit. Joan. cap. 8. Ap. Bib. Patr. Ludg. T. II.

[g] Audiens autem Domitianus de adventu ejus, noluit impius Cæsar videre faciem Apostoli. Et jussit, ut Proconsul duceret ad Portam Latinam, et in ferventis olei dolium illum vivum demitti, &c. Ibid. cap. 10.

[h] Ibid. cap. 14.

[i] Mortuo autem Domitiano, qui nos transmiserat in exilium, successor ejus non prohibebat Christianos. Et cum audisset de bonitate et sanctimoniâ Joannis, quodque fuisset injuste a prædecessore suo exilio relegatus, per literas nos revocavit ab exilio. Ib. cap. 45.

[k] Est igitur et hoc ipsum amoris Salvatoris in beatum Joannem indicium non vulgare, quod vitâ reliquos omnes superaverit, et, ut dictum est, ad Domitiani Imperatoris ætatem usque in Asiâ verbum salutis populis adnuntiârit. ... Cui Proconsul loci cum edictum Imperatoris, ut Christum negaret, et a prædicatione cessaret, legisset, Apostolus intrepide respondit. ... Ad cujus responsionem motus Proconsul jussit eum velut rebellem in dolio ferventis olei demergi; qui statim ut conjectus in æneo est, veluti athleta unctus, non adustus, de vase exiit. Ad quod miraculum Proconsul stupefactus, voluit eum libertati suæ reddere. Et fecisset, nisi timuisset edictum Cæsaris. Mitiorem igitur pœnam cogitans, in exilium eum relegavit, in insulam, quæ dicitur Patmos; in quâ et Apocalypsin, quæ ex nomine ejus legitur, et vidit, et scripsit. Post mortem autem Domitiani, quia omnia ejus decreta Senatus infringi jusserat, inter cæteros, qui ab eo relegati fuerant, et ad propria remeabant, etiam sanctus Joannes Ephesum rediit, ubi et hospitiolum, et multos amicos, habebat. Abd. Hist. Apostol. cap. v. ap. Fabr. Cod. Apocr. N. T. p. 533—536.

ing oil: but John presently leaped out unhurt. The proconsul would then have set him at liberty, if he had not feared to transgress the emperor's edict. He therefore banished John into Patmos, where he saw and wrote the Revelation. After the death of Domitian, his edicts having been abrogated by the senate, they who had been banished, returned to their homes: and John came to Ephesus, where he had a dwelling, and many friends.

Then follows an account of St. John's visiting the churches in the neighbourhood of Ephesus. Where is inserted also the story, formerly taken notice of, concerning the young man related by Eusebius from Clement of Alexandria: and as happening, not under Nero, but of Domitian.

Newton proceeds: 'as well as the first author, whoever he was, of that story, [illegible] 'that John was put by Nero into a vessel of hot oil, and coming out unhurt, was banished by 'him into Patmos. Though this story be no more than a fiction, yet it was founded on a tra- 'dition of the first churches, that John was banished into Patmos in the days of Nero.'

Who was the first author of that fable, I do not know. But it does not appear, that Tertullian, the first writer who has mentioned it, thought it to be in the time of Nero. He might mean, and probably did mean, Domitian, the same who banished John into an island: as did also the two writers just taken notice of, Prochorus and Abdias, to whom we were led by Sir Isaac. Jerom, who [a] in his books against Jovinian, mentions this story, as from Tertullian, according to some copies, says, it was done at Rome, according to others, in the time of Nero. However in the same place, as well as elsewhere, Jerom expressly says, that John was banished into Patmos by Domitian. And [b] in the other place, where he mentions their casting St. John into boiling oil, he says: 'and presently afterwards he was banished into the island Patmos.' Therefore that other trial, which St. John met with, was in the same reign, that is, Domitian's. And indeed Jerom always supposes St. John's banishment to have been in that reign: as he particularly relates in the ninth chapter of his book of illustrious men. Let me add, that if the story of St. John's being put into a vessel of scalding oil be a fable, and a fiction, it must be hazardous to build an argument upon it.

It follows in Newton: 'Epiphanius represents the gospel of John as written in the time of 'Domitian, and the Apocalypse even before that of Nero.' I have already said enough of Epiphanius in considering the opinion of Grotius. However, as one would think, Sir Isaac Newton had little reason to mention Epiphanius, when he does not follow him. He says, that St. John was banished into Patmos in the time of Claudius: Sir Isaac, not till near the end of the reign of Nero.

'Arethas,' says 'Sir Isaac, 'in the beginning of his commentary quotes the opinion of 'Irenæus from Eusebius, but does not follow it. For he afterwards affirms, that the Apoca- 'lypse was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, and that former commentators had 'expounded the sixth seal of that destruction.'

To which I answer. Arethas does indeed say, that [d] some interpreters had explained things under the sixth seal, as relating to the destruction of Jerusalem by Vespasian; but they were some only, not the most. Yea, he presently afterwards says, that the most interpreted it otherwise. Nor does he say, that any of those commentators were of opinion, that the Apocalypse was written before the destruction of Jerusalem. Arethas seems to have been of opinion, that things, which had come to pass long before, might be represented in the Revelation. Therefore immediately before that passage, explaining Rev. vi. 12, 13, he says: 'What 'is 'the opening of the sixth seal? It is the cross and death of the Lord, followed by his 'resurrection, desirable to all faithful and understanding men. "And lo, there was a great 'earthquake." Manifestly denoting, says he, the signs that happened during the crucifixion, 'the shaking of the earth, the darkness of the sun, the turning the moon into blood. For

[a] Vidit enim in Patmo insulâ, in quam fuerat a Domitiano principe relegatus, Apocalypsin. . . . Refert autem Tertullianus, quod Romæ, [al. a Nerone] missus in ferventis olei dolium, purior et vegetior exierit, quam intravit. Adv. Jovin. l. i. tom. 4. p. 169.

[b] Sed si legamus ecclesiasticas historias, in quibus fertur, quod et ipse propter martyrium sit missus in ferventis olei dolium, et inde ad suscipiendam coronam Christi athleta processerit, statimque relegatus in Patmon insulam sit, &c. Comm. in Matt. xx. 23. tom. 4. P. i. p. 92.

[c] As before, p. 230.

[d] Τινες δε ταυτα εις την υπο Ουεσπασιανε γινομενην πολιορκιαν εξελαβον, παντα τα εισημενα τροπολογησαντες. Οι δε πλειστοι των ερμηνευτων. κ. λ. Areth. cap. 18. p. 709. A.

[e] Τις δε η λυσις της εκτης σφραγιδος; Ο σαυρος τε κυριε και θανατος, οις ηκολουθησεν η ευκταια πασι πιστοις τε και αισθητοις αναστασις. κ. λ. Cap. 18. p. 708. C. D.

'when it was full moon, being the fourteenth day, how was it possible, that the sun should be 'eclipsed by its interposition?'

However, I must not conceal what he says afterwards, in another chapter of his [a] Commentary. He is explaining Rev. vii. 4—8. 'These,' says he, who instructs the evangelist, 'will 'not partake in the calamities inflicted by the Romans. For the destruction caused by the 'Romans had not fallen upon the Jews, when the evangelist received these instructions. Nor 'was he at Jerusalem, but in Ionia, where is Ephesus: for he stayed at Jerusalem no more than 'fourteen years.——And after the death of our Lord's mother, he left Judea, and went to 'Ephesus: as tradition says: where also, as is said, he had the revelation of future things.' But how can we rely upon a writer of the sixth century for these particulars; that John did not stay at Jerusalem more than fourteen years: that he left Judea upon the death of our Lord's mother, and then went to Ephesus: when we can evidently perceive from the history in the Acts, that in the fourteenth year after our Lord's ascension, there were no christian converts at Ephesus: and that the church at Ephesus was not founded by St. Paul, till several years afterwards? What avails it to refer to such passages as these? Which when looked into, and examined, contain no certain assurances of any thing. And Sir Isaac Newton himself says: 'It [c] seems to me, that Peter and John stayed with their churches in Judea and Syria, till the 'Romans made war upon their nation, that is, till the twelfth year of Nero.' or A. D. 66.

We proceed with this great man's arguments, who adds: 'With [d] the opinion of the first 'commentators agrees the tradition of the churches of Syria, preserved to this day in the title 'of the Syriac version of the Apocalypse, which title is this: "The revelation, which was 'made to John the evangelist by God in the island Patmos, into which he was banished by 'Nero Cæsar." ' But how comes it to pass, that the tradition of the churches of Syria is alleged here, when the apocalypse was not generally received by them? Moreover in the titles of the books of the New Testament received by them, there are manifest errors. Nor [e] can we say, when the Syriac version of the Apocalypse was made: nor [f] is it impossible that the authors of that title might mean Domitian by Nero. It is not a greater error, than that of supposing the epistle of James to have been written by James the son of Zebedee.

Again, says the celebrated Newton: 'The [g] same is confirmed by a story told by Eusebius 'out of Clemens Alexandrinus, and other ancient authors, concerning a youth, whom St. John, 'some time after his return from Patmos, committed to the care of the bishop of a certain city. 'This is a story of many years, and requires, that John should have returned from Patmos 'rather at the death of Nero, than at that of Domitian.'

But, first, if this be only a feigned story, or apologue, as some have thought, contrived to convey moral instruction; circumstances ought not to be strained, nor the truth of history be founded upon it. Secondly, we must take the story, as it is related by Clement, and other ancient authors. Clement placeth it after the death of the tyrant, by whom John had been banished: and Eusebius [h] supposeth him to mean Domitian. Thirdly, if St. John lived in Asia two, or three, or four years after his return from Patmos, that is time enough for the events of this story.

Sir Isaac adds in the same place: 'And John in his old age was so infirm, as to be carried 'to church, dying above ninety years old: and therefore could not be then supposed able to 'ride after the thief.'

Nevertheless in the original account, which we have of this affair, St. John is expressly called [i] an old man: Sir Isaac therefore has no right to make him young; for that would be

[a] Cap. xix. p. 713, 714.

[b] ... αλλα προς Εφεσον μεταστηναι αυτον λογος. καὶ ἠν, ὡς εἰρηται. κ. λ. Ibid. p. 714. in.

[c] As before, p. 243. [d] P. 236, 237.

[e] Ad Neronis imperium hoc exilium Syrus refert. Verum incerta est quam maxime hujus versionis ætas, nulloque gaudet socio. Lamp. Proleg. l. i. cap. 4 sect. vii.

Quapropter nihil in hisce est, quod Syrum ab erroris culpâ liberare possit; quemadmodum nec supra erat, quod Epiphanium in nomine Claudii tueretur. Illud tantummodo adnotatum volo Syriacam Apocalypseos versionem haud æqualem cæterorum librorum interpretationi videri, uti nec primi codices in Europam adlati appositam habuerunt, quam demum Ludovicus de Dieu MDCXXVII. in lucem primum produxit, &c. Ch. Cellarius de septem ecclesiis Asiæ num. xvii. p. 428.

[f] Sed forsan aliquis, honoris interpretis Syri solicitus et cupidus, posset in illius gratiam asserere, illum non Neronem, sed Domitianum, alterum Neronem, seu portionem Neronis, ut vocatur Tertulliano, &c. Le Moyne. Var. Sacr. tom. II. p. 1019. [g] As above, p. 237.

[h] H. E. l. 3. cap. 23.

[i] ... επιλαθομενος της ἡλικιας αυτου ... τι με φευγεις ... τον γυμνον, τον γεροντα; προσελθοντα δε τον γεροντα περιελαβεν κ. λ. Clem. ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 3. c. 23. p. 93.

making a new story. If a man allows himself so to do, and argues upon it; the necessary consequence is, that he deceives himself and others.

Upon the whole, I see not much weight in any of these arguments of Sir Isaac Newton; and must adhere to the common opinion, that St. John was banished into Patmos, in the reign of Domitian, and by virtue of his edicts for persecuting the Christians, in the latter part of his reign. Says Mr. Lampe: 'All [a] antiquity is agreed, that St. John's banishment was by 'order of Domitian.'

VI. We should now inquire, when St. John was released, or how long his banishment lasted.

According to Tertullian, Domitian's persecution [b] was very short, and the emperor himself, before he died, recalled those whom he had banished. Hegesippus likewise says, that [c] Domitian by an edict put an end to the persecution which he had ordered.

Eusebius says, 'that [d] after the death of Domitian, John returned from his banishment.' And before, in another chapter of the same book, he said more largely: 'After [e] Domitian 'had reigned fifteen years, Nerva succeeded him, and the Roman Senate decreed, that the 'honourable titles bestowed upon Domitian should be abrogated, and moreover, that they who 'had been banished by him might return to their homes, and repossess their good, of which 'they had been unjustly deprived. This we learn from such as have written the history of 'those times. Then therefore, as our ancestors say, the apostle John returned from his banish-'ment, and again took up his abode at Ephesus.'

Jerom, in his book of Illustrious Men, says: 'When [f] Domitian had been killed, and his 'edicts had been repealed by the Senate, because of their excessive cruelty, John returned to 'Ephesus in the time of the emperor Nerva.'

I place below a passage of [g] the martyrdom of Timothy in Photius, and another [h] of *Suidas*, saying, that after Domitian's death, when Nerva was emperor, St. John returned from his banishment.

This is also agreeable to the general accounts in [i] Dion Cassius, and [k] the author of the Deaths of Persecutors.

Indeed, Hegesippus and Tertullian, as before observed, intimate that the persecution of Domitian ended before his death. But it is very remarkable, that Eusebius [l] having quoted both of them, gives a different account, as we saw just now. And, as learned men have observed, it is a great prejudice to their authority in this point, that Eusebius does not follow them, but presently afterwards differs from them.

It seems probable therefore, that St. John, and other exiles, did not return from their banishment, until after the death of Domitian: which [m] is the opinion of Basnage, and likewise of [n] Cellarius.

Domitian [o] is computed to have died Sept. 18, A. D. 96, after having reigned fifteen years, and some days. Nerva [p] died the 27th day of Jan. 98, after having reigned one year, four months, and nine days. Therefore Trajan began his reign Jan. 27, A. D. 98.

If the persecution of Domitian began in the fourteenth year of his reign, and St. John was sent to Patmos that year, and restored in the beginning of the reign of Nerva, his [q] exile could not last more than two years, perhaps not much above a year.

[a] Tota antiquitas in eo abunde consentit, quod Domitianus exilii Joannis auctor fuerit. Lamp. Proleg. l. i. cap. 4. sect. viii.

[b] Cœptum repressit, restitutis etiam quos relegaverat. Apol. cap. v. vid. supr. p. 220, note [q].

[c] ... καταπαυεται δε δια προσαγματος τον κατα της εκκλησιας διωγμον. Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 3. cap. 20. p. 90. B.

[d] ... απο της κατα την νησον μετα την Δομετιανε τελευτην επανελθων φυγης. Eus. H. E. l. 3. cap. 23. in.

[e] H. E. l. 3. cap. 20. p. 90. B. C.

[f] See Vol. ii. p. 553.

[g] Νερβα δε τε Ρωμαικε κρατος το σκηπτρον αναδεδεγμενου, ὁ θεολογος Ιωαννης, της υπερορια φυγης αφεθεις, καταγεται προς Εφεσον, ἡς και προτερον απο Δομετιανε πεφυγαδευτο. Ap. Phot. Cod. 254. p. 1404.

[h] Vid. Suid. voce Νερβας.

[i] Και ὁ Νερουας τους τε κρινομενους επ' ασεβεια αφηκε, και τους φευγοντας κατηγαγε. κ. λ. Dio. l. 62. in. p. 769.

[k] De M. P. cap. 3.

[l] H. E. l. 3. cap. 20.

[m] Utrum Domitianus decretum revocârit, difficilis quæstio est. Sic enim antiquorum nonnullis visum. Hegesippus... Hegesippo assentitur et Tertullianus ... Contra vero nobilis historicus Dio, qui rerum Romanarum Hegesippo peritior erat, et Tertulliano, disertissime testatur, Nervæ indulgentiâ revocatos fuisse Christianos: 'Nerva autem eos qui damnati erant 'impietatis absolvit, exulesque restituit.' Neque alia mens Lactantio de Mort. Pers. cap. 3. Basnag. ann. 96. num. iv.

[n] Cellar. de Septem. ecclesiis Asiæ. cap. xvii.—xx.

[o] Basnag. ann. 96. n. xiii.

[p] Basn. A. D. 98. i. Pagi. ann. 98. ii.

[q] In alterum tantum annum ad summum duravit, quando Nerva succedens Domitiano exules revocavit, et cum eis Joannem, uti ex vetustiorum fide refert Eusebius, l. 3. H. E. cap. 20.... Quæ quidem eo majorem fidem merentur, quia ipse Dio, seu ex eo Xiphilinus, revocationem exulum Christianorum Nervæ tribuit. Lampe, Prol. l. 1. cap. 4. sect. ix. Vid. et Cellar. ubi supra cap. xvii.

If St. John's life reached to the third year of the reign of Trajan, which is the opinion of Cave [a] and many others, he lived three years after his return from Patmos: if it reached to the fourth year of Trajan, as [b] Basnage thought, he must have lived four years after his return.

Or, in other words: if St. John returned about the end of the year 96, or the beginning of 97, and did not die till the year 101, he lived four years in Asia, after his return from Patmos. If he died in the year 100, he lived three years after his return.

VII. Having now said of St. John all that is needful by way of history, we come to his writings, of which there are five generally ascribed to him: a gospel, three epistles, and the Revelation: two of which, the gospel, and the first epistle, are universally received as genuine.

Now I speak of the gospel only. And here in the first place I shall recite the accounts of the ancients, but chiefly such as concern the time when it was written; omitting many other testimonies, as not necessary to be mentioned now, though very valuable in themselves: after which we will observe the judgments of learned moderns concerning the same point; I mean, the time when it was written.

Irenæus having spoken of the gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, adds: 'Afterwards 'John the disciple of the Lord, who also leaned upon his breast, likewise published a gospel, 'whilst he dwelled at Ephesus in Asia.'

In another place he says: 'John [d] the disciple of the Lord declaring this faith, and by the 'publication of the gospel designing to root out the error, which had been sown among men by 'Cerinthus, and long before by those who are called Nicolaitans——thus began in the doctrine, 'which is according to the gospel: "In the beginning was the Word." '

In another place of the same ancient writer are these expressions: 'As [e] John the disciple 'of the Lord assures us, saying: "But these are written, that ye might believe, that Jesus is 'the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name." [ch. 'xx. 30.] Foreseeing these blasphemous notions that divide the Lord, so far as it is in their 'power.'

In the preceding passage Irenæus speaks, as if St. John's gospel was written after the rise of Cerinthus, and other heresies: but here he seems to say, that it was written before them, and foreseeing them. In like manner afterwards, in the same chapter, he says of Paul: as [f] he says: "It is Christ that died, yea rather that is risen, who is at the right hand of God." Rom. viii. 34. And again, "Knowing that Christ being raised from the dead, dies no more," 'ch. vi. 9. For he also foreseeing by the spirit, the divisions of evil teachers, and being desirous 'to cut off from them all occasion of dissension, says what has been just quoted.'

Clement, of Alexandria, speaking of the order of the gospels, according to what he had received from presbyters of more ancient times, says: 'Last [g] of all John observing, that in 'other gospels those things were related, which concern the humanity of Christ, and being 'persuaded by his friends, and also moved by the Spirit of God, he wrote a spiritual gospel.' Here it is supposed, not only, that St. John wrote the last of the four, but likewise, that he had seen the gospels of the other three evangelists.

Origen [h] speaks of all the four gospels in our present order, that is, Matthew's first, and John's last.

A long passage of Eusebius concerning St. John's gospel may be seen Vol. ii. p. 368, 369. It cannot be omitted here. But it shall be abridged. 'And that it has been justly placed by

[a] Interfecto Domitiano, Ephesum rediit ann. Chr. 97, in quâ, ut et in regionibus circumvicinis, reliquum vitæ transegit, et...anno Chr. 100, Trajani 3, juxta Eusebium et Hieronymum, anno uno aut altero centenario major ... in Domino placide obdormivit. Cav. H. L. T. I. p. 16.

[b] Cæterum cum ex antiquâ traditione haustum videatur, Joannem senio confectum, 68 post passionem anno mortuum esse, quæ in 33 æræ nostræ incidit, probabilis est conjectura, Joannem anno labente finem hujus lucis invenisse. Basn. A. 101. n. ii.

[c] See Vol. i. p. 365.

[d] Hanc fidem annuntians Joannes Domini discipulus, volens per Evangelii annuntiationem auferre eum, qui a Cerintho inseminatus erat hominibus, errorem, et multo prius ab his qui dicuntur Nicolaïtæ, qui sunt vulsio ejus, quæ falso cognominatur scientia.... Sic inchoavit in eâ quæ est secundum evangelium doctrinâ. In principio erat verbum, &c. Adv. Hær. l. 3. cap. xi. p. 188. Bened.

[e] —— quemadmodum Joannes Domini discipulus confirmat, dicens, 'Hæc autem scripta sunt, ut credatis, quoniam 'Jesus est Filius Dei, et ut credentes vitam æternam habeatis 'in nomine ejus;' providens has blasphemas regulas, quæ dividant Dominum quantum ex ipsis attinet, ex alterâ et alterâ substantiâ dicentes eum factum. Adv. Hær. l. 3. cap. 16. n. 5. p. 206.

[f] —— quemadmodum ipse ait: 'Simul autem Christus 'mortuus est, immo et resurrexit'——Et iterum: 'Scientes quoniam Christus resurgens a mortuis, jam non moritur.' Prævidens enim et ipse per Spiritum subdivisiones malorum magistrorum, et omnem ipsorum occasionem dissensionis volens abscindere, ait quæ prædicta sunt. Ibid. n. 9. p. 207.

[g] See Vol. i. p. 395.

[h] Ib. p. 532.

'the ancients the fourth in order, and after the other three, may be made evident.——For Matthew delivered his gospel to the Hebrews.——And when Mark and Luke also had published 'the gospels according to them, it is said, that John who all this while had preached by word of 'mouth, was at length induced to write for this reason. The three first written gospels being 'now delivered to all men, and to John himself, it is said, that he approved them, and confirmed the truth of their narration by his own testimony, saying: There was only wanting a 'written account of the things done by Christ, in the former part, and near the beginning of 'his preaching——And, certainly, that observation is true——.'

Epiphanius [a] speaks of St. John's gospel, as the last of the four. He also says, that St. John wrote it, after he had long declined so doing through humility, when he was ninety years of age, and when he had lived in Asia many years, after his return thither from Patmos, in the time of the emperor Claudius. He moreover says in several places, that this gospel was occasioned by the errors of the Ebionites, the Cerinthians, and other heretics.

According to [b] the Syrian churches, St. John wrote his gospel at Ephesus.

My readers are again referred to the noble passage [c] of Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia, concerning the four gospels, and to the remarks upon it.

Jerom, in his book of Illustrious Men, says: 'John [d] the apostle wrote a gospel at the 'desire of the bishops of Asia, against Cerinthus, and other heretics, and especially the doc'trine of the Ebionites, then springing up, who say, that Christ did not exist before his birth 'of Mary: for which reason he was obliged to declare his divine nativity. Another reason of 'his writing is also mentioned; which is, that after having read the volumes of Matthew, Mark, 'and Luke, he expressed his approbation of their history as true: but observed, that they had 'recorded an account of but one year of our Lord's ministry, even the last, after the imprison'ment of John, in which also he suffered. Omitting therefore [very much] that year, the 'history of which had been written by the other three, he related the Acts of the preceding 'time, before John was shut up in prison; as may appear to those, who read the four evange'lists: which may be of use to account for the seeming difference between John and the rest.'

According to [e] Augustine, St. John is the last of the four evangelists.

Chrysostom [f] assigning the reasons of St. John's writing his gospel, supposeth that he did not write till after the destruction of Jerusalem.

Paulinus says: 'It [g] had been handed down by tradition, that John survived all the other 'apostles, and wrote the last of the four evangelists, and so as to confirm their most certain 'history.' And he observes, 'that [h] in the beginning of St. John's gospel all heretics are con'futed, particularly, Arius, Sabellius, Marcion and the Manichees.'

Cosmas of Alexandria, says, 'that [i] when John dwelt at Ephesus, there were delivered to 'him by the faithful, the writings of the other three evangelists. Receiving them he said, that 'what they had written was well written: but some things were omitted by them, which were 'needful to be related. And being desired by the faithful, he also published his writing, as a 'kind of supplement to the rest, containing such things as these: the wedding at Cana; the 'history of Nicodemus; the woman of Samaria; the nobleman, [or courtier, John iv. 46—54.] 'the blind man from his birth; Lazarus; the indignation of Judas, at the woman that anointed 'the Lord with ointment; the Greeks that came to Jesus; his washing the disciples' feet; and 'suitable instructions upon several occasions, and the promise of the Comforter; and concern'ing the Deity of Christ, expressly and clearly at the beginning, and premising that, as the 'foundation of his work: all which things had been omitted by the rest.'

Isidore of Seville, says, that [k] John wrote the last, in Asia.

Theophylact computed, that [l] St. John wrote about two and thirty years after Christ's ascension.

Euthymius, that [m] it was not written until many years after the destruction of Jerusalem.

Nicephorus Callisti says, that [n] John wrote last of all, about six and thirty years after the Lord's ascension to heaven.

VIII. Having seen these testimonies of the ancients to St. John's gospel, and the time of it, I would now observe the judgments of learned moderns.

[a] See Vol. ii. p. 418. [b] P. 486. [c] Ibid. [i] This Vol. p. 52. [k] P. 74.
[d] P. 529, 530. [e] P. 553. [f] P. 87. [m] P. 90. [n] P. 91.
[g] P. 585. [h] P. 602, 604. [i] P. 629.

According to [a] Mill's computation St. John wrote his gospel at Ephesus, in the year of Christ 97, about one year before his death.

Fabricius [b] speaks to the like purpose.

Le Clerc [c] likewise placeth the writing of this gospel in the year 97.

Mr. Jones argues that [d] it was written about the year 98, and not before 97.

The late Mr. Wetstein thought, that [e] this gospel might be written about the year 82, after our Lord's ascension: and dislikes the supposition, that it was written by St. John in decrepit old age.

[illegible] was inclined to think, that this gospel was written before the destruction of Jerusalem. [illegible] will be alleged, and considered by and by.

[illegible] was of opinion, that [g] this gospel was written in the latter part of the reign of Nero, before the destruction of Jerusalem.

IX. I shall now propose an argument concerning the date of this gospel.

There are two considerations, principally, which lead me to think, that St. John's gospel was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, or about the time of that event: these I shall first mention, and then take notice of divers others, observable in learned moderns.

1. It is likely, that St. John wrote in a short time after the other evangelists. Their gospels were soon brought to him: and if he thought fit to confirm them, or to write any thing by way of supplement, he would do it in a short time. The first three gospels, very probably, were written and published before the end of the year 64, or in 65, at the farthest. If they were brought to St. John in 65, or 66, he would not defer more, or not much more, than a year, or two, to publish his history of Jesus, and make the account complete.

I do not presume to say exactly the year in which this gospel was written: but I think it might be written and published in the year 68.

This argument offered itself to Mr. Whiston's thoughts, and is thus expressed by him: 'That [h] occasion of John's writing his gospel, mentioned by the ancients, viz. the bringing the 'other three gospels to him, and his observing their deficiency, as to the acts of Christ before 'the Baptist's imprisonment, does much better agree with this time, just after the publication 'of those gospels, than with that above thirty years later, to which its writing is now ordinarily 'ascribed.'

And is it not a strange supposition, that all the other three gospels should have been written by the year 60, or thereabout, and St. John's not till the year 97, or 98, that is, more than thirty years after the others? When likewise he must have been of a very great age, and scarcely fit for such a work as this.

2. The second consideration is the suitableness of St. John's gospel to the circumstances of things before the overthrow of the Jews, or about that time.

Mr. Lampe has observed, that [i] the great design of St. John in writing his gospel seems to have been, to show, how inexcusable the Jews were in not receiving Jesus as the Christ, and to vindicate the providence of God in the calamities already befallen, or now coming upon them. If that appear to be the design of St. John in writing his gospel, it will very much strengthen the supposition, that it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem was completed.

St. John says, ch. xx. 31. "These things are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name." That is,

[a] Et quidem Ephesum ab exilio reversus Joannes uno ante mortem anno scripsit Evangelium. Mil. Prol. num. 181.

[b] Evangelium Græce edidit Ephesi, omnium postremus, jam nonagenario major, cum e Patmo reversus esset post Domitiani necem, quæ anno 96 contigit. Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. v. T. III. p. 139.

[c] Hist. E. An. 97. num. i.

[d] New and Full Method, Vol. III. p. 139.

[e] Hinc etiam consequitur, Evangelium Joannis non ab eo decrepito, et fere centenario, et post mortem Clementis, sed diu antea fuisse editum, adeoque inscriptionem Codicum Græcorum, qui illud Evangelium anno tricesimo secundo post ascensionem Christi scriptum fuisse testantur, ad verum propius accedere: præcipue cum ratio nulla sit, cur Joannes scriptionem in tam longum tempus differre debuerit. West. Proleg. ad duas Clement. Ep. sub. fin.

[f] Ann. 97. num. xii.

[g] Putem ergo non contemnendas esse rationes, quæ ante excidium Hierosolymitanum Evangelium nostrum sub extremis forte Neronis temporibus conscriptum esse persuadent. Proleg. l. 2. cap. 2 num. ix.

[h] Essay on the Apostolical Constitutions, p. 38, 39.

[i] Totam porro œconomiam hujus Evangelii ita esse digestam, ut ad convincendos ac ἀναπολογητους reddendos Judæos spectaret, capite sequenti ostendemus. Prolegom. in Joan. l. 2. cap. 3. sect. ii.

Imminens etiam Judææ pernicies occasionem maxime opportunam conscribendo libro dabat, in quo Joannis animus erat hujus ipsius judicii imminentis æquitatem defendere, et tentare, an Judæi ex hoc Reipublicæ naufragio magno agmine in Asiam enatantes, ad recipiendum unicum mundi Salvatorem hoc medio permoveri possint. Ibid. l. 2. cap. 2. sect. xv. Vid et l. 2. cap. 3. num. iii. not. (*b*).

'This history has been written, that they who believe, may be confirmed in their faith, and that 'all others, who yet believe not, may believe in Jesus, as the Christ, the Son of God, and obtain 'that life, which he promiseth to those who believe in him, and obey him.'

That is the design of all the evangelists; and their histories are a sufficient ground and reason of this belief. But St. John's gospel contains an ample confirmation of all that they have said, with valuable additions, and more plain and frequent assurances, that Jesus is not only a prophet, and messenger of God, but the Christ, the Son of God, or that great prophet, that should come into the world: whereby all are rendered inexcusable in rejecting him, and especially the Jews, among whom he preached, and wrought many miracles, and whom he often called to receive him as the Christ. This [a] runs through St. John's gospel from the beginning to the end, or near the end of the twelfth chapter.

Even in the introduction, he says, ch. i. 7. "John came for a witness, to bear witness of the light, that all men through him might believe. Ver. 8. He was not that light, but was sent to bear witness of that light. Ver. 9. That was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." 'That is, he was designed to be an universal blessing: and he has 'done all that was fit to be done, to enlighten all men in the knowledge of God, and true 'religion.' Ver. 14. "And we beheld his glory," we his disciples, and all who impartially attended, "beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father:" that is, the glory peculiar to the promised Messiah. Again, at ver. 18, he styles him "the only begotten son." Here St. John, may be supposed to declare his present faith, or to make a profession of the faith, which he had at the time of his writing. Having so done, he proceeds in the history. Ver. 19, 20. "And this is the record of John, when the Jews sent priests and Levites from Jerusalem, to ask him, who art thou." He answered, that he was not the Christ, but his harbinger, or fore-runner, the person spoken of by Isaiah. And he declares the transcendent greatness of him, who was about to appear, and was already among them. Ver. 21—28. Then at ver. 29. "The next day John seeth Jesus coming unto him, and saith: Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world." Undoubtedly, by that character meaning the Messiah, and understood by all so to mean. See also ver. 30, 31, 32, 33. Then at ver. 34. "And I saw, and bare record, that this is the Son of God:" or the Christ. And ver. 35, 36. "Again, the next day after John stood, and two of his disciples. And looking upon Jesus, as he walked, he saith: behold the Lamb of God." He tells every body, that Jesus is the Christ, though not always in the same terms. And to finish our account of John the Baptist. *In ch.* iii. 25—36, is the last testimony borne by him to Jesus: and it is very strong and full. He declares he was not himself the Christ, "but was sent before him. To him," says he, "God giveth not the spirit by measure. The Father loveth the Son, and hath put all things into his hands.——He that believeth on the Son, hath everlasting life: and he that believeth not the Son, shall not see life: but the wrath of God abideth on him."

Having gone through the Baptist's testimony, as here recorded, we look back to ch. i. 4—42, where Andrew finds his brother Simon, and says to him: "We have found the Messiah." Then ver. 45—51. "Philip findeth Nathanael, and saith to him: We have found him, of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth." Nathanael likewise is convinced, and says: Rabbi, thou art the Son of God; thou art the king of Israel." So writes St. John, showing, that the pious, and well disposed among the Jews, readily received Jesus as the Christ. And thereby showing likewise, the great unreasonableness, and extreme perverseness of those who did not believe in him after all the proofs, which he set before them in the course of his most powerful ministry. As the evangelist most justly says, near the conclusion of this part of his gospel. Ch. xii. 37. "But though he had done so many miracles among them, yet they believed not on him." And see what follows there.

Ch. ii. 11. After the account of the miracle at Cana. "This beginning of miracles did

[a] Priora duodecim capita evidentissime ea commemorant, quæ severum et tremendum illud Dei in Judæos judicium defendunt. Talia enim facta et dicta continuo ordine proponunt, quæ non in obscuro angulo, sed coram tota gente Judaïcâ edita sunt, nullamque exceptionem patiuntur.——Atque hæc est ratio, cur Joannes secundum festa Judæorum historiam evangelicam digerat. Inde enim innotescit, Jesum ea diligenter frequentâsse, atque in iis publice coram toto populo Judaïco se satis superque manifestâsse. Istud enim Evangelistæ nostro plane privum est, ut ea potissimum narret, quæ a Domino nostro Hierosolymis, quin in ipso templo, gesta atque dicta sunt; paucis tantum interjectis, quæ eum etiam Judæam, Samariam, Galilæam, radiis gloriæ suæ cœlestis abunde illustrâsse, atque ita nullam partem regionis Judæorum vacuam reliquisse, probant. Lamp. Ibid. l. 2. cap. 4, num. xxxiii. xxxiv.

Jesus in Cana of Galilee, and manifested forth his glory:" that is, the glory of the Messiah; "and his disciples believed on him:" or were confirmed in their belief, that he was the Christ.

Soon after this, Jesus went up to Jerusalem at the passover, and cleansed the temple, saying: "Make not my Father's house an house of merchandise," ch. ii. 13—17. By the work itself, and by his words, manifesting himself to be the Messiah. I omit other things in the remaining part of that chapter, which an attentive reader will take notice of.

Then, ch. iii. 1—21, is the history of Nicodemus, who, whilst Jesus was this time at Jerusalem, made him a private visit. He immediately professeth faith in him, as a prophet. But our Lord tells him plainly, that he was the Messiah, and demands a suitable regard from him. He likewise sets before Nicodemus the nature of his design, for preventing, or for removing all worldly expectations from him. He likewise intimates the call of the Gentiles, and the judgments coming upon the Jewish people, if they should persist in unbelief. "For," says he, "as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of man be lifted up: that whosoever believeth in him might not perish, but have everlasting life.——For God sent not his son," the Messiah, "into the world to condemn the world: but that through him the world," Gentiles as well as Jews, "might be saved." And what there follows.

Jesus going through Samaria, from Jerusalem, in his way to Galilee, meets with a woman of that country, Ch. iv. 19. "The woman saith unto him: Sir, I perceive that thou art a prophet" ——And ver. 25, 26. "The woman saith unto him: I know that the Messiah cometh," or is soon to appear.——"Jesus saith unto her: I that speak unto thee am he."——The woman left him, and went into the city, "and saith unto the men: come, see a man that has told me all things, that ever I did. Is not this the Christ?" Afterwards ver. 42. "Many of that place said unto the woman: now we believe, not because of thy saying: for we have heard him ourselves, and know, that this is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world." Here is another instance of our Lord's freely declaring himself to be the Christ, and of his accepting a profession of faith in himself, as such. And the ready faith of these Samaritans aggravates the continued unbelief of the Jews, on whom more culture had been bestowed.

Ch. v. 1. "After this there was a feast of the Jews, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem." By many this is thought to be the passover. By others it is reckoned some other feast between the last mentioned, and the next passover of our Lord's ministry. However that may be, at this season our Lord healed the lame man at the pool of Bethesda, on the sabbath day, and bid him carry his bed, and go home. "Therefore did the Jews persecute Jesus, and sought to slay him, because he had done these things on the sabbath day. But Jesus answered them: "My Father worketh hitherto. And I work," ver. 16, 17. The Jews charge him with blasphemy. Our Lord vindicates himself, and claims the character of the Messiah in high terms: and assures them, "that all judgment had been committed unto the Son," meaning himself, the Messiah: "that all men might honour the Son, even as they honour the Father," ver. 21—23. And, for proof, he refers to their scriptures, the testimony of John, and the works, which he had wrought among them, in the Father's name, ver. 24—47.

Ch. vi. 1—3. We perceive our Lord to be in Galilee, whither he had gone from Judea. Then at ver. 4. "And the passover, a feast of the Jews, was nigh." After which follows the miracle of the five loaves and two fishes, for feeding five thousand. "Then, those men, when they had seen the miracle, which Jesus did, said, This is of a truth that prophet which should come into the world:" or the expected Messiah. Their notion of the kingdom, belonging to that character, being worldly and carnal, and they looking for worldly advantages, "would have come, and taken him by force, to make him a king:" so that our Lord found it needful to "depart into a mountain himself alone." The disciples in the mean time took shipping, and he came to them walking upon the sea. When they had received him, "immediately the ship was at the land whither they were going," ver. 14—21. The people having been disappointed, came to him as soon as they could at Capernaum; where our Lord takes an opportunity to reprove their carnal temper, and instructs them in the design of the Messiah, and the nature of his kingdom. And still taking upon himself that character, and requiring faith in him as such, he says: "I am the bread of life.——And this is the will of him that sent me, that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have everlasting life.——I am the living bread, which came down from heaven. If any man eat this bread, he shall live for ever. And the bread that I will give him is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.——Many

therefore of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him." But Peter, in the name of the twelve, and possibly, in the name also of some others, followers of Jesus, said: "To whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. And we believe, and are sure, that thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," ver. 22—69.

Ch. vii. 1, 2. "After these things Jesus walked in Galilee: for he would not walk in Judea, because the Jews sought to kill him. Now the Jews' feast of tabernacles was at hand."——ver. 14. "Now about the midst of the feast, Jesus went up into the temple, and taught." ver. 25, 26. "Then said some of them of Jerusalem——Do the rulers know indeed, that this is the very Christ?" ver. 31. "And many of the people believed on him, and said: When Christ cometh, will he do more miracles than these, which this man has done?" ver. 37, 38. "In the last day, the great day of the feast, Jesus stood, and cried: If any man thirst, let him come to me, and drink."——He speaks of himself in the character of the Messiah, and calls on all men to come to him, as such, and receive the great blessings, which he is able to bestow. And at ver. 40, 41. "Many of the people, therefore, when they heard this saying, said: this is the prophet. Others said: this is the Christ."

Ch. viii. 12—23. Our Lord is still at Jerusalem. And at ver. 12. "Then spake Jesus unto them, saying: I am the light of the world:" claiming the character of the Messiah, and declaring also the advantages of believing in him, and the sad consequence of not receiving him. Ver. 21. "Then said Jesus again unto them; I go my way, and ye shall seek me, and shall die in your sins." Ver. 24. "I said therefore unto you, that ye shall die in your sins. For, if ye believe not, that I am he," the Messiah, "ye shall die in your sins:" that is, ye will bring upon yourselves, heavy judgments and calamities. Ver. 47. "He that is of God, heareth God's words: ye therefore hear them not, because ye are not of God."——Ver. 56. "your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day."——Does not our Lord in all this propose himself to them, as the Messiah, require their faith in him as such, and plainly intimate the calamities, that would befal them, if they should continue to reject him?

Nor is there any inconsistency in what is here observed, and the accounts of the other evangelists. After Peter had made a profession of his faith, it is said, Matt. xvi. 20. "Then charged he his disciples, that they should tell no man that he was the Christ." And compare Mark viii. 30, and Luke ix. 21. Nevertheless, he was not unwilling to be thought of in that character. When Simon Peter had said by way of answer to the question that had been put to the disciples, "thou art the Christ, the son of the living God:" our Lord was greatly pleased, and pronounced him blessed upon that account: and he was desirous that all should receive *him* as the Messiah. It was the design of his own, and his fore-runner's preaching, as recorded in all the evangelists, the first three, as well at St. John. They called upon all men "to repent, for the kingdom of heaven," or of God, by the Messiah, "is at hand." So Mark i. 14, 15. And himself says, Matt. xii. 28. "If I cast out dæmons by the Spirit of God, then is the kingdom of God come unto you." And Luke xvii. 21. "Behold the kingdom of God is among you," or in the midst of you, not within you, as we render it: but he tells them that the kingdom of the Messiah was already begun to be set up among them. When our Lord was baptized, "there came a voice from heaven, saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." Or, this is the Messiah: as recorded by all the first three evangelists: Matt. iii. 17. Mark i. 11. Luke iii. 22. And in them our Lord accepts applications to him, and confessions of faith in him, in the character of "the Son of David," and "the Son of God," both which are the same as the Messiah. Of the former there are many instances: of the latter I mention one. Matt. xiv. 33. "Then they that were in the ship, came, and worshipped him, saying: thou art the Son of God." And when he entered into Jerusalem, he accepted the acclamations of the multitude, which cried, "Hosanna to the Son of David: blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord: blessed is the king that cometh in the name of the Lord." Matt. xxi. 1—16. Mark xi. 1—11. Luke xix. 28—40. He sometimes laments the small success of his preaching, and that so few received him. But acquiesceth in the event. As in Luke vii. 31—35. Matt. xi. 16—26. Luke x. 21—24. And he even expresseth a surprise, that the Pharisees and others, did not discern the signs of the time. Matt. xvi. 1—4. Mark viii. 11—13. Luke xii. 54—57. And every one may easily perceive the reason, why he did not allow the disciples, or some others, to say publicly, that he was the Messiah. For considering that the Jewish people in general, and the disciples themselves, expected a worldly kingdom, and worldly advantages from the Messiah; there needed

some discretion, lest men should have been led to make tumults and disturbances, which might have been offensive to the magistrate. But when our Lord spoke of himself, as the Messiah, he always inculcated the true design of his coming, and gave assurances of spiritual and heavenly blessings, and such only.

Our Lord still continues at Jerusalem. Ch. ix. 1—41, is the history of the man blind from his birth, whom our Lord healed, anointing his eyes with clay, moistened with his spittle. "And it was the sabbath day, when Jesus made the clay, and opened his eyes." The man being brought before the pharisees, and examined by them, said, that he who had opened his eyes was a prophet. "And they cast him out. Jesus heard that they had cast him out. And when he had found him, he said unto him: Dost thou believe on the Son of God? He answered, and said: Who is he, Lord, that I might believe on him? Jesus said unto him: Thou hast both seen him, and it is he that talketh with thee. And he said: Lord, I believe, and he worshipped him." All this needs no comment. Afterwards at ver. 39—41, are intimations given to the Pharisees of the sad consequences of rejecting him. And indeed in this history the bad temper of the Jewish rulers is very manifest.

Ch. x. Our Lord speaks of himself as "the true shepherd," or the Messiah. Ver. 11. "I am the good shepherd: the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep." Ver. 16. "And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold." Ver. 22—24. "And it was at Jerusalem the feast of the dedication, and it was winter. And Jesus walked in the temple in Solomon's porch. Then came the Jews round about him, and said unto him: how long dost thou make us to doubt! If thou be the Christ, tell us plainly? Jesus answered them: I told you, and ye believed not. The works that I do in my Father's name bear witness of me." A very proper answer, certainly. And what follows to ver 38. deserves to be consulted.

Ch. x. 39—42. "Therefore they sought again to take him, but he escaped out of their hand. And went away beyond Jordan, unto the place where John at first baptized: and there he abode. And many resorted unto him, and said: John did no miracles: but all things, that John spake of this man, were true. And many believed on him there."

I suppose this retreat of our Lord to a place beyond Jordan, to be the same that is mentioned Matt. xix. 1. and Mark x. 1. upon which some remarks were made[a] many years ago. What passed during that interval in that country, is recorded Matt. xix. to xx. 16. and Mark x. 1—31. Nor was St. Luke unacquainted with this retreat. For he has inserted in his gospel at ch. xviii. 15—30. some of the same discourses, which are in the other two evangelists, whilst our Lord was there. I say, I suppose, that St. John and the other evangelists speak of one and the same recess. But St. John seems to mention more particularly the occasion of it, in the verses just recited.

In this place and interval, our Lord lived somewhat more privately than he had done before. He received all who came to him, either for instruction, or to be healed by him. But he did not go about the cities and villages of Judea, preaching publicly, as he had done for some while before.

I always supposed, that our Lord's living thus, in that place, at no great distance from Jerusalem, had in it a kind design. He intended thereby to afford to the Jewish people, especially their priests and rulers at Jerusalem, an opportunity to consider, and calmly reflect upon all the wonderful things that had happened among them in the space of a few years, the preaching and baptism of John, and all the things said and done by himself in the course of his ministry; particularly, the miracles which he had wrought among them, the claims which he had made of being the promised Messiah whom all ought to receive, and the intimations that had been given of impending ruin and misery.

Here our Lord waited, willing to rest the proof of his mission upon the testimonies that had been given to it. And if the rulers of the Jewish people had now come, and solemnly owned him in the character he bore, and with which God had clothed him, how joyfully would they have been received? But they were not so disposed. Great multitudes of the people came to him there, and "he healed them." The "Pharisees also came unto him:" but it was "tempting him." Matth. xix. 1, 2, 3. Mark x. 1, 2.

But beside what is recorded by the other evangelists, St. John assures us, that in this interval our Lord came to Bethany about fifteen furlongs, or two miles, from Jerusalem, and there raised Lazarus to life. ch. xi. 1—44. "Then many of the Jews, which came to Mary, and had seen the

[a] See the Vindication of our Saviour's three Miracles of raising the dead, at the close of this Work.

things which Jesus did, believed on him:" that is, that he was the Christ. "But some of them went their way to the Pharisees, and told them what things Jesus had done." ver. 45, 46. "Then gathered they a council.——Then from that day forth, they took counsel together, for to put him to death." ver. 47—53. This shows, that they were inflexible, and not to be gained by any considerations. It follows in ver. 54. "Jesus therefore walked no more openly among the Jews: but went thence into a country near the wilderness, into a city called Ephraim, and there continued with his disciples." Which, I suppose, was not far from the place, from which our Lord came last. And from this city, called Ephraim, our Lord came to Bethany again, by the way of Jericho, a short time before the next passover, as related by the other evangelists. We proceed.

Says St. John ch. xi. 55—57. "And the Jews' passover was nigh at hand.——Now both the chief priests and the Pharisees had given a commandment, that if any knew where he was, he should show it, that they might take him." That is a proof of a determined purpose to accomplish their evil designs against Jesus.

The whole following xiith chapter of this gospel deserves attentive regard. I must transcribe a part, though it adds to the length of these extracts. "Then Jesus, six days before the passover, came to Bethany, where Lazarus was, who had been dead, whom he raised from the dead," ch. xii. 1. "Much people of the Jews therefore knew, that he was there. And they came, not for Jesus' sake only, but that they might see Lazarus also, whom he had raised from the dead. But the chief priests consulted, that they might put Lazarus also to death: because that by reason of him many of the Jews went away, and believed on Jesus." ver. 9—11. And here is an account of some Greeks, or Gentiles, who were desirous to see Jesus, ver. 20—22. Whose readiness, accompanied with humility, may be reasonably understood to cast a reflection upon the pride and obstinacy of those, who were unmoved by the most powerful arguments, and the most gracious invitations. The remainder of that chapter, from ver. 35 to 50, is a most proper conclusion of this part of the gospel, in which are these things very observable. "Then Jesus said unto them: Yet a little while the light is with you; walk while ye have the light, lest darkness come upon you——While ye have the light, believe in the light, that ye may be the children of light. ——But though he had done so many miracles before them, yet they believed not on him: that the saying of Esaias might be fulfilled.——Jesus cried, and said: He that believeth on me, believeth not on me but on him that sent me. I am come a light into the world, that whosoever believeth on me, should not abide in darkness.——I have not spoken of myself, but the Father which sent me, he gave me a commandment what I should speak. And I know that his commandment is life everlasting. Whatsoever I speak therefore, even as the Father said unto me, so I speak."

Then in the xiii, xiv, xv, xvi and xviith chapters our Lord instructs and comforts, prays with and for his disciples; showing[b] tokens of the tenderest affection, and the most faithful concern for those, who had paid a due regard to the evidences of his mission, and adhered to him under difficulties and discouragements. So begins the next, that is, the thirteenth chapter: "Now before the feast of the passover, when Jesus knew that his hour was come, that he should depart out of the world unto the Father; having loved his own, which were in the world, he loved them unto the end."

And indeed it was very natural for the evangelist, who had largely shown the unreasonableness, and the aggravated guilt of the Jews, who did not believe in Jesus, but rejected him, to give also a particular account of our Lord's kind acceptance of those who believed in him, and persevered in their faith. So that the design of showing, how inexcusable the Jewish people were, in rejecting Jesus, and of vindicating Divine Providence in the calamities brought upon them, is what produced the whole order and economy of this gospel.

The two following chapters, the xviiith and xixth contain the account of our Lord's prosecution, condemnation, death, and interment. In the two last chapters the xxth and the xxist are the accounts of our Lord's resurrection, and the evidences of it, with many tokens of kind regard for his disciples, who had followed him in the time of his abode on this earth, and were now to be his witnesses in the world, and to preach, under many difficulties, the same doctrine which he had taught.

[a] Vid. Reland. Palæst. l. i. cap. 56. tom. I. p. 377. et Lenfant sur S. Jean. ch. xi. ver. 54.

[b] Sicut vero hactenus severitatem Domini in Judæos defendit evangelista, ita in sequentibus a capite xiii. ad finem usque fidelitatem Christi illibatam, quam discipulis suis addixit, ex ultimis verbis adserit. Hæc intentio haud obscure addiscitur ex novâ, quæ alteri hujus evangelii parti prefigitur præfatiunculâ, cap. xiii. 1.——Lamp. Prol. l. 2. c. 4. num. xxxvi.

There is another thing, which may induce us to think, that one great design of St. John in writing his gospel was to show the unreasonableness, and the great guilt of the Jews, in rejecting Jesus: that in his gospel are inserted more instances of their attempts upon our Lord's life, than in the other gospels. Some such things there are in them. Accounts of the Pharisees' consulting how they might destroy Jesus, may be seen in Matt. xii. 14. Mark iii. 6. Luke vi. 11. beside their last attempt, when they were permitted to accomplish their evil design. But there are more such instances in St. John's, than in any of the other gospels. As John vii. 1. "After these things Jesus walked in Galilee. For he would not walk in Judea, because the Jews sought to kill him." However, he came up to Jerusalem at the next feast of tabernacles, ver. 2. And their designs were renewed. Ch. vii. 25. "Then said some of them at Jerusalem: Is not this he, whom they seek to kill?"—Ver. 31, 32. "And many of the people believed on him, and said: When the Christ cometh, will he do more miracles, than these, which this man has done? The Pharisees heard that they murmured such things concerning him: and the Pharisees and chief priest sent officers to take him." But the officers, overcome by the excellence of his discourses, could not persuade themselves to apprehend him: for which they were reproached by the council in a most outrageous manner; but Nicodemus strove to allay their resentment. ver. 45—52. And ch. viii. 20. "These words spake Jesus, in the treasury, as he taught in the temple: and no man laid hands on him, because his time was not yet come." Ver. 37. "I know, that ye are Abraham's seed: but ye seek to kill me, a man who has told you the truth, which I have heard of God. This did not Abraham." Ver. 59. "Then took they up stones to cast at him."—And ch. x. 39, 40. "Therefore they sought again to take him: but he escaped out of their hand. And went away beyond Jordan." And when our Lord proposed to go to Bethany, upon occasion of the sickness and death of Lazarus, the disciples go unwillingly, and would have dissuaded him from that journey, being apprehensive of the imminent danger therein both to him and themselves. ch. xi. 7...16. See likewise ver. 45—57. All these are things quite omitted by the other evangelists. As is also what is said, ch. xii. 10, 11. And in their last persecution of Jesus before Pilate there are some very aggravating particulars mentioned by St. John, which the other evangelists have not taken notice of. See ch. xviii. 29—32. ch. xix. 1—15.

Our blessed Lord, preparing his disciples for afflictions, reconciling their minds to them, and encouraging them to endure them patiently, says, ch. xv. 21—24. "All these things will they do unto you for my name's sake, because they know not him that sent me. If I had not come, and spoken unto them, they had not had sin: but now they have no excuse for their sin. He that hateth me, hateth my Father also. If I had not done among them the works, which no other man did, they had not had sin: but now have they both seen, and hated both me and my Father." That is a strong, but just and true representation of the heinousness of the guilt of the Jewish people. For which reason I could not forbear to allege it here, though it should be thought out of place.

And now having, as I suppose, shown this design of the evangelist, let me mention an observation or two, by way of corollary.

First. We see the reason of St. John's recording the miracle of raising Lazarus, omitted by the other evangelists. There was no necessity that they should mention it: for without it they have recorded sufficient evidences of our Lord's mission and character. Nor was it possible, without an improper prolixity, to record all our Saviour's discourses and miracles, as St. John himself has observed. Moreover the first three evangelists have chiefly insisted upon the most public part of our Lord's ministry: for which reason this miracle did not come so directly in their way. But St. John could not omit it. His design necessarily led him to relate this great miracle done so near Jerusalem, and with all its circumstances. For it manifestly shows the perverse and incorrigible temper of the Jewish priests and rulers.

Secondly. None ought any more to make a question, whether our Lord twice cleansed the temple, or once only. It was cleansed by him at the time of his last passover, as related by the first three evangelists. But it was very proper for St. John to record that done at the first passover of our Lord's ministry: it affording an alarming evidence of his being the expected Messiah, which should have been taken notice of by the Jewish rulers at Jerusalem. It was an early and open claim of the character of the Messiah. And their neglecting that, and so many other claims and evidences of the same great truth afterwards, manifests the obstinacy of their unbelief: which was fitly shown by this evangelist.

I now proceed to some other arguments.

3. One argument, that St. John's gospel was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, is taken from ch. v. 2. "Now there is at Jerusalem, by the sheep-market," or sheep gate, "a pool, which is called in the Hebrew tongue Bethesda, having five porches."

On this passage insist both [a] Basnage and [b] Lampe. St. John does not say, as they observe, there was, but there is. And though the pool might remain, it could not be said after the ruin of the city, that the five porches still subsisted.

Mr. Whiston argues in this manner. 'St. John's speaking of the pool of Bethesda in the 'present tense, better agrees to the time here assigned, A. D. 63, before the destruction of Jerusa-'lem, when that pool and porch were certainly in being, than to the time afterwards, when pro-'bably both were destroyed.'

Dr. Whitby likewise was somewhat affected by this text, and says: 'If "there is" be the 'true reading, as the consent of almost all the Greek copies argues, it seems to intimate, that Jeru-'salem and this pool were standing when St. John wrote his gospel: and therefore, that it was 'written, as Theophylact and others say, before the destruction of Jerusalem, and not, as the 'more ancient fathers thought, long after.'

But Mr. Jones, beside other things, says, 'that [d] in all probability the pool was not filled up, 'but was still in the same state, after the destruction of Jerusalem, as before.' To which, however, it might be answered, that supposing the pool not to have been filled up, it would not be reasonable to think, that the porches and the gate still subsisted, after the destruction of the city. But then Mr. Jones adds: 'Supposing the pool was destroyed, and St. John to have known it, 'there is no impropriety in using the verb "is:" nothing being more common among writers, 'than to use verbs in the present tense, to denote the preterperfect.'

Having represented this argument, as it has appeared to divers learned men, I leave every one to judge of it.

4. In ch. xxi. 18, 19. Christ foretels, that Peter would die by martyrdom. Then it is added: "This spake he, signifying, by what death he should glorify God." Some may hence argue, that [e] Peter was not yet dead when this was written: or that St. John did not then know of it. But others may be of opinion, that [f] though Peter had suffered martyrdom a good while before, and St. John knew it very well; yet he was not obliged to take notice of it, but might write as he does.

Indeed, I am of opinion, that St. John could not take notice of Peter's death. It was not a thing within his province. As an Evangelist, he wrote the history of our Saviour, not of his Apostles.

5. A like argument may be taken from the following verses, 20, 21, 22. "Peter seeing John, saith to Jesus: Lord, and what shall this man do? Jesus saith unto him: if I will, that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? Follow thou me. Then went this saying abroad, that that disciple should not die. Yet Jesus said not unto him, he shall not die: but if I will, that he tarry, till I come, what is that to thee?" If by Christ's coming be here intended the overthrow of Jerusalem, as many think, it may be supposed reasonable by some to expect, that St. John should have taken some notice of it here, if he wrote after that event. Nevertheless, I humbly apprehend, that this is not an argument of much weight. I do not think, that as an evangelist he was obliged to give an account of the fulfilment of Christ's prediction, though he had been a witness of it.

[a] Porro quod tam sero scriptum Joannis evangelium tradamus, id ex sententiâ potius veterum, quam ex rei veritate, fecimus. Ex ipso quippe evangelio nascitur argumentum ad existimandum, lucem prius aspexisse, quam Hierosolyma everteretur. 'Est,' inquit, 'Hierosolymis ad portam ovium piscina.' Stetisse ergo videtur urbs sancta, Joanne ea verba scribente. Secus non præsens, est, *erat*, sed præteritum adhibuisset. Basn. An. 97. n. xii.

[b] Habetur igitur hic non tantum mentio portæ ovium, tamquam tunc adhuc exstantis, cum scriberet evangelista, sed etiam ædificii ex quinque porticibus constantis, quales structuræ post diruta a Romanis Hierosolymam illic frustra essent quæsitæ. Licet enim piscinam superesse velint itineraria, portæ tamen ac muri solo æquata erant. Inde igitur colligimus, stetisse urbem sanctam, Joanne ea verba scribente. Secus non præsens, est, sed præteritum adhibuisset. Lamp. Prol. l. 2. cap. 2. num. xi.

[c] Essay on the Constitutions, ch. i. p. 38.

[d] New and Full Method, Vol. iii. p. 141.

[e] Post Petri martyrium editum esse Joannis evangelium consensus est Patrum omnium. Fit tamen in eâ re scrupulus. Petro Christus mortem diserte portendit. cap. xxi. 18—— Quæ si scripta sunt, jam misso ad mortem Petro, injici de tâ re mentio debebat, ut et completi oraculi cognitio caperetur, et martyri Christi laus sua concederetur. Basn. Exercit. p. 384.

[f] Locus ex Joh. xxi. 18. non magni in hac causâ momenti est. Nullam enim video necessitatem, cur mortem Petri commemoraret, si vel actu notitiam ejus habuisset, quia sic per se satis veritas prædictionis Jesu innotuisset, &c. Lamp. ib. l. 2. c. 2. sect. xiii.

6. "This is the disciple that testifieth these things, and wrote these things. And we know that his testimony is true." By these last words Mr. Lampe supposed to be meant some Jews, then living in Asia, who were eye-witnesses of our Lord, and his ministry: which might well be, if St. John's gospel was written before the destruction of Jerusalem: but would not be reckoned likely, if it was written not before the year of the vulgar epoch 97 or 98. They who confirm the testimony of another, ought to have the same certain knowledge of the thing testified as he who speaks, or writes. But after the destruction of Jerusalem, it is not reasonable to think, there were many to bear witness to things done forty or fifty years before. These Jews, eye-witnesses of our Lord, Mr. Lampe supposeth to have been believers of that nation, who accompanied John into Asia, when he left Judea.

I have thought it proper, not to omit this argument of that learned writer: but it depends upon his interpretation of this verse; which is not certain. For some have supposed, that [b] it is the church of Ephesus, which here speaks: and others think it to be [c] St. John himself. The change of number and person, of *we* for *I*, is no valid objection. So 1 John i. 1—5. "That which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes."—3 epist. 12. "Yea, and we also bear record, and ye know that our record is true." And St. Paul, 1 Thess. ii, 18. "Wherefore we would have come unto you, even I Paul, once and again; but Satan hindered us." Chrysostom [d] and Theophylact [e] understood St. John to speak here of himself, as an eye-witness, who had been present at almost every thing related by him in history.

7. It is said: 'The three epistles of St. John do ever suppose, the gospel of St. John to have 'been written long before, and to be well known by those, to whom he wrote. And they are 'written with a constant view and regard to the contents of the same gospel.' That is an argument [f] of Mr. Whiston, which, with what he adds by way of confirmation, is referred to the reader's consideration.

8. Some have argued for an early date of this gospel, or at least, that it was written before the Revelation, which was seen in Patmos, because [g] it is said at the beginning of that book, ch. i. 1, 2. "Who bare record of the word of God, and of the testimony of Jesus Christ, and of things which he saw." They suppose, that therein St. John refers to his gospel, and what he had written in it. But to me the most reasonable account of those words appears to be that which [h] was given formerly: that they are most properly understood of that very book, the Revelation, and the things contained in it. The writer there says very pertinently, in his introduction, that in that book he had discharged the office assigned him: having therein faithfully recorded the word of God, received from Jesus Christ, and all the visions which he had seen.

9. Once more it is argued from inscriptions, at the end of this gospel, in divers manuscripts, that it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem: it being there said, that this gospel was written in the time of Nero, at thirty years, or about two and thirty years after our Saviour's ascension. Upon these insisted [i] Mr. Wetstein in a passage quoted from him some while ago. Upon them likewise insists [k] Mr. Lampe.

For my own part I lay not any stress at all upon these inscriptions, at the end of Greek, or Arabic, or other manuscripts of the New Testament, written in the ninth or tenth century, or

[a] Ibid. l. 2. cap. 2 num. ix.

[b] 'Et scimus.'] Loquitur ecclesia Ephesina. 'Scimus,' aiunt, 'fide dignum,' ex vitæ scilicet puritate, et miraculis ab eo editis. Grot. in loc.

[c] 'The evangelist had said before, ch. xix. 35. "He 'knoweth, that he says true." Here in this place he changeth 'the person, saying: "We know, that his testimony is 'true."' Lightfoot upon John xxi. 24. Vol. II. p. 627. See likewise Whitby, Lenfant, and Doddridge upon the place.

[d] Και οιδα, φησιν, ότι αληθη εστιν ά λεγει.——Και πασι δε δηλον, και εδε σαυρωμενε απελιμπανετο, και την μητερα ανεχειρισθη. Chrys. hom. 88. al. 87. T. VIII. p. 588. C. D. E.

[e] Και οιδα, φησιν, ότι αληθη λεγει, τινες δε πληροφορηθεις εγραψα, ά εγραψα, ότε πασι παρων, και τοις εργοις, και τοις λογοις, και τοις παθεσι, και τοις μετα την αναστασιν. Αγαπητος γαρ ημην, και ουκ απελιμπανομην, ώστε παρεσιαζομαι, και περι εμαυτε λεγω, ότι αληθευω. Theophyl. in Jo. tom. I. p. 847.

[f] See his Commentary upon St. John's three Catholic Epistles, p. 8, &c.

[g] Ipsum porro audiamus evangelistam idem non obscure, uti nobis videtur, subindicantem, quando Apoc. i. 2. se ita circumscribit: ός εμαρτυρησε τον λογον τε θεε——Et versu 9. ——Plurimi optimi interpretes in eo consentiunt, quod in his verbis ad evangelium respiciatur, licet in modo demonstrandi differant, &c. Lamp. Prol. l. 2. cap. 2. sect. viii.

[h] See Vol. i. p 642, 643.

[i] See this Vol. p. 229.

[k] Accedit multarum glossarum et versionum in id consensus, quod sub Nerone evangelium sit exaratum. Licet enim auctoritates hæ sequioris ævi sint, ob earum tamen frequentiam et harmoniam valde est credibile, quod in antiquiori traditione fundatæ sint ——Id tamen observavi discrimen, ut quædam numero rotundo XXX post Christi adscensionem, aliæ XXXII nominent. Lampe ibid. l. 2. cap. 2. num. xii. Vid. et num. xiv.

later. They [a] are of no authority: for there is no proof that this account was derived from the testimony or tradition of ancient authors. The early date of the gospels was popular. Some having without reason determined the time of writing the other gospels at eight, or ten, or fifteen years after our Lord's ascension, pitched upon the year 30, or 32, for the time of St. John's gospel: but it was done upon no other ground and foundation, but mere fancy and conjecture.

X. It is upon the two first mentioned arguments that I chiefly rely. However, there are objections, which deserve to be considered.

1. Obj. Chrysostom was of opinion, that St. John did not write, till after the destruction of Jerusalem. For in a homily upon Matt. xxiv. he says, 'John [b] writes not of any of these things, 'lest it should be thought, that he took an advantage from the event. For he was living a good 'while after the destruction of Jerusalem. But the other evangelists, who died before the 'destruction of Jerusalem, and saw none of those things, record these predictions.'

To which I answer, that St. John's omitting our Saviour's predictions concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, which are recorded by the other evangelists, is no proof that he did not write until after they were fulfilled. For if he wrote at the time supposed by us, when that event was near; it is very likely, that he would omit these predictions: especially, having observed, that they were sufficiently recorded already. And we plainly see, that it is not St. John's method to repeat what had been recorded before. However, he has inserted in his gospel divers expressions, containing warnings and intimations of the miseries coming upon the Jewish people, if they did not receive the Lord Jesus as the Messiah. John the Baptist may be supposed to intend this in words, recorded John iii. 36. Our Lord intimates it in his discourse with Nicodemus, ch. iii. 18, 19, and upon divers other occasions, already taken notice of by us in this gospel, ch. viii. 12, 21, 24. ch. ix. 39—41. ch. xii. 35, 36.

2. Obj. Mr. Whiston in [c] his Short View of the Harmony of the Evangelists, says, 'that St. 'John useth the Roman or Julian beginning of the day in his gospel, the same that we use at 'present, and reckons the hours from midnight and noon. He refers to John i. 39. xix. 14. and 'xx. 19. Which he reckons an argument, that St. John wrote his gospel long after the destruc- 'tion of Jerusalem, and the period of the Jewish polity at Ephesus, a place remote from Judea, 'and under the Roman government.'

To which I answer, 1. It does not appear to me, that St. John computes the hours of the day after the Roman, but rather after the Jewish manner. 2. Supposing St. John to have used the Roman method of computation, it does not follow, that he wrote after the destruction of Jerusalem, and the period of the Jewish polity. We allow, that St. John's gospel was written at Ephesus, at a distance from Judea. And, if he thought fit, he might use the Roman way of reckoning, especially, when the period of the Jewish commonwealth was near, though not quite accomplished.

Thus I have endeavoured to solve this objection. What was Mr. Whiston's own solution, I do not know: but I suppose, that he afterwards overcame this difficulty. For in his later writings he maintains a very different sentiment concerning the date of St. John's gospel, pleading, that it was written about the year of Christ 63, a good while before the destruction of Jerusalem. So he argues in his Essay upon the Apostolical Constitutions, published in 1711, and in his Commentary upon St. John's Epistles, published in 1719. His Harmony of the four Evangelists was printed at Cambridge in the year 1702.

3. Obj. It is farther objected, that many ancient writers speak of a late date of St. John's gospel, and that he wrote with a design to confute divers heretics: who cannot be supposed to have appeared, till after the destruction of Jerusalem, and the overthrow of the Jewish people.

To which I answer, that this may have been owing to a mistaken apprehension. Many heretics, they saw, might be confuted by St. John's gospel. Therefore they concluded, that he did not write till after they had appeared in the world: whilst the truth might be no more than this, that such and such heretics might be confuted out of his gospel: though they had not appeared in the world till long after. Paulinus says, 'that [d] in the beginning of St. John's gospel all

[a] Neque ordo, qui nunc receptus est epistolarum, sequitur ordinem temporis, neque antiqua sunt illa, quæ sub finem sunt addita, ad significandum, unde et per quos missæ sunt. ——et illæ in fine annotatiunculæ seræ sunt, ex conjecturâ, aut tenui famâ. Grot. Comm. in loca quædam N. T. sub in. tom. III. p. 457.

[b] See Vol. ii. p. 603.

[c] P. 115, 116.

[d] Vol. ii. p. 629.

'heretics are confuted, particularly, Arius, Sabellius, Photinus, Marcion, and the Manichees.' And in Mr. Wetstein's preface to St. John's gospel, written not long ago, in our time, are these expressions. Having before quoted Irenæus, he adds, 'Which [a] if they be compared with those 'things; which Carpocrates, Menander, Cerdo, Saturninus, Basilides, Valentinus, and Marcion, 'have said of angels, and æons: among whom were Charis *grace*, Alethea *truth*, Monogenes '*only begotten*, Logos *word*, Zoe *life*: it must be manifest, that John so opposed his doctrine to 'them, as to use the forms of expression received by them.' Surely, this is very incautious and inaccurate. Must it not be so to say, that St. John opposed those heretics, most of which are heretics of the second century? If St. John's gospel be genuine, it must have been written before the end of the first century. Yea, Mr. Wetstein says, it was written at about two and thirty years after Christ's ascension. How then could St. John oppose them, or write against them, but in the way of prophecy or prevention? But to say, he opposed his doctrine to them, or wrote against them, does not seem very proper. And if the ancient writers speak not more accurately than this learned modern; an argument taken from them, upon this head, cannot be of much weight.

It is the testimony of Irenæus, which ought principally to be regarded by us upon account of his antiquity, and his having been acquainted with Polycarp in the early part of his life. He says, as before transcribed, 'that by the publication of his gospel John designed to root out the 'error that had been sown among men by Cerinthus.' But it is observable, that in another place, also transcribed above, he says: 'John foreseeing those blasphemous notions that divide 'the Lord, so far as it is in their power,' wrote his gospel. For this passage I am indebted to Mr. Whiston, who argues, that St. John's gospel was written about the year 63, and before this apostle's three epistles. 'Nor,' says [b] he, 'shall I need to support this observation from any 'other argument, than that from Irenæus, who supposeth this gospel, and St. Paul's epistle to 'the Romans, ancienter, and these epistles later, than the rise of the heresy of Cerinthus:' referring to the passage of Irenæus, before taken notice of by us.

If then we put together the several passages of Irenæus, he does not contradict the supposition of an early date of St. John's gospel: or, that it was written before the rise of those heresies, which may be confuted by it.

It may be judged presumptuous to oppose the prevailing opinion of learned men, who have supposed that some heretics were particularly struck at in the beginning of this gospel. Nevertheless Mr. Lampe, [c] whom I have often quoted, has presumed to oppose this opinion, and has largely argued, that St. John did not write against Cerinthus, or other heretics in his gospel. And though another learned German [d] has since written against Mr. Lampe, I cannot say that he has confuted him.

I shall therefore take the liberty to mention some thoughts relating to this matter, which offer themselves to my mind.

First: To me it seems below an evangelist to write against heretics in the history of his Lord and Master. Nor do any of the evangelists enter into a particular account of things after our Lord's ascension. St. John proceeds no farther than his resurrection, and the evidences of it, without particularly mentioning his ascension: nor has St. Matthew proceeded any farther. However, undoubtedly, it is implied in what they write, that our Lord was raised up to an endless life, and to universal power in heaven and on earth. St. Mark, ch. xvi. 19, and St. Luke xxiv. 50, 51, relate our Saviour's ascension to heaven.

This has oftentimes appeared to me exceeding remarkable, that none of the evangelists should in their gospels give an account of the preaching of the apostles after our Lord's ascension

[a] Quæ si comparentur cum iis, quæ Carpocrates, Menander, Cerdo, Saturninus, Basilides, Valentinus, et Marcion de angelis et æonibus, inter quos erant Charis, Alethea, Monogenes, Logos, Zoë, item de Christo, non vere, sed δοκησει passo, tradiderunt; satis manifestum erit, Joannem doctrinam suam illis ita opponere, ut loquendi formulis apud illos receptis utatur. Wetst. Test. Gr. tom. I. p. 832.

[b] Commentary upon St. John's epistles, p. 8.

[c] Nos ut, salvâ, quam viris magnis—debemus, existimatione, libere animi sensa proferamus, an evangelio suo Joannes controversiam tractare, hæreticosque in Ecclesiâ sui ævi ullos refutare voluerit, dubitamus admodum. Neque enim id tituli generalis evangelii libro præfixus admittit, neque id commode per librum ad methodum historiæ compositum fieri potuit, neque illius rei vel vola vel vestigium ullum apparet: quod tamen et scriptoribus elencticis in more constanti positum est, et e re admodum erat, ut eo certius tela ferirent, et eo evidentius argumentorum patesceret robur. Lampe, Prolegom. in Joann. l. 2. cap. iii. num. xiii. Vid. ib. num. xiv. xv. xvi. et seq.

[d] G. L. Œderus de scopo evangelii S. Jo. Ap. certissime Hæresi Cerinthi et Ebionis oppositi. Adversus V. C. Fr. Ad. Lampe. Lipsiæ 1732.

and the descent of the Holy Ghost upon them. Take the earliest date of the gospels, that can be thought of, or assigned by any; all must allow, that before any of them were written, many miracles had been performed by the apostles, and many converts must have been made from among Jews, if not also from among Gentiles; and many promises of our Lord must have been accomplished: and we can perceive from their gospels, that they had a knowledge of such things; nevertheless there is no particular account of them in any of the gospels. St. Mark is the only evangelist that has said any thing in his gospel of the ministry of the apostles; and he enters not into any detail: his whole account is in a few words only, the last verse of his gospel.

Considering this method of all the evangelists in their histories of our Lord and Saviour, it appears to me probable, that though St. John had not written his gospel before the year 96, or 97, as some have supposed; he would not have taken notice of heretics, or vouchsafed to argue with them. St. John did not write the history of the apostles, as is evident: how then could he take notice of heretics.

Secondly: Another thing of no small moment is this. I see nothing of this kind in the rest of St. John's gospel. Why [a] then should we imagine that there is any such thing in the introduction? If St. John's gospel is not written against heretics, why should the beginning of it be so? What St. John says in the introduction, appears to me agreeable to the main design of his gospel, as it has been before largely represented. He therein shows, that Jesus came and acted by the authority of God, the creator of the world, the God, and supreme law-giver of the Jewish people. The [b] eternal word, reason, wisdom, power of God, which is God himself, by which the world had been made, by which he dwelled among the Jews in the tabernacle, and the temple, dwelled and resided in Jesus in the fullest manner: so [c] that we his disciples, and others who believed in him, saw, and clearly discerned him to be the promised Messiah, the great prophet that should come into the world.

The apostles in their addresses to the Jewish people, never fail to give assurances, that Jesus Christ had acted by the authority of the one true God, the God of their ancestors. So Acts ii. 22. "Ye men of Israel, hear these words: Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles——which God did by him in the midst of you." And ch. iii. 13. "The God of Abraham, of Isaac, and Jacob, the God of our fathers has glorified his Son Jesus."——See also ver. 22—26. ch. v. 30. "The God of our Fathers has raised up Jesus."——The epistle to the Hebrews begins in this manner: "God, who at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son."

Indeed this is necessary for the satisfaction of all men, both Jews and Gentiles; for there is no other God but one, even the God of the patriarchs and prophets: nor can any true revelation come from any but him.

In all the gospels our Lord ascribes all his miracles, and all his authority, to the one God, "his Father who is in heaven." Matt. xii. 28. "If I cast out dæmons by the Spirit of God, then is the kingdom of God come unto you." Luke xi. 20. "If I by the finger of God cast out dæmons, no doubt the kingdom of God is come unto you." Matt. xi. 27. "All things are delivered unto me by my Father."——Compare Luke x. 22. Matt. xv. 13. "Every plant, which my heavenly Father has not planted, shall be rooted up," Matt. xvi. 27. "For the Son

[a] Ex quibus clare, ut putamus, patet, in prologo compendium contineri rerum, quas evangelista toto evangelio demonstrare volebat, nempe Jesum non tantum esse Filium Dei et redemtorem mundi, [ver. 1—4.] sed etiam, quâ talem, ita plene in mundo demonstratum esse, ut ab unâ parte Judæi plane redditi fuerint αναπολογητοι [ver. 4—11.] ab alterâ autem fideles sufficiens fidei firmamentum acceperint, ver. 12—18. Lamp. Prol. l. 2. cap. 4. num. xxv.

[b] Quæris veram hujus nominis interpretationem, de quâ variæ exstant eruditorum virorum sententiæ? Non vindico mihi ejus rei arbitrium: tantum, quod hic sentio, modeste, salvâ dissentientium existimatione et amicitiâ, profero. Vertendum esse hoc nomen Ratio, vel Sapientia Dei: etsi receptam phrasim Sermonis Dei, in versione retinendam censuerim. ——Constat cuique, prologum evangelii legenti, alludere Joannem in toto illo prologo—ad caput octavum Proverbiorum Salomonis,—ut proinde talem eligere oporteat interpretationem, quæ affinis sit voci Sapientiæ, Vitring. in Apoc. cap. xix. ver. 13. p. 1109.

[c] Ut celebratissimo loco legitur: Και ὁ λογος σαρξ εγενετο quod recte redditur: Et Verbum, sive sermo, homo factus est, sive humanam naturam induit. Et εξ εργων νομῳ ου δικαιωθησεται πασα σαρξ: i. e. homo quisquam. Rom. iii. 20. ut Ps. cxliv. 22. al. cxlv. 21. και ευλογειτω πασα σαρξ το ονομα αυτου. Pearson. Prolegom. ad version. lxx. Cantab. p. 13.

[d] 'We saw his glory, as what became the only begotten 'Son of God. He did not glitter in any worldly pomp 'and grandeur, according to what the Jewish nation fondly 'dreamed their Messiah would do: but he was decked with 'the glory of holiness, grace, truth, and the power of 'miracles.' Lightfoot's Exercitations upon St. John, vol. II. p. 521.

of man shall come in the glory of his Father."——Comp. Mark viii. 38. And the like in many other places.

But in none of the gospels does our Lord so frequently and expressly ascribe all his authority to God the Father, as in St. John's gospel: thereby plainly shewing the guilt of those who did not receive him. John v. 19. "The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do."——Ver. 30. I seek not my own will, but the will of the Father who hath sent me." Ver. 36, 37. "But I have greater witness than that of John. For the works which the Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do, bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me."——Ver. 43. "I am come in my Father's name, and ye receive me not."——And at ver. 45—47, our Lord appeals to Moses and his writings, which were allowed to be of divine original, as bearing testimony to him. Then ch. vi. 27.——"him hath God the Father sealed." Ch. vii. 16. "I am not alone. But I, and the Father, that sent me." Ch. x. 36. "Say ye of him, whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the world: thou blasphemest: because I said, I am the Son of God?" And to add no more, ch. xi. 41, 42. When he wrought that great miracle of raising Lazarus from the dead, "Jesus lift up his eyes and said, Father, I thank thee, that thou hast heard me: and I knew that thou hearest me always; but because of the people which stand by, I said it, that they may believe thou hast sent me."

Agreeable to all this is the introduction, where, beside other, are these expressions: "He came to his own. And his own received him not.——The word was made flesh, and dwelled among us.——And we saw his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father.——The law was given by Moses; but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ. No man hath seen God at any time, the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he has declared him." So ends the introduction. And it is what St. John has largely and fully shown in his gospel.

But it will be asked: whence came it to pass, that St. John made use of that term, "the Word?"

I answer: I am of opinion, that it was not out of regard to Philo, or any Platonic writers. But I suppose, this way of speaking to have been very common with the Jewish people, and, perhaps, more especially with those of them, who were most zealous for the law, and most exempt from foreign, and philosophical speculations. Who by "the Word," or "the Word of God," understood, not a spirit separate from God, and inferior to him, but God himself, as St. John[b] does.

Numb. xxiii. 8. "How shall I curse, whom God has not cursed? or, how shall I defy, whom the Lord has not defied?" Upon which verse Patrick says, 'In the Jerusalem Targum this verse 'is thus paraphrased: "How shall I curse the house of Israel, when the Word of the Lord has 'blessed them? Or, how shall I diminish the family of Israel, when the word of the Lord has 'multiplied them?"'

It is well known, that in the Chaldee paraphrases, it is very common to put Mimra Jehovah, the word of the Lord, for Jehovah, or God. When those paraphrases were made, is not certain; whether before, or after the time of our Saviour: but their great antiquity is generally allowed. And it is very probable, that this way of speaking was common, and much used before. 'It is 'likely,' says a learned friend, 'that Mimra Jehovah was used before the paraphrases were com-'mitted to writing, because it would be an unreasonable thing to use a phrase, which the

[a] Plerique observant, similem locutionem frequenter occurrere in Paraphrasibus Chaldaïcis, quæ veterum Hebræorum catechêsin, et antiquas loquendi formulas, exhibent. Quoties de Deo nobiscum conversante sermo est, toties vero Targumistæ, pro Deo, vel Jehovâ, substituerunt *verbum Jehovæ*. Pro exemplo hæc paucula ex innumeris sunto. Gen. xxi. 20. Deus fuit cum illo. Onkelos. Verbum Domini fuit illi auxilio, Ib. comm. 22. Deus est tecum. Onkelos. Verbum Domini enim tibi subsidio. Deut. xx. 1. Ne timeto ab eis. Nam Deus tuus tecum est. Onkelos.—eo quod Jehova Deus tuus, Verbum ejus auxilio tibi est, quod eduxit te ex terrâ Ægypti. Num. xi. 20. Eo quod reprobâsti Jehovam. Onkelos. Eo quod fastidistis Verbum Domini, cujus Shechinah (Divina Majestas) habitat in vobis. Exod. xvi. 8. Non contra nos murmurationes vestræ, sed contra Jehovam. Onkelos. —sed contra Verbum Jevæ. Infinita sunt similia. Unde colligitur, receptum eo tempore Hebræis fuisse, ut Deum, quâtenus cum populo suo agit, Verbum vocaverint: cui ea attribuerunt, quæ Dei sunt. Wits. Miscell. Sacr. tom. ii. p. 88, 89. Exercita. iii. περι τϑ λογϑ. sect. ii.

[b] Omnia igitur talia conscribere volens discipulus Domini, et regulam veritatis constituere in ecclesiâ quia est unus Deus Omnipotens, qui per Verbum suum omnia fecit, et visibilia et invisibilia; significans quoque, quoniam per Verbum, per quod Deus perfecit conditionem, in hoc et salutem his qui in conditione sunt, præstitit hominibus; sic inchoavit in eâ, quæ est secundum evangelium, doctrinâ: In principio erat Verbum. Iren. l. 3. cap. xi. in Massuet.

Et Cerinthus autem quidam in Asiâ, non a primo Deo factum esse mundum docuit, sed a Virtute quâdam valde separatâ, et distante ab eâ Principalitate, quæ est super omnia. Id. l. 1. cap. xxv. al. 26. in.

Deus autem, totus existens mens, et totus existens logos, quod cogitat, hoc et loquitur; et quod loquitur, id et cogitat. Cogitatio enim ejus logos, et logos mens, et omnia concludens mens, ipse et Pater. Id. l. 2. cap. xxviii. n. 5. p. 57.

'common people did not understand: for it is supposed, that the paraphrases were chiefly made 'for them.'

Let me add, that the use of this phrase, "the Word of God," or "the Word of the Lord," as equivalent to God himself, seems to be founded in the original language of the Old Testament. In behalf of which I would allege the following texts. Gen. i. 1. "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." Ver. 3. "God said: let there be light. And there was light." Comp. Ps. xxxiii. 6. "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth." And Ps. cv. 19. "Until the time that this word came: the Word of the Lord tried him."

When St. John says, ch. i. 1, 2, 3. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made." He seems to allude to [a] what Solomon says of wisdom in the book of Proverbs, particularly, the eighth chapter. And how wisdom ought to be understood as spoken of by Solomon, is shewn, if I may be allowed to say so, in [b] a discourse upon Prov. viii. 17. Moreover the beginning of St. John's gospel should be compared with the beginning of his first epistle, particularly, ch. i. 1, 2.

According to the account now given, what St. John says at the beginning, is a very proper introduction to his gospel: where he largely shows the guilt of those, who rejected the manifestation [c] of the wisdom, the word, the will of God, in the person of Jesus.

Upon the whole, I see no reason to think, that, in the introduction to his gospel, St. John opposed any Christian heresies, or had any regard to them.

Consequently, the foregoing argument, that St. John's gospel was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, or about the time of that event remains entire.

XI. I shall now mention some observations upon this gospel.

1. There is no need to show here, particularly, from the gospel itself, as we did of the former evangelists, that St. John did not write his gospel till after converts had been made from among Gentiles: because it is allowed by all, that St. John did not write till after the other evangelists, about the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, or afterwards: before which time the apostles must have left Judea, to go abroad, and preach to Gentiles. Nevertheless one signal passage may be here taken notice of, which is not far from the beginning of this gospel. Ch. i. 11, 12, 13. "He came to his own, and his own received him not: but as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name. Which were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." That is, 'he 'came to the Jews, and first appeared, and taught among them, and they generally rejected him. 'But upon all who believed in him, whether Jews or Gentiles, of whatever country or nation, or 'people they were, he bestowed the privilege of being the people of God, and all the blessings 'appertaining to them.'

2. Eusebius says, 'The [d] other three evangelists have recorded the actions of our Saviour for 'one year only, after the imprisonment of John the Baptist.' Jerom speaks to the like purpose in his book of Illustrious Men, just now [e] transcribed. But it should have been said, 'one year, 'and somewhat more:' meaning the time and actions of our Lord's most public ministry. For it seems to me, that the ancients supposed our Lord's ministry to have lasted, in the whole, somewhat more than two years; as was shown Vol. i. p. 508, 509. Eusebius indeed computed our Lord's ministry to have consisted of three years and a half, and supposed St. John's gospel to have in it four passovers. He seems to have been the first Christian, who advanced that opinion: and he is now generally followed by harmonizers of the gospels, and by ecclesiastical historians. Sir Isaac Newton [f] however computes five passovers in our Saviour's ministry; as does likewise Dr. Edward Wells in his Historical Geography of the New Testament. And others may be of the same opinion, or make more. But none of these opinions appear to me to have any foundation in the gospels. The opinion of Eusebius, and those who follow him, is much more probable, than theirs who yet farther enlarge the number of the passovers of our Saviour's ministry. The first passover in St. John is that mentioned by him ch. ii. 13. At ch. v. 1, it is said: "After this there was a feast of the Jews, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem."

[a] See the passage of Vitringa quoted just now, at note [b] p. 240.
[b] See the Discourses at the end of the work.
[c] See Vol. i. p. 619.
[d] See Vol. ii. p. 369.
[e] See before, p. 228.
[f] Observations upon Daniel, p. 156, 157.

They who follow Eusebius, and make four passovers in our Lord's ministry, reckon this feast to be a passover. But they who compute his ministry to have lasted only two years, and somewhat more, suppose this to be some other feast, possibly, the feast of tabernacles, next succeeding the passover, mentioned ch. ii. 13. At ch. vi. 4. "And the passover, a feast of the Jews was nigh:" this, according to different computations, is either the second, or the third passover in our Lord's ministry. The third, or, according to others, the fourth, is that mentioned by all the evangelists, at which our Lord suffered. It is mentioned by St. John, ch. xi. 55. and xii. 1.

3. St. John has omitted the greatest part of those things, which are recorded by the other evangelists: which much confirms the testimony of ancient writers, that the first three gospels were written, and published among the faithful before St. John wrote; that they were brought to him, and that he affirmed the truth of their relations, but said, that some discourses and miracles of our Saviour were omitted by them, which might be usefully recorded.

Indeed, there is little or nothing in his gospel, which is not new and additional, except the account of our Saviour's prosecution, death, and resurrection, where all four coincide in many particulars: though even here also St. John has divers things peculiar to himself. In St. John's gospel is no account of our Saviour's nativity, nor of his baptism by John; though, undoubtedly, it is there supposed, and referred to. He takes no notice of our Saviour's temptation in the wilderness, nor of the call, or names of the twelve apostles, nor of their mission in our Saviour's life time, nor of our Lord's parables, or other discourses of his, recorded by them, nor of our Saviour's journies, of which they give an account, nor any of those predictions relating to the desolations of Jerusalem, which are in Matthew, Mark, and Luke. Nor has he any miracles recorded by them, excepting only, that one of the multiplication of small provision for feeding five thousand, with the extraordinary circumstance of the return to Capernaum from the country, where that miracle had been wrought, ch. vi. 4—21. And it is likely, that this miracle was recorded by him, for the sake of the discourses, to which it gave occasion, and which follow there, ver. 22—71.

However, it should be observed, that he has one thing recorded by all the evangelists, Peter's striking a servant of the high priest, and cutting off his ear. Ch. xviii. 10. "Then Simon Peter having a sword, drew it, and smote the high priest's servant, and cut off his right ear. The servant's name was Malchus." Which, as St. Luke informs us, Jesus touched, and healed. ch. xxii. 51. Peter's action is mentioned by all the three evangelists, Matt. xxvi. 51. Mark xiv. 47. Luke xxii. 50. But St. John alone mentions Peter by name, and the name of the servant. I thought proper to take notice of this, though St. John does not particularly mention the miracle of healing.

St. John likewise, ch. ii. 14—22, gives an account of our Lord's cleansing the temple at his first passover, when he went to Jerusalem. All the other evangelists have a like account of our Lord's cleansing the temple, at his last passover, Matt. xxi. 12, 13. Mark xi. 15, 16. Luke xix. 45, 46. But I suppose them to be quite different actions, and that our blessed Lord twice cleansed the temple, as already shown.

4. Though the first three evangelists have not particularly recorded our Saviour's several journies to Jerusalem, as St. John has done, but have only given a particular account of his preaching there at his last passover, they were not unacquainted with them.

This may be concluded from divers things in their histories. To those, who came to apprehend him, our Lord said: "I sat daily with you teaching in the temple, and ye laid no hold on me." Matt. xxvi. 55. And compare Mark xiv. 49. Luke xxii. 53. And among the accusations brought against him by the Jewish Rulers before Pilate, they say: "He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Judea, beginning from Galilee, to this place," Luke xxiii. 5. Peter preaching at Jerusalem, soon after our Lord's ascension, says: "Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles, and wonders, and signs: which God did by him in the midst of you, as yourselves also know," Acts ii. 22. And at the house of Cornelius, in Cæsarea: "That word, you know, which was published throughout all Judea, and began from Galilee," Acts x. 37——And we are witnesses of all things, which he did, both in the land of the Jews, and at Jerusalem," ver. 39. And it appears from their histories, that our Lord's fame had early reached Jerusalem. Many attended him in Galilee from thence, and from other parts. Says St. Matthew: "And there followed him great multitudes of people from Galilee, and from Decapolis, and from Judea, and from beyond Jordan," ch. iv. 25. Comp. Mark. iii. 7, 8. Again:

"And the Scribes, which came from Jerusalem, said: He has Beelzebub."——Mark iii. 22—30. Compare Matt. ix. 34. Luke xi. 14—26. "Then came to Jesus Scribes and Pharisees, which were of Jerusalem," Matt. xv. 1. Compare Mark vii. 1. And says St. Luke, ch. v. 17. "And it came to pass on a certain day, as he was teaching, that there were Pharisees, and doctors of the law sitting by, which were come out of every town of Galilee, and Judea, and Jerusalem; and the power of the Lord was present to heal them." And in every one of the evangelists we may meet with Scribes and Pharisees opposing our Lord, watching his words and actions, cavilling with him, and reflecting upon him, and his disciples.

Moreover, in St. Luke, ch. ix. 51—56, is an account of a remarkable incident, when our Lord was going from Galilee, through Samaria to Jerusalem, at one of their feasts: supposed by [a] some to be the feast of tabernacles, by others [b] the feast of dedication, preceding his last passover. See likewise Luke xiii. 22, and xvii. 11.

However, after all, I do not think it was needful, that our Lord should go often to Jerusalem, or that all his journies thither, and discourses there, should be recorded. It was indeed highly expedient, that his ministry should be public: so it might be, without going often to Jerusalem. John the Baptist was a man of great reputation, though he never went up to Jerusalem during the time of his showing himself unto Israel, that we know of, Luke i. 80. And it is manifest from the first three Evangelists, as well as from St. John, that our Lord's ministry was very public, and well known in all parts of Judea, and the regions round about, and to men of all ranks therein. In them we find our Lord to have been notified before-hand by John the Baptist. He sent out once his twelve apostles, and then seventy other disciples, "two by two, to go before him, and prepare men for him, in every city and place where he should come." In them we find him teaching in synagogues, in cities, and villages, and desert places, crowded by throngs, attended by multitudes of people, and miraculously feeding at one time five thousand, at another four thousand men, beside women and children.

It was fit, that our Lord's ministry should be very public; it is manifest, from all the four evangelists, that it was so; which cannot but be the ground of great satisfaction to us.

5. The genuineness of the twenty-first or last chapter of St. John's gospel ought not to be contested.

Grotius indeed was of opinion, that [c] St. John concluded his gospel with the words, which are at the end of the twentieth chapter: and that what is in the twenty-first chapter was added after St. John's death by the church of Ephesus.

Against that opinion the general, or [d] even universal consent of manuscripts and versions is a great objection. For it is very probable, that this gospel was published before St. John's death. And if there had been an edition without this chapter, it is very likely, that it would have been wanting in some copies. To which may be added, that we do not find, that any one of the ancient christian writers ever made a question, whether this chapter was composed by St. John, or by another. Finally, [e] the style is St. John's. In chapter xix. 35. "And he that saw it bare record; and his record is true: and he knoweth, that he says true." Here xxi. 24. "This is the disciple, which testifieth of these things, and wrote these things; and we know that his testimony is true." Compare likewise ver. 7, and 20. The last words of the chapter, at ver. 25, are these: "And there are also many other things, which Jesus did: the which if they should be written every one, I suppose, that even the world itself could not contain the books that

[a] Vid. Cleric. Harmon. p. 234, 235.

[b] See Dr. Doddridge's Family Expositor. Sect. 127. Vol. ii. p. 183.

[c] Omnino arbitror, quæ hic sequuntur, conclusionem esse totius operis, et ibi finiisse Joannem librum, quem edidit. At, sicut caput ultimum Pentateuchi, et caput ultimum Josuæ, post Mosis et Josuæ mortem additum est a Synedrio Hebræorum; ita et caput, quod sequitur, post mortem Joannis additum ab Ecclesiâ Ephesinâ, hoc maxime fine, ut ostenderetur impletum quod de longævitate ac non violentâ morte Joannis Dominus prædixerat, &c. Grot. ad Jo. xx. 30.

[d] Cæterum in tanto codicum et versionum consensu, eoque prorsus universali, cogitari non debebat, caput hoc ab ecclesiâ demum Ephesinâ accessisse. Quis enim negare tuto potest, Evangelium Joannis ante ipsius obitum, adeoque ante additum hoc, quod creditur, supplementum accessisse? Et quis crediderit, vel sic omnes codices in exhibendo isto capite tam constanter consentire potuisse? Wolf. in Joh. cap. xxi. in.

[e] Rejicimus hic sententiam eorum, qui ab aliâ manu, quam ipsius Joannis Evangelistæ hoc caput esse adjectum putant. Nam ita clare stylum redolet Apostoli, ut, si aliquis alius id adjecisset, non sine impostura istud facere potuisset. Neque enim se Joannem vocat, sed more suo discipulum, quem Jesus amabat. ver. 7. 20. Tum hæc addit: Hic est discipulus ille, qui de his testatur, et hæc scripsit. ver. 24. Quæ defendi non possunt a mendacio, si quisquam alius præter Apostolum hoc caput adjecisset. Adde, quod diligentissimi circa tales circumstantias Patres, Eusebius, Hieronymus, atque alii, non ita plane silentio id involvissent, &c. Fr. Lamp. in Jo. Evang. cap. xxi. tom. III. p. 720, 721. Vid. et Mill. Proleg. num. 249, 250.

should be written." Which clause is evidently from the same person, who wrote ver. 30, and 31, of ch. xx. Here the evangelist seems to check himself, and to determine not to proceed any farther. For if he should attempt to commit to writing every thing which Jesus had said and done, he should never come to an end.

Says Dr. Whitby upon ch. xx. 31. 'Some think, that St. John here ended his gospel, and 'that the following chapter was written by some other hands. But these words give no ground 'for that imagination: since other apostles, after they seem to have concluded their epistles, add 'some new matter: as may be seen in the conclusions of the epistles to the Romans, and to the 'Hebrews.' See Rom. ch. xv. and xvi. Heb. xiii. 21—25. I would likewise refer to Mr. Lenfant's note upon ch. xxi. 24, who also asserts the genuineness of this last chapter.

CHAP. X.

The Question considered, whether any of the first three Evangelists had seen the Gospels of the others' before he wrote.

HERE I shall in the first place mention the different sentiments of learned moderns concerning this point. And then I intend to consider the merits of the question.

Calvin [a] in the preface to his Harmony of the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, declares it to be his opinion, that St. Mark was so far from having abridged St. Matthew's gospel, that he thinks he had never seen it: which he also supposes to have been St. Luke's case.

This likewise must have been the opinion of Basnage. For he supposeth [b] St. Luke's to have been the first written of all the gospels. Consequently this evangelist could not borrow either from St. Matthew, or St. Mark.

Mr. Whiston in [c] his Harmony of the four Evangelists called St. Mark the epitomizer of St. Matthew. Mr. Jones, in his Vindication of St. Matthew's gospel, well, and largely argued against that opinion.

Mr. Dodwell declared his opinion upon this subject after this manner: 'That [d] none of the 'first three evangelists had seen the others' gospels. Otherwise there could not have been in 'them so many seeming contradictions, which have exercised the thoughts of inquisitive men 'almost ever since the forming of the canon of the New Testament. Certainly if St. Luke had 'seen the genealogy of our Lord, which is in St. Matthew, he would not have published another 'so very different, without assigning any reason for it.——St. Matthew is the only one of our 'evangelists, who wrote before St. Luke.——St. John did not write till long after St. Luke, nor 'did Mark write till after St. Luke, if he wrote his gospel in the same year that he finished the 'Acts of the apostles: which seems to me very probable: for the Acts are the second book of 'the same work, as is evident from what himself says Acts i. 1. St. Luke's gospel therefore 'was written in the second year of the apostle Paul's imprisonment at Rome: for so far the 'history of the Acts reaches. But St. Mark seems not to have written until after the death of

[a] Mihi certe magis probabile est, et ex re ipsâ conjicere licet, nunquam librum Matthæi fuisse ab eo inspectum, cum ipse suum scriberet: tantum abest, ut in compendium ex professo redigere voluerit. Idem et de Lucâ judicium facio. Calvin. argum. in Evangel. &c.

[b] Basn. Ann. 60. num. xxxi. [c] P. 102.

[d] Sic latuerant in illis terrarum angulis, in quibus scripta fuerant, evangelia, ut ne quidem resciverint recentiores evangelistæ, quid scripsissent de iisdem rebus antiquiores. Aliter foret, ne tot essent εναντιοφανη, quæ fere a primâ usque canonis constitutione eruditorum hominum ingenia exercuerint. Certe S. Lucas, si genealogiam illam Domini in Matthæo vidisset, non aliam ipse, nihilque fere habentem commune, produxisset, ne quidem minimâ consilii tam diversi editâ ratione. S. Matthæus, qui solus e nostris Lucâ erat antiquior, ipse erat αυτοπτης——S. Joannis Luca longo erat intervallo in scriptione junior. Junior etiam S. Marcus, si quidem S. Lucas eo scripserit anno Evangelium, quo Acta terminavit Apostolorum. Quod ego sane puto verisimillimum. Sunt enim Acta δευτερος ejusdem operis λογος, cujus πρωτον λογον ipse suum agnoscit evangelium. Act. i. 1.—Ita quo anno scriptum est a S. Lucâ evangelium, secundus fluxerit Apostolo Paulo annus captivitatis Romanæ. Eo enim usque Actorum historia perducta est. S. autem Marcus, seu post obitum Petri, seu non multo ante, scripsisse videtur. Dodw. Diss. Iren. i. num. xxxix.

'St. Peter, or not long before it.' This then is the order of the four evangelists, according to Mr. Dodwell: Matthew the first, Luke the second, Mark the third, and John the fourth.

How Mr. Le Clerc argued on the same side, was [a] seen formerly.

On the other hand, Grotius says, it [b] is manifest from comparing their gospels, that Mark made use of Matthew.

Mill has spoken largely to this point in his Prolegomena. 'He says, it [c] was not the design 'of St. Mark, to make an abridgment of St. Matthew's gospel, as some have supposed: for he 'does not always follow St. Matthew's order, as an abridger would have done: and is often-'times more prolix in his histories of the same thing than St. Matthew, and has inserted many 'additional things, and some of great moment for illustrating the evangelical history.——Nay 'so far was Mark from intending to abbreviate St. Matthew's gospel, that there have been men 'of great fame, as Calvin, and our Dodwell, who were of opinion, that St. Mark and Luke had 'never seen Matthew's gospel. However, Grotius was of a different opinion. And indeed 'the great resemblance of the style and composition of these two Evangelists manifests the 'truth of it.'

Of St. Luke Mill says: 'Nothing [d] is more evident than that he made use of the gospels of 'Matthew and Mark. For he has borrowed from them many phrases and expressions, and even 'whole paragraphs word for word.'

But there is not sufficient foundation for such strong assertions, in the account which Mill himself gives of the time of writing the first three gospels: for, according to him, St. Matthew's gospel was published in [f] the year 61, St. Mark's [g] in 63, St. Luke's [h] in 64, which is but one year later. Nor has Mill made it out, that St. Mark's was published so soon as the year 63. For he owns, that it was not written till after Peter's and Paul's departure from Rome; which could not be, till after the year 63. How then could St. Luke make so much use of St. Mark's gospel, as is pretended?

I allege but one author more, relating to this point. Mr. Wetstein says, that [i] Mark made use of Matthew: and of St. Luke he says, 'that [k] he transcribed many things from Matthew, and 'yet more from Mark.'

But may I not say, that before Mr. Wetstein asserted such things, he should have given at least some tolerable account of the times when the evangelists wrote, and that St. Mark was prior in time to Luke? Which I do not perceive him to have done. St. Matthew's gospel, indeed, he supposes to have been written [l] in the eighth year after our Lord's ascension. But of St. Luke he observes, that [m] ecclesiastical writers say, he published his gospel at about fifteen, or as others about two and twenty years after our Saviour's ascension. His account of St. Mark is, 'that [n] he was with Peter at Babylon. Thence he came to Rome, and was with St. Paul 'during his captivity there, Col. iv. 10. Philem. 23. Then he went to Colosse. Afterwards at 'the desire of the apostle he came to him thence to Rome, 2 Tim. iv. 11. Where he is said to 'have written his gospel, abridging St. Matthew, and adding some things, which he had heard 'from Peter.' A very fine character of our evangelist truly! But according to this account of St. Mark's travels, and of the place, where his gospel was written, it could not be published

[a] See Vol. ii. p. 584.

[b] Usum esse Marcum Matthæi Evangelio apertum facit collatio. Grot. ad Marc. cap. i. ver. 1.

[c] Ipsam evangelii structuram quod attinet, neutiquam Marco institutum fuit, quod nonnullis videtur, evangelium Matthæi in epitomen redigere. Præterquam enim quod servatum a Matthæo ordinem non ubique sequatur, quod sane epitomatoris foret, in ejusdem rei narratione Matthæo haud raro prolixior est, ac plurima passim inserta habet, eaque subinde magni ad elucidandam historiam momenti. Proleg. num. 103.

[d] Imo certe adeo nihil Marco erat in animo de abbreviando Matthæi evangelio, ut haud desint magni nominis auctores, qui existimant, a Marco ne quidem visum fuisse Evangelium Matthæi. . . . Cæterum contrarium evincit, Evangelium imprimis Matthæi et Marci quod attinet, istorum phraseos, ipsiusque contextûs similitudo. Ibid. n. 107.

[e] Certe evulgatum fuisse illud post editionem Evangeliorum Matthæi et Marci, ex collatione trium horum inter se luce clarius apparet. Nihil scilicet evidentius, quam D. Lucam Evangeliorum Matthæi et Marci ipsas ῥησεις, phrases et locutiones, imo vero totas pericopas, in suum nonnunquam αυτολεξει. traduxisse. Ib. num. 110.

[f] Proleg. num. 61. [g] Ibid. num. 101.

[h] Ibid. num. 112.

[i] De Marco ap. T. Gr. T. I. p. 552.

[k] Lucam multa ex Matthæo, ex Marco plura descripsisse, ex collatione patet. De Lucâ ibid. p. 643.

[l] Ibid. p. 223. [m] Ibid. p. 643.

[n] Postea videtur Petro adhæsisse, et cum eo Babylone fuisse. 1 Pet. v. 13. Inde Romam venit, Paulumque captivum invisit. Col. iv. 10. Philem. 23. Inde ad Colossenses abiit, a quibus rogatu Pauli Romam rediit, 2 Tim. iv. 11, ubi Evangelium conscripsisse, et Matthæum quidem in compendium redegisse, nonnulla vero, quæ a Petro audiverat, adjecisse dicitur. Ibid. p. 551.

before the year 64, or 65. How then could St. Luke make use of it, if he wrote so soon as fifteen or two and twenty years after Christ's ascension?

I proceed now to speak more distinctly to the merits of the question.

1. It does not appear that any of the learned ancient christian writers had a suspicion, that any of the first three evangelists had seen the other histories, before they wrote. They say indeed, 'that when the three first written gospels had been delivered to all men, they were also 'brought to St. John, and that he confirmed the truth of their narration: but said, there were 'some things omitted by them, which might be profitably related:' or, 'that he wrote last, sup-'plying some things, which had been omitted by the former evangelists.' After this manner speak [a] Eusebius of Cæsarea, [b] Epiphanius, [c] Theodore of Mopsuestia, and [d] Jerom. Not now to mention any others. Augustine indeed, about the end of the fourth century, or the beginning of the fifth, supposeth [e] the first three evangelists not to have been totally ignorant of each other's labours, and considers Mark's gospel as an abridgment of St. Matthew's. But, as [f] formerly observed, so far as I know, he is the first, in which that opinion is found: nor does it appear, that he was followed by succeeding writers.

2. It is not suitable to the character of any of the evangelists, that they should abridge, or transcribe another historian.

St. Matthew was an apostle, and eye-witness: consequently, he was able to write of his own knowledge. Or, if there were any parts of our Lord's ministry, at which he was not present, he might obtain information from his fellow-apostles, or other eye-witnesses. And as for other things, which happened before the apostles were called to follow him, concerning his nativity, infancy, and youth; as Augustine [g] says, these the apostles might know from Christ himself, or from his parents, or his friends and acquaintance, who were to be depended upon.

St. Mark, if he was not one of Christ's seventy disciples, was an early Jewish believer, acquainted with all the apostles, Peter in particular, and with many other eye-witnesses: consequently, well qualified to write a gospel. Mill [h] himself has been so good, as to acknowledge this.

St. Luke, if he was not one of Christ's seventy disciples, nor an eye-witness, was a disciple, and companion of apostles, especially of Paul, as is universally allowed: and he must therefore have been well qualified to write a gospel. Moreover, [i] as has been shown, it is manifest from his introduction, that he knew not of any authentic history of Jesus Christ, that had been yet written. And he expressly says of himself, "that he had perfect understanding of all things from the very first," and he professeth "to write of them to Theophilus in order." After all this to say, that he transcribed many things from one historian, and yet more from another, so far as I am able to judge, is no less than a contradiction of the evangelist himself.

3. The nature and design of the first three gospels manifestly show, that the evangelists had not seen any authentic written history of Jesus Christ.

This is one of the observations of Le Clerc relating to this point. 'We [k] can scarcely doubt, 'whether St. John had seen the other three gospels. For as he is said to have lived to a great 'age, so it appears from his gospel itself, that he took care not to repeat things related by them, 'except a few only, and those necessary things. But I do not see how it can be reckoned 'certain that Mark knew of Matthew's having written a gospel before him: or that Luke knew, 'that they two had written gospels before him. If Mark had seen the work of Matthew, it is 'likely that he would have remained satisfied with it, as being the work of an apostle of Christ, 'that is, an eye-witness, which he was not.' And what there follows.

I must enlarge upon this observation. I forbear to insist now on the genealogies, which are in St. Matthew, and St. Luke only. But I say, that the writings of all and each one of these three evangelists contain an entire gospel, or a complete history of the ministry of Jesus Christ: or, to borrow St. Luke's expressions, Acts i. 1, 2. a history of "all that Jesus both did and

[a] See Vol. ii. p. 369. [b] P. 418.
[c] P. 529. [d] P. 553.
[e] P. 583. [f] P. 584. [g] P. 582, 383.
[h] Marcus ille, quisquis fuerit, ad Evangelium conscribendum abunde instructus accedebat. Si enim filius fuit Mariæ, civis istius Hierosolymitanæ——ei sane jam a tempore conversionis tam frequens intercesserat, ac plane familiare cum ipsis Apostolis commercium, ut vix aliqua ætatis suæ pars ipsorum consortio vacârit: ita ut quotidie ab illis petere licuerit de dictis ac factis Domini παραδοσεις, quas conferret in commentarium. Sane, quisquis fuerit hic Marcus, apud veteres plane convenit, fuisse eum D. Petri comitem et interpretem; ipsumque comitatum fuisse Romam usque——adeo ut ex Apostoli κηρυσσομενοις acceperit necesse sit plenissimam et exactissimam historiæ totius evangelicæ cognitionem. Mill. Proleg. n. 102.
[i] See before, p. 156, 157.
[k] See Vol. ii. p. 584.

taught, until the day, in the which he was taken up to heaven." For in all and every one of them is the history of our Lord's fore-runner, his baptism, preaching, and death, and of our Lord's being baptized by him: when, by a voice from heaven, he was proclaimed to be the Messiah. Then follows our Lord's temptation in the wilderness. After which is an account of our Lord's preaching, and his beginning to gather disciples, the choice of the twelve apostles, and their names: and our Lord's going over the land of Israel, preaching the doctrine of the kingdom, attended by his twelve apostles, in synagogues, and in cities and villages, working all kinds of healing and saving miracles, upon all sorts of persons, in all places, in the presence of multitudes, and before Scribes and Pharisees, as well as others. A particular mission of his apostles, in the land of Israel. Our Lord's transfiguration on the mount, when there appeared Moses and Elias talking with him, and there came a voice from heaven, saying: "This is my beloved Son. Hear him." His going up to Jerusalem, and making a public entrance into the city, then cleansing the temple, where he often taught the people, and preached the gospel, and openly asserted his authority and character: keeping the passover with his disciples, and instituting a memorial of himself: his last sufferings, and death, with the behaviour of Judas, the traitor, Peter, and the rest of the disciples: his burial, resurrection, with the evidences of it, and the general commission to his apostles, to preach the gospel in all the world, and to all sorts of persons therein.

Here are all the integrals of a gospel. And they are properly filled up. And all these things are in all and every one of the first three evangelists: which shows that they did not know of each other's writings. For it cannot be thought that they should be disposed to say the same things over and over, or to repeat what had been well said already. St. John, who had seen the other three gospels, has little in common with them: almost every thing in his gospel is new and additional. So it would have been with every other writer in the like circumstances.

And if St. Matthew's gospel had been written at about eight, or fifteen, or twenty years after our Lord's ascension, and had become generally known among the faithful, (as it certainly would, soon after it was written:) it is not improbable, that we should have had but two gospels, his and St. John's. Or if there had been several, they would all, except the first, have been in the manner of supplements, like St. John's, not entire gospels, like those of the first three evangelists.

This consideration appears to me of great moment, for showing that our first three evangelists are all independent witnesses. Indeed it seems to me to be quite satisfactory, and decisive.

4. There are in these three gospels, as was observed just now by Mr. Dodwell, many seeming contradictions: which have exercised the skill of thoughtful men to reconcile them. This is another argument, that these evangelists did not write by concert, or after having seen each others' gospels.

5. In some histories, which are in all these three evangelists, there are small varieties and differences, which plainly show the same thing. I shall allege two or three instances only.

(1.) In Matth. viii. 28—34. Mark v. 1—20. Luke viii. 26—40. is the account of the cure of the dæmoniac, or dæmoniacs, in the country of the Gadarenes. It is plainly the same history, as appears from many agreeing circumstances: nevertheless there are several differences. St. Matthew speaks of two men, St. Mark and St. Luke of one only. In Mark alone it is said, that the man was always night and day in the mountains, crying, and cutting himself with stones. And he alone mentions the number of the swine that were drowned. He likewise says, that the man besought our Lord much, that he would not send them away out of the country. St. Luke says: the dæmons besought him, that he would not command them to go out into the deep, or abyss. Surely these evangelists did not abridge, or transcribe each others' writings.

(2.) In Matt. xvii. 1—13. Mark ix. 1—13. Luke ix. 28—36. are the accounts of our Lord's transfiguration on the mount. Where St. Matthew says: "his face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light." St. Mark: "And his raiment became shining, exceeding white as snow, so as no fuller on earth can white them." St. Luke: "And as he prayed, the fashion of his countenance was altered, and his raiment was white and glittering." It is plain, I think, that none had seen what the other had written. In the description of the splendor of our Lord's person and garments, each one follows his own fancy. In St. Matthew, and St. Mark are comparisons; but they are different. In St. Luke there is no comparison at all.

(3.) The third instance shall be what follows next in all the three evangelists, after our

Lord was come down from the mount. Matt. xvii. 14—21. Mark ix. 14—29. Luke ix. 37—42. In this history of the healing the young man, who had the epilepsy, where St. Mark is more particular and prolix than the other evangelists, there are many differences: I take notice of a very few only. In St. Matthew the father of the child says: Lord, have mercy on my son, for he is lunatic, and sore vexed: and the healing him is thus related. "And Jesus rebuked the dæmon, and he departed out of him. And the child was cured from that very hour." In St. Mark the father of the child says to our Lord: "Master, I have brought unto thee my son, who has a dumb spirit, and when our Lord healed him, "he rebuked the foul spirit, saying unto him: Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I charge thee, come out of him, and enter no more into him." And what follows. In St. Luke the father says: "Master, I beseech thee, look upon my son, for he is my only child."

Certainly, he who observes these things, must be sensible, that these historians did not borrow from each other: there are many other like instances: to mention them all would be endless.

I shall add a consideration or two more, which must be allowed to be of some weight in this question.

6. There are some things in St. Matthew's gospel, very remarkable, of which no notice is taken either by St. Mark, or St. Luke.

I intend, particularly, the visit of the Magians, with the causes of it, and its circumstances, and then the consequences of it, our Saviour's flight into Egypt, and the slaughter of the infants at Bethlehem, and near it. Matt. ii. The dream of Pilate's wife, ch. xxvii. 19. the affair of the Roman guard at the sepulchre, ch. xxviii. 11—15, "an earthquake, rending of rocks," and "the resurrection of many saints, who came out of their graves, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many," ch. xxvii. 51—53.

These are as extraordinary things as any in the gospels: and if St. Mark, or St. Luke, had written with a view of abridging, or confirming St. Matthew's history, some, or all of these things, would have been taken notice of by them. It is also very observable that St. Luke has *no account* of the miracle of feeding "four thousand with seven loaves and a few little fishes," which is in Matt. xv. 32—39. Mark viii. 1—9.

And what has been just now said of St. Matthew, particularly, may be also applied to St. Luke, supposing his to have been the first written gospel: for in him also are many remarkable things, not to be found in the other gospels. And if St. Matthew or St. Mark had written with a view of abridging or confirming St. Luke's history, those things would not have been passed over by them without any notice.

7. All the first three evangelists have many things peculiar to themselves: which shows that they did not borrow from each other, and that they were all well acquainted with the things of which they undertook to write a history.

Many such things are in Matthew, as is well known to all: I therefore need not enlarge on them; and a few of them were just now taken notice of.

St. Mark likewise has many things peculiar to himself, not mentioned by any other evangelist: a catalogue of them was made by us [a] formerly, though far from being complete.

The same is true of St. Luke. As much was observed by Irenæus, who says, 'there are 'many, and those necessary parts of the gospel, which we know from Luke only.' His brief enumeration of those things was transcribed by us into this work [b] long ago. Let me also rehearse them here somewhat differently. His general introduction, the birth of John the Baptist, and many extraordinary things attending it. The Roman census made in Judea, by Cyrenius, or before that made by Cyrenius, which brought Joseph and Mary from Nazareth to Bethlehem; the mean circumstances of our Lord's nativity; the notification of it to shepherds by an angel; his circumcision; Mary's purification at the temple; the prophecies of Simeon and Anna there; our Lord's going up to Jerusalem at the age of twelve years, ch. ii. The names of the emperor and other princes, in whose time John the Baptist and our Lord began to preach, and our Lord's age at that time; a genealogy different from Matthew, ch. iii. In St. Luke are also divers miracles, not recorded elsewhere. A numerous draught of fishes, ch. v. 4—9. The cures of Mary Magdalene, Joanna, wife of Chuza, Herod's steward, and Susanna, ch. viii. 2, 3; giving speech to a dumb man, ch. xi. 14; a woman healed in a synagogue of an infirmity, under

[a] See before, p. 184—187. [b] Vol. i. p. 366, 367.

which she had laboured eighteen years, ch. xiii. 10—17, the man cured of a dropsy on a sabbath day, in the house of a pharisee, ch. xiv. 1—4. Ten lepers cured at once, ch. xvii. 12—19. The ear of Malchus healed, ch. xxii. 50, 51; the son of a widow of Nain raised to life, in the sight of multitudes, when he was carried out to burial, ch. vii. 11—17; a miracle of resurrection, related by no other evangelist. In him alone is the mission of the seventy disciples, ch. x. 1—20. Divers beautiful parables spoken by our Lord, which are not to be found elsewhere: the parable of the good Samaritan, ch. x. 25—37; the parable of the lost piece of silver, and the prodigal son, ch. xv. 8—32; of the unjust steward, xvi. 1—12; the rich man and Lazarus, ver. 19—31; the importunate widow, xviii. 1—8; the pharisee and publican, that went up to the temple to pray, ver. 9—14. To St. Luke also are peculiar our Lord's entertainment at the house of a pharisee, where came in a woman that was a sinner, ch. vii. 36—50; his entertainment at the house of Martha, ch. x. 38—42; the history of Zaccheus, ch. xix. 1—10; our Lord's agony in the garden, ch. xxii. 43, 44; the penitent thief on the cross, ch. xxiii. 39—43; and a particular account of the two disciples going to Emmaus, ch. xxiv. 13—55.

All these, and many other things, which I omit, are peculiar to St. Luke. And did he transcribe many things from St. Matthew, and yet more from St. Mark?

Mill's argument, taken from the similitude of style and composition, to prove, that these evangelists had seen each other's writings, appears to be insufficient. And himself allows, that[a] two authors writing upon the same subject in the Greek language may easily agree very much in expression.

I have insisted the more upon this point, because I think, that to say the evangelists abridged and transcribed each other, without giving any hint of their so doing, is a great disparagement to them: and it likewise diminisheth the value and importance of their testimony. Said Mr. Le Clerc, before quoted, 'They[b] seem to think more justly, who say, that the first three evangelists 'were unacquainted with each other's design. In that way greater weight accrues to their testi-'mony. When witnesses agree, who have first laid their heads together, they are suspected. 'But witnesses, who testify the same thing separately, without knowing what others have said, 'are justly credited.'

This is not a new opinion, lately thought of: nor has it been taken up by me, out of opposition to any. I have all my days read, and admired the first three evangelists, as independent, and harmonious witnesses. And I know not how to forbear ranking the other opinion among those bold, as well as groundless assertions, in which critics too often indulge themselves, without considering the consequences.

[a] Verum quidem est, eum esse linguæ hujus, quæ evangelistis in usu erat, Hellenisticæ genium, eam indolem, ut in unum ferme eumdemque dicendi characterem, quoties de unâ eâdemque materiâ agitur, sese efformet; ita ut diversi in hoc genere scriptores, unum idemque aliquod argumentum particulare tractantes, stylo ac sermonis tenore haud absimili usuri essent, &c. Prol. num. 108.

[b] See Vol. ii. p. 584.

CHAP. XI.

ST. PAUL.

I. *His History before his Conversion, and his general Character.* II. *The Time of his Conversion.* III. *Observations upon his Conversion, and the Circumstances of things at that time in Judea.* IV. *His age at the Time of his Conversion.* V. *When he was made an Apostle.* VI. *The History of his Travels, and preaching: particularly, from the Time of his Conversion and Apostleship, to his coming from Damascus to Jerusalem, the first time, after his Conversion.* VII. *From his coming first to Jerusalem to his being brought to Antioch by Barnabas.* VIII. *To his coming up to Jerusalem with the Contributions of the Christians at Antioch.* IX. *To his coming to the Council at Jerusalem about the year 49.* X. *To his coming to Jerusalem with Contributions of divers Gentile Churches, in the year 58, when he was apprehended, and imprisoned.* XI. *To the End of his imprisonment at Rome.* XII. *To the time of his death.*

I. SAUL, called also PAUL, by which name he was generally called, after his preaching in gentile countries, and, particularly,[a] among Greeks and Romans, a descendant of the patriarch Abraham, one of God's ancient chosen people of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, was[b] a native of Tarsus, then the chief city of Cilicia. He was also by birth a[c] citizen of Rome. How he became entitled to that privilege, has been distinctly shown[d] in another place. His father[e] was a pharisee, and himself was of the same sect. He had a sister, whose son was a Christian, and a discreet person, who[f] was of great service to his uncle Paul, when a prisoner at Jerusalem. His conduct cannot be thought of without admiration and gratitude. Some others of his relations are mentioned by him in his epistle to the Romans, who also were believers in Jesus, and several of them had been so before himself: which may be reckoned a proof of the virtue and piety of this family. Their names are Andronicus, and Junia, whom he calls "his kinsmen, συγγενεις μου." Rom. xvi. 7. By[g] which he must mean something more than their being his countrymen. He speaks in the like manner of Herodian, ver. 11. and alo of Lucius, Jason, and Sosipater, ver. 21. It may be reckoned very probable, that[h] he was educated in Greek literature in his early life at Tarsus. It is certain, that[i] he was for a while under the instructions of Gamaliel, at Jerusalem, a celebrated Jewish Rabbi, and that[k] he made great proficiency in the study of the law, and the traditions, much esteemed by that people. He seems to have been[l] a person of great natural

[a] Acts xiii. 9. "Then Saul, who also is called Paul," Σαῦλος δε, ὁ και Παυλος. Id est, qui ex quo cum Romanis conversari cœpit, hoc nomine, a suo non abludente, cœpit a Romanis appellari. Sic qui Jesus Judæis, Græcis Jason; Hillel, Pollio:——apud Romanos Silas, Silvanus, ut notavit Hieronymus. Grot. in Act. xiii. 9.

Hoc primum loco cœpit apostolus a Lucâ Paulus dici, quem ubique antea Saülum vocavit. Nec deinceps alio quam Pauli nomine usquam vocabit.——Alii igitur apostolum jam inde ab initio binominem fuisse putant, ut ex altero homine Judæus, ex altero Romanus civis esse intelligeretur. Alii cum religione nomen eum mutâsse putant, cum ex Pharisæo fieret Christianus.—Sunt demum qui a Sergio Paulo Proconsule ad Christum converso hoc cognomen adeptum esse putent.—— Ac facile mihi quidem persuadeo, primum a Proconsulis Romani familiâ ita vocari cœpisse. Bez. Annot. in Act. xiii. 9. See likewise Dr. Doddridge's Family Expositor, Vol. iii. p. 198. note[k] or upon Acts xiii. 9.

[b] Acts xxi. 39. xxii. 3.

[c] Acts xvi. 37, 38 xxii. 25—29. xxiii. 27.

[d] See Vol. i. p. 125.

[e] Acts xxiii. 6. xxvi. 5. Philip. iii. 5.

[f] Acts xxiii. 16—22.

[g] 'Cognatos suos,' id est ejusdem secum generis vocat, ut multi exponunt, quia Judæi erant, quemadmodum supra ix. 3, de Judæis in universum dixit, 'qui sunt cognati mei secundum carnem;' et sic eum loqui, ut Judæorum qui Romæ erant gratiam sibi conciliet. Verum, quia multi Romæ erant Judæi Christiani, et proinde hac generali ratione Paulo cognati; idcirco putant alii, cognatos hic dici magis proprie, ut qui fuerint Paulo contribules, id est, de tribu Benjamin, aut forte etiam propriore sanguinis vinculo conjuncti. Est in Rom. xvi. 7.

[h] This may be argued from the place of his nativity, Tarsus, which was celebrated for polite literature, and from St. Paul's quotations of several Greek poets. Acts xvii. 28. 1 Cor. xv. 33. Tit. i. 12. Dr. Bentley begins his third sermon at Boyle's Lecture, which is the second upon Acts xvii. 27, 28, in this manner, 'I have said enough in my last, to show the fitness 'and pertinence of the apostle's discourse——and that he did 'not talk at random, but was thoroughly acquainted with the 'several humours and opinions of his auditors. And, as '"Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," 'so it is manifest from this chapter alone, if nothing else had 'been now extant, that St. Paul was a great master in all the 'learning of the Greeks.'

[i] Acts xxii. 3.

[k] Acts xxii. 3. xxvi. 5. Gal. i. 14.

[l] —— sectâ Pharisæum, excellenti magnoque ingenio præditum, literarum Judaïcarum imprimis peritum, nec Græcarum expertem. J. L. Moshem. de Reb. Christian. ante Constantin. sect. I. n. xv. p. 80.

abilities, of quick apprehension, strong passions, and firm resolution, and thereby qualified for signal service, as a teacher of such principles, as he should embrace, whatever they were. He appears likewise to have been always unblameable in his life, and strictly faithful to the dictates of his conscience, according to the knowledge, which he had. Of this all must be persuaded, who observe his [a] appeals to the Jews, upon this head, when they were greatly offended with him; and from [b] the undissembled satisfaction which he expresseth upon a serious recollection of his former and later conduct. For some while, after the first appearance of Christianity in the world, he was a bitter enemy, and furious opposer of all who made profession of it. Nevertheless he persisted not long in that course: but was in a very extraordinary manner converted to that faith himself, and ever after he was a steady friend, and zealous advocate for it, and very successful in defending and propagating it, diligently improving the gifts and qualifications extraordinarily vouchsafed him for that purpose. These things are recorded in those writings, which are in the highest esteem, and reckoned sacred among Christians, and indeed are well known to all the world.

II. I am desirous to do my best to settle the time of St. Paul's conversion. If we can do that with some good degree of probability, we shall attain to a near knowledge of the time of St. Stephen's martyrdom: concerning both which events there have been very different opinions in former and later ages. Valesius, in his Annotations upon Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, mentions divers opinions of ancient writers [c] about the time of St. Stephen's death. As the passage may be acceptable to some, I have placed it below.

Among moderns, Cave thought that [d] Stephen was stoned, and Paul converted in the year of our Lord's ascension, the year 33, or the beginning of the year following. Pearson supposeth that [e] Stephen was stoned in 34, and Paul converted in 35, near the end of the year. Having been three years in Arabia, and at Damascus, he came to Jerusalem, near the end of 38; in which year, or the beginning of the following, he went to Tarsus; where, and in Syria, he was four years, that is, 39, 40, 41, 42. Which appears to me a long space of time. In 43, he came to Antioch. And having spent a year there, he came to Jerusalem in 44. So Pearson.

Frederic Spanheim, who also has bestowed great pains in examining this point, placeth [f] the conversion of Paul in the year 40, the last of Caius Caligula: and was inclined to defer it to the first of Claudius, the year 41. Him [g] Witsius follows. And J. A. Fabricius [h] declares his assent to the same opinion.

Lenfant and Beausobre, in their general preface to St. Paul's epistles, place his conversion in the year 36, and his first coming to Jerusalem after it in 39; which opinion I believe to be nearer the truth than any of the foregoing.

There is an event mentioned in the Acts, about which we may receive light from external history. I mean, "the rest of the churches throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria," Acts ix. 31.

In the former part of this work [i] it was shown to be very probable, that this rest of the churches of Christ was owing to the state of things in Judea, when Petronius, president of Syria, published the orders which he had received from Caius, to erect his statute in the temple of Jerusalem, in the year of Christ 39, or 40. Which account was afterwards followed by Dr. Benson in his [k] History of the first planting the christian religion. Dr. Doddridge [l] likewise declared his approbation of it.

[a] Acts xxiii. 1. xxvi. 4. 5.

[b] Philip. iii. 6. 1 Tim. i. 13. 2 Tim. i. 3.

[c] Quo anno Stephanus martyrii coronam adeptus sit, non convenit inter omnes. Alii eodem anno, quo passus est Christus, lapidatum illum volunt. Ita diserte scribitur in Excerptis Chronologicis, quæ cum Eusebii Chronico edidit Scaliger. pag. 68. Et hæc videtur fuisse Eusebii sententia, ut ex hoc loco apparet.——Alii vero triennio post Christi mortem martyrium Stephani retulerunt.—Ita scribit in Chronico Georgius Syncellus. Multi etiam ulterius processerunt, et Stephanum anno ab ordinatione suâ septimo passum esse scripserunt. Inter quos est Euodius apud Nicephorum, et Hippolytus Thebanus, et auctor Chronici Alexandrini, qui anno Claudii primo martyrium Stephani adsignat. Vales. Annot. in Euseb. l. 2. cap. i.

[d] —— ad fidem Christi conversus, discipulus fit et Apostolus A. C. 33 exeunte, vel saltem ineunte proximo. Hist. Lit. T. I. in S. Paulo.

[e] Annal. Paulin. p. 1—4.

[f] —— in anno conversionis Pauli, quam non anteriorem esse Caii ultimo, audacter pronuntiamus. De Conversion. Paulin. Epochâ. num. xix. Opp. T. II. p. 321.

[g] De Vitâ Pauli. Sect. ii. n. 22. ap. Miletem. Leyd. p. 34.

[h] Tantum noto in præsenti, me sequi eorum rationes, qui Paulum conversum esse existimant anno quarto sive ultimo Caii, an. 40, et capite truncatum A. C. 68, Neronis xiv. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. III. p. 151. (ff)

[i] See Vol. i. sect. xii. p. 48—56. especially near the end of that section.

[k] See of that work B. I. ch. 9. sect. iii. at the end.

[l] Family Expositor, Vol. III. p. 147.

When I formerly argued, that this rest of the churches was occasioned by the above mentioned order of the emperor Caius, I did not know that any one had assigned that as the occasion of it. But since, I have perceived, that[a] S. Basnage had thought of it, and spoke to it very very well. I was led to my observations by reading Philo, and Josephus: from whom I formed the argument, and overlooked the just mentioned ecclesiastical historian.

I supposed, that[b] Petronius published his order in the year 39, or 40. Basnage[c] and Tillemont[d] say, in the year 40. By whom I am not unwilling to be determined.

It is allowed, that Petronius was sent governor into Syria by Caius in the third year of his reign, A. D. 39. And it is supposed by them, that[e] Petronius came into the province about autumn in the year 39. And Josephus says, 'that[f] Caius, greatly incensed against the Jews for 'not paying him the same respect that others did, sent Petronius governor into Syria, command-'ing him to set up his statue in the temple: and if the Jews opposed it, to march into the 'country with a numerous army, and effect it by force.'

Whenever Petronius published that order, whether in the year 39, or 40, I think it was the occasion of the tranquillity of the churches of Christ, spoken of by St. Luke. And I persuade myself, that most people will readily be of the same opinion.

We will now take a paragraph or two in the Acts, ch. ix. 26—31. "And when Saul was come to Jerusalem, he assayed to join himself to the disciples.——And he was with them, coming in, and going out, at Jerusalem. And he spoke boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus, and disputed against the Grecians. But they went about to slay him. Which when the brethren knew, they brought him down to Cæsarea, and sent him forth to Tarsus. Then had the churches rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified."

This rest, we may suppose, was not complete, or made extensive and universal, till the year 40 perhaps, not till near the middle of it. But when did Paul come to Jerusalem? Before this rest? or, not till after it was commenced? Basnage[g] thinks that Paul came to Jerusalem in the year 40. Let us however make a few remarks.

The peace, of which we are speaking, seems not to have commenced, nor the persecution to have ceased, when Paul arrived at Jerusalem from Damascus. For when "he spake boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus," and disputed with the Grecians, "they went about to slay him:" as we have seen in the paragraph just transcribed. And the brethren found it needful to conduct him with care to Cæsarea, and send him thence to Tarsus. Moreover, Peter was at Jerusalem when Paul arrived there, and "he abode with him fifteen days," Gal. i. 18. But when the peace of the churches was established, Peter left Jerusalem, and visited the saints in the several parts of Judea: as we learn from the history immediately following, Acts ix. 31—43. Once more, it appears from the above cited paragraph, and the course of St. Luke's narration, that this rest of the churches in Judea did not begin until after Paul had been sent thence. And if it had commenced sooner, in all probability he would have been induced to stay longer there among the Jews, for whose conversion he was ardently concerned. St. Luke's words are, as above: "Which when the brethren knew, they brought him down to Cæsarea, and sent him forth to Tarsus. Then had the churches rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified."

I apprehend it to be probable, then, that Paul came to Jerusalem, at this season, near the end of the year 39, or in the beginning of the year 40. We now proceed.

St. Paul says, Gal. i. 15—18. that "when it pleased God by his grace to reveal his Son in him,——he went into Arabia, and returned again unto Damascus. Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter." For the time of Paul's conversion therefore we must look

[a] Mira hæc, et præter omnium expectationem exorta rerum vicissitudo fuit. Cui non minimum contulit infelix Judæorum status, quibus a Caligulâ vexatis, timentibusque templi violationem Petronio mandatam, Christi discipulorum persecutioni vacare non licuit. Cum enim constituendæ ecclesiarum paci sæpenumero Dei sapientia occasionibus utatur, atque humanis auxiliis; probabilis utique affertur conjectura, eo sopitum fuisse Judæorum furorem, quia propriis pressi miseriis ab inferendâ ecclesiæ calamitate prohibebantur.—— Nec inopinatæ tranquillitatis aptior ulla ratio reddi potest. Ann. 40. num. xvi.

[b] See the place referred to above at note [1].

[c] Ubi supra num. v.

[d] Ruine des Juifs. art. xviii. xix. Hist. des Emp. tom. I.

[e] Sed ex Josephi historiâ constat, illum in provinciam anno tertio Caii advenisse, circa autumnum. Noris. Cenot. Pisan. Diss. 2. p. 371. Conf. Usser. Ann. 39.

[f] Γαΐος δε εν δεινῳ φερων, εις τοσον δε ὑπο Ιουδαιων περιῳφθαι μονων, πρεσβευτην επι Συριας εκπεμπει Πετρωνιον—— κελευων χειρι πολλη εισβαλλοντι εις την Ιουδαιαν, ει μεν εκοντες δεχωνται, ἱσαν αυτον ανδριαντα εν τῳ ναῳ τυ θευ· ει δ' αγωνιωσυνῃ χρωντο, πολεμῳ χρατησαντα τουτο ποιειν. Antiq. l. 18. cap. ix. n. 2. al. cap. xi.

[g] Ann. 40. num. xv.

back "three years." And if those three years are to be understood complete, and he came to Jerusalem in the year 40, he was converted not long after the beginning of the year 37, where it is placed by [a] Basnage. If he came to Jerusalem before the end of the year 39, he might be converted near the end of the year 36.

Let me add. Paul says, "after [b] three years I went up to Jerusalem:" which may be well understood to mean somewhat more than three years. And then, though Paul should be supposed not to have returned to Jerusalem till the beginning of the year 40, he may have been converted before the end of the year 36.

Shall we now look somewhat farther back, and inquire how long this might be after the death of Stephen? Lewis Capellus [c] and Fr. Spanheim [d] supposed that two years passed between the death of Stephen and Paul's conversion. And for certain there was some good space of time between Stephen's martyrdom, and Paul's journey to Damascus. This appears from St. Luke's history, who says, Acts vii. 58. "And they cast Stephen out of the city, and stoned him. And the witnesses laid down their clothes at a young man's feet, whose name was Saul." It follows in ch. viii. 1—4. "And Saul was consenting unto his death. At that time there was a great persecution against the church, which was at Jerusalem. And they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the apostles." As for Saul he made havock of the church, entering into every house, and haling men and women, committed them to prison." After which, at ver. 5—40. is an account of the preaching of those who were "scattered abroad," particularly, of Philip's going to the city Samaria, and preaching there with great success, and of the apostles, who were at Jerusalem, hearing of this, and sending to Samaria Peter and John: and then, how Philip taught and baptized the chamberlain of Candace, queen of Ethiopia. After which Philip preached in all the cities from Azotus, till he came to Cæsarea by the sea side. Still Saul was a persecutor. For it follows, ch. ix. 1, 2. "And Saul, yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, went unto the high priest: and desired of him letters to Damascus, to the synagogues; that if he found any of this way, whether they were men or women, he might bring them bound to Jerusalem." To all which might be added, that Paul's ill treatment of the disciples at Jerusalem was well known at Damascus, before he arrived there, as appears from Acts ix. 13.

Nevertheless I do not think that there is sufficient reason to protract this space so long as two years: but would hope it might be reduced within the compass of a year, and perhaps to little more than half a year. So thought Basnage. Who [e] therefore placeth the martyrdom of Stephen and the baptism of Paul in one and the same year.

I am the more inclined to think that Paul's course of opposition against the believers did not exceed the space of a year, at the utmost: because it seems to have been confined to the city of Jerusalem, until he undertook to go to Damascus, and did not reach into the cities of Judea and Samaria. This will lead us to place the martyrdom of Stephen in the year 36, and not far from the beginning of it, or else near the end of the year 35.

Indeed that is a very likely season, and much confirmed by the state of things in Judea about this time, as distinctly represented by us long ago, in the first part of this work, when we treated of affairs and persons, occasionally mentioned in the books of the New Testament. It was then shewn, that [f] Pontius Pilate was removed from his government in Judea, before the passover of the year 36, probably, five or six months before that passover, in September or October, A. D. 35, about a year and half before the death of Tiberius. It was also shewn, that [g] after the removal of Pilate, no governor, or procurator, with the right of the sword or the power of life and death, was sent into Judea, neither in the remaining part of the reign of Tiberius, nor in the reign of Caius. Which [h] afforded the Jews an oportunity to be licentious, and to do many things, which otherwise they could not have done, and to be extremely troublesome to the disciples of Jesus.

Thus then Paul was converted in 37, or possibly, before the end of the year 36. And Ste-

[a] Ann. 37. n. 48. [b] ——μετα ετη τρια.

[c] Porro interim——Saŭlus, qui Stephani morti consenserat, cum per biennium ecclesiam Dei Jerosolymis vastâsset.—— Lud. Capel. Hist. Apost. p. 7.

[d] Ex dictis constare arbitramur——rursum anni minimum unius decursum, si non verius biennii (quale et Lud. Cappellus post Danæum nostrum, aliosque, statuit) a cæde hujus ad Saŭli profectionem Damascenam supponendum esse. Spanh. Diss. de convers. Paulin. Epoch. n. xx.

[e] A. D. 37. num. 48. [f] See Vol. i. p. 204.

[g] Ibid. p. 48—50. [h] P. 53.

phen was stoned in the beginning of the same year, or, at the soonest, near the end of the year 35.

III. Having distinctly considered these things, and produced such probable evidence as offers, I beg leave to mention several observations.

1. The persecution, which began at the death of Stephen, continued four years.

The disciples of Jesus, as appears from the first chapters of the book of the Acts, were much harassed by the Jewish council from the beginning. But now, after Stephen was stoned, a more open and violent persecution came on, which [a] lasted a good while. I am not able to assign a more likely time for the commencement of it, than the beginning of the year 36, or the latter part of the year 35, about which time Pilate was removed after his government had been for some good while very feeble among the Jews. The same persecution reached into the year of our Lord 40, the fourth and last year of the reign of Caius; when Petronius published the orders which he had received, to set up the emperor's statue in the temple at Jerusalem: which threw the Jewish people, throughout all that country, into a general consternation, and fully employed them about their own affairs.

It seems to me therefore, from this calculation, that the persecution lasted, at least, four years. To which might be added, that it must have begun about a year before Paul's conversion, after which he was three years in Arabia. And when he returned to Jerusalem, the persecution was not at an end: nor did the peace of the churches come on till after he had been sent away from Judea to Tarsus.

2. Notwithstanding the violence, and the length of this persecution, the church of Christ was not diminished, but increased during that period.

This may be argued from the description of the peace which succeeded it. Acts ix. 31, 32; "Then had the churches rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified. ——And it came to pass, as Peter passed through all quarters, he came to the saints which dwelt in Lydda." Now therefore there were churches in Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria. And I make no question, but most, or all of them, were planted during those troublesome times. For before that period we read not of any churches out of Jerusalem. And St. Paul speaking of some things after his conversion, and his return to Jerusalem, says, Gal. i. 22; "He was unknown by face to the churches of Judea, which were in Christ."

This increase of converts in those countries might be owing to several things: the patience and fortitude of the disciples: their discretion in avoiding needless offence, and in declining dangers: their zeal and intrepidity in asserting the resurrection of Jesus, and other articles of the doctrine of the gospel: the miraculous powers with which they were endowed, and their exerting them on all fit occasions.

It might be also, in part, owing to the circumstances of things. For a while, as it seems, this persecution was confined to Jerusalem, and did not extend to other parts of Judea. So says St. Luke, Acts viii. 1; "At that time was a great persecution against the church which was at Jerusalem." Paul's injuries were confined there, till he went to Damascus. He speaks not of any thing done by him against the disciples of Jesus any where else. Acts xxvi. 10, 11; "Which thing I also did in Jerusalem.——and being exceedingly mad against them, I persecuted them even unto strange cities. Whereupon as I went to Damascus."

The persecution became more extensive afterwards. As may be gathered from those words of St. Luke, just cited: "then had the churches rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria." Wherein it is implied, that the believers in those countries had been disturbed: though, perhaps, the persecution was not there so violent as in Jerusalem and near it.

But so long as Paul continued in his course of opposition, the persecution either was confined to Jerusalem, or was not very violent in many other parts, if in any. This may be evidently concluded from Acts viii. 1, "And they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea, and Samaria, except the apostles." Many of the disciples, therefore, who left Jerusalem, found shelter in Judea, and Samaria. This was soon after the death of Stephen, and before Paul went to Damascus. Yea it is added, ver. 4, 5, "Therefore they

[a] Here I transcribe a passage from Lightfoot's Commentary upon the Acts, ch. ix. 27, of his works, Vol. I. p. 815. 'And 'thus,' says he, 'that persecution, that began about Stephen, 'had lasted till this very same time of Paul's coming to Jeru-'salem. For so it is apparent, both by the fear and suspicious-'ness of the disciples at Jerusalem, as also by the clausure of 'the text, ver. 31, "Then had the churches rest." The 'length of this persecution, by the computation of the times, 'as they have been cast up before, seemeth to have been 'about three years and a half.'

that were scattered abroad, went every where, preaching the word. Then Philip went down to the city of Samaria, and preached Christ unto them." And what follows to ver. 40, clearly shewing the truth of what we are now arguing.

Moreover, it should be remembered, that the Jewish council had not the power of life and death. The death of Stephen therefore was irregular and tumultuous. That no others suffered in a like manner during this period, I would not say: considering the great conciseness of St. Luke's history, and what St. Paul says Acts xxvi. 10, "And when they were put to death, I gave my voice against them." But if any, beside Stephen, were put to death, I apprehend, not many, and those of lower rank only, none of a station in the church, equal to that of Stephen. The Roman officers in Judea did not join in any part of this persecution. They had no orders so to do. And if the Jewish council had assumed authority to put men to death, it would have been complained of, and they would soon have been checked.

If the Jewish council had had the power of life and death for these four years, it would indeed have gone very hard with the christian interest, throughout the whole country of Judea: the number of believers would have been much lessened: nor could any new converts have been made. Such a persecution the church was not able to endure in its very infancy.

In like manner, a four years' persecution by Herod Agrippa would have extirpated it. All the believers in general must have perished, throughout the whole extent of his dominions, without safety to any but those who escaped into other countries. When therefore that proud and bigoted prince (whom we allow to have had supreme power throughout all the land of Israel) began to persecute the church, and had slain James, and imprisoned Peter; Providence interposed, and miraculously delivered Peter out of prison. And that prince, not observing the hand of God therein, nor being intimidated thereby: as appears from his ordering the innocent guards to be immediately executed: and growing still more and more proud and arrogant, he fell under the hand of God himself. Of whose death, soon after, St. Luke has left an affecting history, ch. xii. 19—23, confirmed also by [a] Josephus.

3. The first notice which we have of Paul, is in the account of Stephen's martyrdom. And it seems likely, that he had not long before made his appearance in the world.

And, if we consider Paul's situation and circumstances, we shall discern the proper vindication of his moral character. It may be reckoned probable, that he had not seen Jesus in the time of his abode on this earth. Possibly, he did not come to Judea from Tarsus, till after the period of our Lord's ministry. It may be likewise supposed, that he had not a personal acquaintance with any of Christ's apostles, nor had seen any miracles done by them, before he became a persecutor. And after that, he would not admit of instruction from the followers of Jesus. However, it is not improbable, that he saw the splendour of Stephen's countenance before the Jewish council, Acts vi. 15, as well as was witness of the wonderful patience and meekness of his death, ch. vii. 55—59. But then, as may be well supposed, he was not only prejudiced, but enraged. See ver. 54, 57, and ch. xxvi. 11.

How long he had been in Judea, and under the tuition of Gamaliel, cannot be certainly said. But it is well known, that students, whilst under the government of tutors, are strictly guarded, and much restrained. None less acquainted with what is done in the world, than they. Among the ancients, especially, students of the law and philosophy, were required to pay a strict regard to their masters' instructions, and theirs' only. It may be supposed, then, that Paul, so long as he was with Gamaliel, knew little of the public affairs of Judea, though he was in that country. Coming from the schools, animated with an earnest zeal for the law of Moses, and all its peculiarities, and for the traditions of the elders: and finding a number of men, called followers of Jesus of Nazareth, whom they spake of as the Messiah, and raised from the dead, and greater than Moses himself: he was filled with indignation, and thought he was obliged to oppose them to the utmost: which he did, till Jesus met him, and reclaimed him. It is not unlikely, that he conceived of them, as the deluded followers of an impostor, like others that appeared in Judea about that time, and therefore deserving of no regard from any wise men.

Paul says, among other humbling considerations, that he was "injurious," 1 Tim. i. 13. And he has mentioned several instances of it. Acts xxvi. 10. But even then, as we may well suppose, he would not have injured any man in his person, or property, from worldly considera-

[a] See Vol. i. p. 14—16.

tions. In what he did against the followers of Jesus he was not actuated by envy, malice, covetousness, or any worldly view. It was a false zeal for God and religion, by which he was induced to be a persecutor: which in some persons, and in some circumstances, is consistent with integrity. It is very likely to have been so in Paul, a young man, little acquainted with the world, and just come fresh from the study of the law, and the Rabbinical interpretations of it. Chrysostom makes this difference between Paul and the Jews. He [a] had a sincere zeal for religion, according to his knowledge at that time. They had no concern for the welfare of Jerusalem, and aimed at nothing but their own honour.

All this has been said for shewing, that Paul was sincere in what he had done, and that he did not act contrary to conviction. But [b] he cannot be justified. He should have examined. He should have taken care to be well informed. If, when he first came abroad in the world, and met with those who professed faith in Jesus, as the Messiah, he had inquired into the grounds of their persuasion: if he had attentively observed, whether they wrought any miracles, like those of Moses, and the ancient prophets, recorded in the Old Testament: if he had attended to the prophecies concerning the Messiah, which they alleged, for shewing, that the character of Jesus was answerable to them, and that they were fulfilled in him; he might have received satisfaction, and might have been prevented from acting that part against Jesus, and his disciples, which he afterwards bewailed.

But prejudices are very strong in some. They were so in this young man. Persuaded of the divine original of the law, and of the importance of the traditions of the elders, in which he had been lately instructed, and which he had received, and held, as a most valuable branch of science, he had a sovereign contempt for this new sect, and was of opinion, that nothing could be said by them, which deserved consideration.

Such were his prejudices, that they were not to be overcome in an ordinary way. Without something more than common to awaken his attention, he was in danger to have proceeded much farther in the wrong course, which he was in.

But though Paul was greatly prejudiced, he was not obstinate. The Lord Jesus saw this. He knew Paul to be tractable, and open to conviction. Otherwise, he would not have met him in the way to Damascus, as he did: nor would he have called to him: "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" But he well knew, that those words, together with the glory of the appearance surrounding him, would change his heart, and melt him down to ready obedience.

Openness to conviction is a most necessary disposition to such weak, ignorant, fallible, sinful creatures as we are. Without it there can be no alteration for the better: no change of error for truth, or vice for virtue. Of the conceited and obstinate there is no hope. But they who are attentive to reason and argument, and are willing to be determined by evidence, may do great things. Of ignorant they may become knowing. Instead of being erroneous, they may have just sentiments. And they will proceed from one measure of knowledge and virtue to another, till they attain to great perfection in both.

This was Paul's disposition. et is very manifest in him. With what enmity against the disciples of Jesus he set out for Damascus, and how soon he was changed, the history shews. "And as he journeyed, he came near to Damascus. And suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven. And he fell to the earth, and heard a voice saying unto him: Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" Acts ix. 3—6. Whereupon he trembles, and acquiesces. All his rage is subdued, and he becomes a disciple of Jesus.

Upon occasion of an abuse, which he received from the high priest, before whom he stood, he expressed himself with rather too much warmth and resentment. But having been admonished of it by those who stood by, he answers with great mildness: "I wist not, I did not consider, brethren, that it was the high priest. For it is written: thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people." Acts xxiii. 1—5.

He was once offended with John Mark, because he declined a service, which he thought reasonable to be performed. Acts xiii. 13; xv. 38. But he was afterwards reconciled to him, and desired his company: persuaded, that he would be "profitable to him for the ministry." 2 Tim. iv. 11.

[a] Οὗτος μὲν ἂν οὕτως ἐποίει, οὐχ ὡς Ἰουδαῖοι· μὴ γένοιτο. Ὅτι γὰρ ζήλῳ ἐποίει, ὄηλον ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὰς ἔξω πόλεις ἀπιέναι· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οὐτε κἂν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμοις ἐφρόντισαν· ἀλλ' ἑνὸς ἐγένοντο μόνου τοῦ τιμῆς ἀπολαύειν. In Act. Ap. hom. 19. T. IX. p. 155. D.

[b] See Dr. Doddridge upon 1 Tim. i. 13. note *(b)* Family Expositor, Vol. V. p. 413.

So much did this temper prevail in him, and so reasonable and beneficial did it appear to him, that he thought no men could be destitute of it, and that all men must be willing to hearken, and to yield to evidence. This we perceive from what he says, Acts xxii. 17—21: "When I was come again to Jerusalem, I was in a trance, and saw him saying unto me: Make haste, and get thee quickly out of Jerusalem: for they will not receive thy testimony concerning me. And I said: Lord, they know, that I imprisoned and beat in every synagogue them that believed on thee.——And he said unto me: Depart. For I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles." He imagined, that an account of his conversion, who once was so opposite, and the reasons of it, if fairly laid before them, must persuade them. But Jesus, who knew the hearts of all men, saw, that the people of Judea were so hardened, that nothing would work upon them. Instead therefore of labouring unprofitably among them, the Lord renewed his orders to Paul, without delay, to proceed in the work of preaching to Gentiles, as he had already begun to do.

4. It was very gracious in the Lord Jesus, to call to Paul at the time he did, and not to suffer him to continue any longer in his career of rash, and inconsiderate, and injurious zeal, without control. As yet he was tender, and tractable. Afterwards he might have been hardened: or, upon conviction, he might have sunk into despair.

5. We have reason to think, that there was an over-ruling Providence in disposing the person and concerns of Paul about this time, as well as in the other parts of his life.

He reflects with gratitude, that "God had separated him from his mother's womb, and called him by his grace." Gal. i. 15. There was great wisdom, as well as goodness, in the season of his call, as just shewn.

It was likewise a very happy and favourable circumstance, that he did not return into Judea presently after his conversion: forasmuch as the violent persecution, which began about the time of Stephen's death, had continued at least three years after Paul left Judea to go to Damascus.

It was also well for him, that he was out of Judea, during the three or four years' reign of Herod Agrippa, when he was king of all Israel. It was, indeed, owing to a violent onset of the Grecians, as they are called, that the disciples were induced to convey him to Cæsarea, and send him forth to Tarsus. Acts ix. 29, 30. But it was over-ruled for his good. By this means he was out of Judea, during the reign of that proud and cruel prince, which appears to have been a troublesome time to the followers of Jesus in that country, till near the end it broke out into the greatest violence. As we learn from the history in the twelfth chapter of the Acts.

IV. What was Paul's age at the time of his conversion is not certain. Witsius supposeth, that [a] he was born near the end of Herod's reign, about the same time with our Saviour. It is observable, that in the epistle to Philemon, ver. 9, written about the year of the vulgar æra 62, he calls himself Paul the aged. Which, I think, must lead us to suppose, that he was then sixty years of age, or not much less.

In the account of the martyrdom of Stephen he is called a young man. Acts vii, 58. But it is well known, that among the ancients the word youth is used with latitude. Some things said of him about that time may induce us to think him arrived to years of maturity, or discretion. For he seems to have been one of the principal agents in the persecution of the believers after the death of Stephen: and to have been entrusted by the Jewish rulers in carrying it on. As he says to king Agrippa, Acts xxvi. 10. "Which thing I also did in Jerusalem. And many of the saints did I shut up in prison, having received authority from the chief priests." And it is well known, being [b] again and again related, that he had a commission from the high priest, when he went to Damascus. And it is also mentioned afterwards in the farther account of himself to Agrippa, ver. 12. "Whereupon as I went to Damascus with authority and commission from the chief priests." And there were several others with him at the same time, who may be supposed to have been officers under him. All which shows the regard that was paid to him.

[a] At in neutram vastationem incidit pueritia Pauli, quem natum esse oportet circa mortem Herodis. Quod ita confiteitur. Ipse se 'senem' fuisse docet, quando evangelii causâ vinctus Romæ detinebatur a Nerone. Philem. comm. 9. Neque tamen admodum senex eo tempore fuit, quum νεανίας dicatur in martyrio Stephani. Unde necesse est, ejusdem propemodum cum Christo ætatis fuisse. De Vitâ Pauli, sect. i. n. iii.

[b] See Acts ix. 1, 2, 14; xxii. 8.

Mr. Biscoe[a] thinks, that before his conversion Paul had been ordained elder, or rabbi, or doctor. And he supposeth, that this may enable us to account for Paul's being never excommunicated by the Jews. 'It may seem strange to some,' says he, 'that St. Paul was not excommunicated by the Jews, after he turned Christian. For St. John tells us, ch. ix. 22. "The 'Jews had agreed, that if any man did confess, that Jesus was the Christ, he should be put out 'of the synagogue. St. Paul, notwithstanding, entered boldly into their synagogues, wherever 'he came, and preached that Jesus was the Christ. He was often scourged by them, 2 Cor. xi. '24. But we no where read of his being excommunicated. The Talmud explains this to us: 'forasmuch as thence it is abundantly evident, that they were very backward to excommunicate 'the disciples of the wise, the doctors, and teachers of the law.'

Whether that be certain or not, I think it may be inferred from what was before said, that at the time of his conversion, Paul was of an age when men are able to judge of the evidence of things, and to form a reasonable determination concerning their future conduct.

V. It may be now fit for us, before we proceed any farther, to consider when Paul became an apostle.

It has generally been the opinion of learned men, that Paul was called to the apostleship at the time that he was converted, or very soon after. So says[b] Spanheim, and[c] Witsius, who follows him. So likewise say divers others, who also have carefully considered this point, particularly [d]Cave, [e]Pearson, [f]Basnage. To whom I must add my late much valued friend [g]Mr. Hallet. Who, in his discourse on ordination, had occasion to consider Acts xiii. 2, 3. as well as some other texts.

That Paul was now made an apostle, and fully instructed for preaching the gospel, is evident from the account of his conversion given by the evangelist[h] Luke, and from all the accounts, which he gives of himself in his discourses in Judea, to[i] the Jewish people, and[k] to Festus, and Agrippa, and from his epistle to the Galatians, and from the manner of his speaking of himself at the beginning of divers of his epistles.

What he says of himself to the Galatians, in particular, implies his having had a full knowledge of the gospel-revelation, and his being invested in the apostolical character, before the time of his first coming to Jerusalem, after his conversion. Gal. i. 11, 12. "But I certify you, brethren, that the gospel, which was preached of me, is not after men. For I neither received it of men, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ——ver. 15, 18. But when it pleased God, (who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by his grace) to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the heathen, immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood: neither went I up to Jerusalem, to them which were apostles before me. But I went into Arabia, and returned again unto Damascus. Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem, to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days."

Paul must have been an apostle, and qualified to preach the gospel, before he came to Jerusalem, and saw Peter: or what he says here cannot be reckoned material, and to the purpose about which he is speaking.

Undoubtedly, for some good while Paul preached to Jews only. And when he began to

[a] The History of the Acts confirmed, p. 269, 270.

[b] Id vero ante omnia in disquisitionis hujus limine supponimus, idem omnino esse tempus vocationis Paulinæ ad apostolatum, quod fuit ad Christum, annum adeo eumdem utriusque ac mensem. Spanh. ubi supra. sect. iv. p. 314.

[c] Quo tempore ad Christianismum, eodem ad Apostolatum vocatus est Paulus. Actor. ix. 15. xxiii. 15. xxvi. 17. &c. Wits. de Vit. Pauli. sect. ii. num. xxi.

[d] See before, note [d] p. 252.

[e] Tiberii 22. A. D. 36. Saülus in Arabiâ moratur, ubi per Revelationem accepit plenam a Deo notitiam evangelii, ad quod prædicandum immediate vocatus est.

——A. D. 37. Saülus ex Arabiâ redit Damascum, satis in officio per revelationem instructus. Pearson. Ann. Paulin. p. 2.

[f] His peractis, Paulus relictâ Damasco, in vicina loca aliquantisper secessit, ut ab ipso Christo αμεσως institueretur, quod et ipse tradit, Gal. i. 15—17. In eo igitur recessu non ab hominibus edoctus est, sed ab ipso Christo per revelationem didicit evangelium, et creatus est Apostolus, &c. Basnag. Ann. 37. num. lxii.

[g] 'From this view of the history of St. Paul's life after his 'conversion to Christianity, it is plain, that many years '(thought to have been ten) had passed, during which he had 'been a preacher, and an apostle, before the time mentioned 'Acts xiii. At the beginning of those ten years, just after 'his conversion, Christ made him a minister and an apostle, 'and particularly gave him a commission to preach to the 'Gentiles, when he appeared to him from heaven, and said, 'as in Acts xxvi. 16, 17, 18. When, therefore, ten years 'after this, the prophets at Antioch separated Paul for the 'work to which he was called, by prayer, and fasting, and 'imposition of hands, it is evident they did not give him any 'authority. He had received the full apostolical authority, 'and that, as the apostle of the Gentiles too, long before this, 'immediately from Christ himself.' Hallet's Notes and Discourses, Vol. ii. p. 321, 322.

[h] Acts ix. 15—22.

[i] Ch. xxii. 6—16.

[k] Ch. xxvi. 13—24.

preach to Gentiles also, he may have had some farther revelations from Christ. But it does not follow that he was not an apostle before that. Peter, and the rest, had been apostles several years, before they were required or qualified to preach to Gentiles.

Paul seldom speaks of his being an apostle, or "called to be an apostle," as he often does at the beginning of his epistles, but he seems to refer to, and intend his early call, when he was converted, and put into the ministry. Rom. i. 1. "Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, separated unto the gospel of God." 1 Cor. i. 1. "Paul, called to be an apostle of Jesus Christ, through the will of God." See also 2 Cor. i. 1. but especially Gal. i. 1. "Paul, an apostle, not of men, neither by men, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised him from the dead." See likewise 1 Tim. i. 12. ch. ii. 7. 2. Tim. i. 11.

One requisite qualification of an apostle appears to have been, that he should see Christ in person, and that after his resurrection. This was manifestly one privilege of the first twelve apostles, and of Matthias, chosen in the room of Judas, Acts i. 21, 22. Accordingly, we find, that Paul also, claiming the character of an apostle, speaks of his having seen Christ, and as of a well known, and uncontested thing. 1 Cor. ix. 1. "Have I not seen Jesus Christ, our Lord?" And largely in the 15th chapter of the same epistle, rehearsing divers appearances of our Lord, after his resurrection, to the apostles, and others, he says, ver. 8. 9. "And last of all he was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time. For I am the least of the apostles, who am not worthy to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the church of God."

It is plain, then, that Paul had seen Christ, and after he was risen from the dead, as the other apostles had done. But where did he see him? It is generally[a] said, and I think rightly, in the way to Damascus. Then, as seems to me, Christ personally appeared to him, It is evident from St. Luke's account of Paul's conversion, Acts ix. 3...6. "And as he journeyed, he came near to Damascus, and suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven. And he fell to the earth, and heard a voice, saying unto him: Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? And he said: Who art thou, Lord? And the Lord said: I am Jesus, whom thou persecutest.——And he trembling, and astonished, said: Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? And the Lord said unto him: Arise, and go into the city. And it shall be told the, what thou must do." When Ananias by special order, entered into the house where Paul was, and put his hands upon him, he said: ver. 17. "Brother Saul, the Lord, even Jesus, who appeared to thee in the way, as thou camest, ο οφθεις σοι εν τη οδω hath sent me." Compare ch. xxii. 14. And ch. ix. 27. "Barnabas brought him to the apostles, and declared unto them how he had seen the Lord in the way, and that he had spoken unto him." Paul likewise in his own accounts of his conversion uses words expressive of a personal appearance to him. So Acts xxii. 6—8. in his speech to the people of Jerusalem, where truth and exactness were very requisite. "And it came to pass, that as I made my journey, and was come nigh unto Damascus, about noon, suddenly, there shone from heaven a light round about me. And I fell to the ground, and heard a voice saying unto me: Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me. And I answered, Who art thou, Lord? And he said unto me: I am Jesus of Nazareth, whom thou persecutest." So likewise Acts xxvi. 12—19. very strong and expressive, indeed. To which the reader is referred.

If Paul did not see Jesus in person at the time of his conversion, when did he so see him? Some may say at the time mentioned Acts xxii. 17—21.——"And it came to pass, that when I was come again to Jerusalem, even when I prayed in the temple, I was in a trance, and saw

[a] Vide Wits. de Vitâ Pauli. sect. ii. num. v. vi. vii. et Basnagius ann. 37. num. lviii.

Qu. 2. Qualis erat hæc apparitio? Resp. Indubie corporalis; quia se, ut cæteros, testem oculatum adducit. Qu. 3. Quando, et ubi Christum vidit? Resp. Dum iret Damascum. Act. ix. Obj. At Paulus tunc excæcatus erat. Resp. Prius tamen Dominum vidit, cujus maximâ claritate perstricti sunt ejus oculi, ut fit solem intuentibus. Poli Synops. ad 1 Cor. xv. 8.

Jam quod ad hanc apparitionem Dominicam Paulo factam attinet, quæ sine dubio post ascensionem Domini contigit, illud etiam indubitate tenendum est, talem fuisse quâ Christus semet ipsum corporaliter atque oculis corporeis videndum Paulo ostenderet: ad quem modum et aliis omnibus supra memoratis visus est. Nam nisi talis visio fuisset etiam hæc, de quâ nunc Paulus loquitur, quomodo se perinde ut cæteros testem adduceret oculatum ad probandam veritatem resurrectionis Christi?——Nam Paulum illo tempore suæ conversionis, quum iret Damascum, non tantum audivisse Dominum loquentem, sed etiam vidisse, ex subsequenti narratione clarum est. Dicit enim ad eum Ananias ix. 17. "Dominus misit me, Jesus qui apparuit," Græce οφθεις, qui visus est, "tibi in viâ." Et cap. xxii. 14, "Deus præordinavit te, ut videres justum, et audires vocem ex ore ejus." Rursum cap. ix. 27, Barnabas de eo narrat Apostolis, quomodo in viâ vidisset Dominum, et quia locutus est ei. Sed et Dominus ad Saülum prostratum, ipso referente, cap. xxvi. 16, "Ad hoc enim apparui, ωφθην, visus sum tibi, ut constituam te ministrum et testem eorum, quæ vidisti." Et quæ sequuntur. Est. in 1 Cor. xv. 8.

him saying unto me: Make haste, and get thee quickly out of Jerusalem: for they will not receive thy testimony concerning me."

Some think that [a] Paul had this trance when he first came to Jerusalem, at the end of three years after his conversion. Others rather think that [b] it happened when he and Barnabas came to Jerusalem from Antioch, with the contributions of the Christians there for the support of the believers in Judea, in the time of the dearth in the reign of Claudius, and in the year of Christ 44. Of which an account is given Acts xi. 27—30. ch. xii. 25. Others [c] hesitate.

But I cannot persuade myself, that this is what Paul intended, when he said to the Corinthians: "am I not an apostle?——Have I not seen Jesus Christ, our Lord?" nor when he says afterwards in the same epistle: "And last of all he was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time." For [d] there, as I apprehend, he must mean seeing Jesus Christ in person, waking, and with eyes open. Which is quite different from what happens in a dream, vision, trance, ecstasy.

The [e] same answer will suffice for the season of his being "taken up into paradise, and into the third heaven." For such things are visionary. Nor did Paul himself certainly know, whether it was "in the body, or out of the body," 2 Cor. xii. 1—3. that is, whether he was then personally transported into paradise, or whether the representation was made in his mind without any local removal. And the things, which he then saw and heard, were not to be revealed. He seldom speaks of such matters. When he does it is not without an apology. For, as it seems, they were, chiefly, for his own encouragement under the many and great difficulties which he met with. This rapture into the third heaven and paradise had been concealed by him above fourteen years, and not mentioned at all, till now in this his second epistle to the Corinthians: as has been observed both by [f] ancients, and [g] moderns. But the seeing Christ, for qualifying him to be an apostle, had been often and openly mentioned by him.

But it may be objected, that long after his conversion Paul is numbered among prophets. Acts xiii. 1. "Now there were in the church that was at Antioch certain prophets and teachers; as Barnabas, and Simeon that was called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen ——and Saul."

To which I answer, 1. If Paul should be allowed to be here ranked among prophets, it will not follow that he was not more than a prophet, even an apostle. St. Peter styles himself an elder, though, undoubtedly, he was also an apostle. 1 Pet. v. 1. Mr. Le Clerc has a fine observation relating to this matter in his Ecclesiastical History: that [h] though Paul is mentioned last, he was superior to the rest in point of gifts. But, says he, the first Christians were not solicitous about titles and pre-eminence.

[a] Ver. 17. 'Retourné à Jérusalem.] Non pas d'abord. Voyez. Gal. i. 17. mais après son voyage en Arabie et son séjour à Damas. Ibid. ver. 18. Lenfant, sur Actes. xxii. 17. See likewise Dr. Doddridge upon the same place, in his Family Expositor, Vol. III. p. 355. sect. L.

[b] Et tum, opinor, Saülus raptus est in tertium cœlum, post quod tempus anno xiv. scripsit secundam ad Corinthios epistolam. cap. xii. 2, Pearson. Ann. Paulin. A. D. 44. p. 6.

[c] Witsius, De Vitâ Pauli. sect. 3. num. xi. is in doubt, at which of those times Paul had this trance or vision.

[d] Saülo Damascum proficiscenti Jesum factum conspicuum, nulli dubitamus.——Nobis aperte favent Ananiæ verba, Act. ix. 17. Illud ipsum testatur Barnabas eo capite, ver. 27: sed et ipse Paulus talia voce refert, Act. xxii. 24.——Comparatum ita erat, ut nemo apostolatûs officio fungi posset, qûi corporeis Christum oculis non aspexisset. Itaque in eâ collatâ sibi gratiâ exultat Paulus, atque triumphat. 'Nonne Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum vidi?' Quandonam porro vidit, si non vidit, dum Damascum proficisceretur? Non sane in eâ visione, cujus meminit, Act. xxii. 17—21. Fuit enim exstasis, quæ non sufficiebat apostolatui. Neque ad raptum ad tertium usque cœlum referri potest ea manifestatio, quæ Apostolo necessaria; sive quia dubitat Paulus, utrum corpore fuerit, an spiritu; sive etiam quia multos ante annos munus obiit Apostoli, quam mirandus ipsi raptus contigerit. &c. Basnag. A. D. 37. n. lvii. vid. et n. lviii.

[e] Quod vero multi præter visionem, quæ in viâ Damascenâ contigit, etiam mentionem huc ingerunt illius visionis, quam Paulus sibi Hierosolymam reverso, et in templo oranti, narrat oblatam fuisse, Act. xxii. 17, tamquam illud respiciat hoc loco; satis illud refellitur, ex eo quod, ipso Paulo teste, exstatica fuerit illa visio; sive, ut Interpres noster vertit, 'in stupore mentis' facta. Jam autem ostendimus visionem corporalem hic intelligi debere. Sed neque ad raptum in tertium cœlum, atque in paradisum, de quo scribit, 2 Cor. xii. ——referenda est hæc visio.——Non tamen ibi scribit, se Dominum vidisse. Et, ut vidisset, nescire tamen se dicit, utrum in corpore an extra corpus ipsi raptus ille et visio contigerit: et, ut in corpore contigerit, quod est probabilius, exstaticam tamen fuisse, mente videlicet a sensibus corporeis abstractâ, convenit inter Theologos. Nec, si per sensum oculorum facta fuisset ea visio, Paulus id nescire potuisset. Hic vero certum perhibet testimonium, se corporaliter, ut alios Apostolos, Christum vidisse. Estius ad 1 Cor. xv. 8.

[f] Δια τετο και τον χρονον εἰηκε των δεκατεσσαρων ετων· εὐδε γαρ απλως αυτε μεμνηται, αλλα δεικνυς, ὁτι εκ αν ὁ τοσετον καρτερησας χρονον, νυν αν εξειπεν, ει μη πολλη ην αναγκη. Chrysost. in 2 Cor. hom. 26. T. X. p. 681. D.

[g] See Dr. Doddridge's Family Expositor, Vol. IV. p. 522.

[h] Cæterum, si ex Spiritûs Sancti donis, sublimibusque revelationibus, Prophetarum, Doctorumque, qui memorantur, ordo conceptus esset, sine dubio, primum omnium Saülum collocari oportuisset. Sed iis temporibus nondum de primâ sede, dignitateque contentiones erant inter Christianos; et qui meritis in rem Christianam omnium erant primi, ii se, ex Domini præcepto, quasi minimos gerebant, nec ultimos appellari refugiebant. Cleric. H. E. A. D. 45. num. i.

2. It is not clear, that Paul is here reckoned among prophets. He seems rather to be distinguished from them. For, very probably, it is not without some reason that Paul is not put first, nor next to Barnabas, but last of all. The meaning appears to be this. 'Now there were in 'the church at Antioch certain prophets and teachers, as Barnabas, and Simeon, and Lucius, 'and Manaen, and also Saul, whose character and station in the church is well known from the 'preceding history of him in this book.' Whereby indeed he evidently appears to be an apostle.

3. I add one thing more, that I may fully clear up this point. The designation, mentioned ch. xiii. 2, 3, could not be to the apostleship. For "Paul was not an apostle of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father," Gal. i. 1. Moreover, it is here expressly said, that this ordination, or appointment, at Antioch, was to a particular work or service. "As they ministred to the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Ghost said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work, whereunto I have called them. And when they had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away." And it might be said, that [a] here is no consecration to an office, but rather a benediction for the particular work upon which they were now sent.

As Mr. Hallett says, in the place before quoted, 'They [b] were not now separated for the work 'of the ministry in general, but were separated from the other teachers at Antioch, to go abroad 'and propagate the gospel in other countries. When they went out upon this important work, 'nothing could be more agreeable, than for the church at Antioch to pray God to give Barnabas 'and Paul good success: which accordingly they did. They now "recommended them to the 'grace," or favour "of God," as St. Luke says concerning this solemn transaction, ch. xiv. 26. 'And after this again, when Paul was sent abroad another time to preach the gospel where he 'had preached it before, he was in the same manner recommended to the grace of God, as it is 'written ch. xv. 40. "Paul chose Silas, and departed, being recommended by the brethren to 'the grace," or favour "of God." Since therefore both times, when Paul went out from 'Antioch, to preach the gospel to the same people, the evangelist says, in the same words, that 'he was "recommended to the grace of God;" we cannot suppose that he was any more first 'made an apostle of the Gentiles at the former, than at the latter time of his being recommended.'

Upon the whole, it appears to me highly probable, from all the accounts which we have of Paul's wonderful conversion, in Acts ix. xxii. and xxvi. that he received his apostolical commission from the mouth of Christ in person, when he called to him from heaven, and spoke to him in the way to Damascus. And especially does this appear from Acts xxvi. 15—20, where Paul expressly relates his commission, and the time of it, and declares, as seems to me, that all which had been hitherto done by him, in preaching the gospel to the very time when he was imprisoned, had been done in virtue of that commission. "And he said, I am Jesus, whom thou persecutest. But arise, and stand upon thy feet: for I have appeared to thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister, and a witness, both of those things which thou hast seen, and of those things in which I will appear unto thee: delivering thee from the people, and from the Gentiles, unto whom I now send thee, εις ους νυν σε αποστελλω, to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light.——Whereupon, O king Agrippa, I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision: but showed first unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coasts of Judea, and then to the Gentiles; that they should repent and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance."

This also exactly suits the manner, in which the other apostles were appointed. They were apostles from the time that Jesus Christ called them to attend upon him. See Matt. iv. 18—22. Luke vi. 13. And he often discoursed to them concerning their commission in its full extent, and the difficulties they would meet with in the discharge of it: giving them also various directions, relating to their conduct, when they should come abroad in the world. See Matt. x. throughout, and xvi. 18, 19, and many like places, in the other gospels. And before he left them, he expressly said: "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations," Matt. xxviii. 19. But they did not at first understand the full extent of their commission, nor presently execute it. At the first they preached to Jews only. And it was several years after Christ's ascension before they preached to Gentiles. So Paul was from the beginning called, and appointed to be an apostle:

[a] Porro, vere ut dicamus, nil ordinationis est in Antiochensium Prophetarum χειροθεσια.——Eam ergo Paulus Barnabasque manuum susceperunt impositionem, quæ benedictionis est, non consecrationis. S. Basnag. Ann. 45. num. iii.

[b] Vol. ii. p. 323.

and by degrees he was qualified for it as his commission opened. And in time he was called out by Divine Providence to the full execution of it. But all along he was an apostle, and acted, and taught as such: first preaching to Jews at Damascus, and Jerusalem, and Judea, and other parts, and then to Gentiles. So he plainly says to Agrippa in the place recited just now.

VI. Having thus settled the time of Paul's conversion and apostleship according to the best of my ability, I now intend to give an account of his travels in the service of the gospel. This I do for the sake of showing the date of his writings. And it would be shorter, and more agreeable on divers accounts, to take in his epistles as we go along. But there being debates about the time of several of them, I think it will be preferable to write his history, without interruption, as briefly as we can, and then observe the order of his epistles.

Paul, having been baptized by Ananias at Damascus, stayed a short time with the disciples there, and then went into Arabia: where, it is very likely, he might meet with some believers. For Arabians are expressly mentioned Acts ii. 11, among the Jews and proselytes, who heard the apostle Peter's first sermon at Jerusalem after the descent of the Holy Ghost. At which time many were converted to a faith in Jesus Christ. Acts ii. 41.

Whilst Paul was in Arabia, it is reasonable to think, that he was fully instructed, by special [a] revelation, in the doctrine preached by Jesus Christ, when here on earth, and all the things said and done by him, and his sufferings, crucifixion, resurrection and ascension, the fulfilment of the ancient prophecies in Jesus, the Christ, the son of David, and the son of Abraham, and received also the Holy Ghost, in a measure equal to that of other apostles. Whereby he was qualified to preach the gospel, and to testify the resurrection of Jesus, and to prove him to be the Christ, without receiving either instruction or gifts from other apostles.

Having been some time in Arabia, he returned to Damascus. "And straightway he preached in the synagogues, that Jesus is the Christ," or "the Son of God." This he did with such strength and cogency of argument, as to "confound the Jews, which dwelt at Damascus." They being greatly provoked, and forming a design upon his life, the disciples found means to provide for his escape. Whereupon he went to Jerusalem, Acts ix. 20—25.

Some think that Paul preached at Damascus soon after he had been baptized by Ananias, and that he also preached in Arabia, and that [b] he had preached three years, before he came to Jerusalem after his conversion. Pearson [c] supposeth that Paul, whilst in Arabia, received by revelation, a full knowledge of the gospel. And says, that when he returned from Arabia to Damascus, he preached there. But I do not perceive him to say, that Paul preached in Arabia, or at Damascus, presently after his conversion.

To me it seems, that Paul did not preach at Damascus presently after he had been baptized, but first went into Arabia, and then returned to Damascus. And being now qualified by divine revelation, and by diligent reading the scriptures of the Old Testament, during his recess in Arabia, and being fully determined, after a competent time of humiliation for past conduct, and serious meditation, in which he had well weighed the difficulties of the work he was entering upon, he began to preach Christ in the synagogues of Damascus. I am confirmed in this opinion by the interpretation of an author, whose words I place [d] below. Nor does St. Paul, that I remember, any where say, that he preached in Arabia. He makes a large, and, seemingly, very particular enumeration of places and people, to whom he had preached, in his discourse before Agrippa, without taking any notice of Arabia. Acts xxvi. 20. "I showed first unto them of

[a] Concerning the manner of the revelations now vouchsafed to Paul, may be seen Lightfoot in his Comm. upon Acts ix. 1, in the first volume of his works, p. 791.

[b] Il veut montrer, qu'il avoit prêché l'évangile trois ans avant que d'avoir vu aucun Apôtre, &c. Beaus. sur Galat. i. 18.

[c] Saülus in Arabiâ moratur, ubi per revelationem accepit plenam a Deo notitiam evangelii, ad quod prædicandum immediate vocatus est.

Saülus ex Arabiâ redit Damascum, satis in officio per revelationem instructus. Annal. Paulin. A. D. 36, 37, p. 2.

[d] 'St. Paul, being restored to his sight by Ananias, stayed 'not long at Damascus, but retired forthwith into Arabia, as 'he himself tells us, Gal. i. 16, 17. Whereas it is said, Acts 'ix. 19, 20, "And when he had received meat, he was 'strengthened. Then was Saul certain days with the disciples 'at Damascus, and straightway he preached Christ in the 'synagogues." Here the word, "straightway," does not 'relate to Saul's first coming to Damascus, but to his return 'thither, after he had been in Arabia. For Acts ix. 19, 20, 'are to be rendered and paraphrased thus: "And, when he 'had received meat, he was strengthened." Presently after 'which, according to Gal. i. 16, he went into Arabia, and, 'having been there instructed in the gospel by the revelation 'of Jesus Christ, according to Gal. i. 12, he returned again 'to Damascus. "Then," or "now, was Paul certain days 'with the disciples at Damascus, and straightway," namely, 'after his return out of Arabia, "he preached Christ in the 'synagogues."' Dr. Edw. Wells's Historical Geography of the N. T. Part. II. p. 20, 21.

Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coasts of Judea, and then to the Gentiles, that they would repent, and turn to God."

Jerom observing, that St. Luke had said nothing of Paul's being in Arabia, is inclined to think that[a] he did not discharge any part of his apostolical office in that country. But if Paul was silent there, he thinks it was not owing to the apostle's backwardness to speak, but the divine wisdom appointed that it should be so.

Theophylact observes, that[b] the design of the Jews at Damascus to destroy Paul was formed presently after his conversion to the faith, but after his return thither from Arabia, the end of three years, just before his going to Jerusalem.

Indeed, it is very likely, that if Paul had preached at Damascus, soon after his first arrival there, he would have met with a most violent onset. And as nothing of that kind is particularly taken notice of, it may be concluded, that he did not then publicly preach in any synagogue: nor was it fit, or becoming, that he should. It was highly proper, that some time should be allotted for retirement, after such a course, as he had been in, before he began to preach and teach publicly in the name of Jesus.

Though St. Luke has not mentioned the journey into Arabia, nor the time of Paul's absence from Damascus, he knew it very well, and has hinted it, saying, "And after many days were fulfilled, the Jews took counsel to slay him," Acts ix. 23.

Mr. Beausobre says,[c] that Paul's journey into Arabia should be placed between ver. 22 and 23, of the ninth chapter of the Acts. I should rather place it between ver. 19 and 20, of that chapter.

This period of three years, or three years and somewhat more, from Paul's conversion to his coming to Jerusalem, reaches, according to our computation, from near the end of the year 36, to near the end of 39, or the beginning of the year 40, or from the beginning of the year 37, to the former part of the year 40.

I cannot allow myself to speak positively, where there is not the evidence of certainty. I do not know in what month Paul was converted, or came to Jerusalem. Of such things as these it is sufficient to say, that they happened in such a year, or thereabout.

VII. Paul having been full three years at Damascus, and in its neighbourhood, and in Arabia, he came to Jerusalem. Gal. i. 18. "And when he was come thither, he assayed to join himself to the disciples: but they were all afraid of him, and believed not that he was a disciple." Acts ix. 26.

This may seem strange to some. But now we discern the reason of it from the account that has been lately given of the continuance of the persecution in Judea, after the death of Stephen, and also of Paul's retired way of life, for some while, in Arabia. Paul had but lately begun to preach openly in the name of Jesus, in the synagogues of Damascus. And the believers in Judea being much harassed by the persecution which they met with at home, had not received any intelligence about what had passed at Damascus, and in the way thither. Nor were the Jewish rulers forward to publish the loss of so active a servant as Paul had been.

Acts ix. 27—30. "But Barnabas took him, and brought him to the apostles, and declared unto them, how he had seen the Lord in the way, and how he had preached boldly at Damascus."

There have been different conjectures concerning the reasons, why Barnabas, in particular,

[a] Lucam vero idcirco de Arabiâ præterisse, quia forsitan nihil dignum apostolatu in Arabiâ perpetrârat: et ea potius compendiosa narratione dixisse, quæ digna Christi evangelio videbantur. Nec hoc segnitiæ Apostoli deputandum, si frustra in Arabiâ fuerit; sed quod aliqua dispensatio et Dei præceptum fuerit, ut taceret. Hieron. in Gal. i. 17. T. IV. P. I. p. 235.

[b] ——ἐτι ἡ ἐπιβελη εν Δαμασκω ην ευθεως μετα το πιστευσαι γεγονεν· αλλα μετα το απελθειν αυτον απο Αραβιας μετα ετη τρια. Και ουτως γεγονεν ἡ προς τα Ἱεροσολυμα ἀνοδος. Theoph. in Act. Ap. p. 94.

[c] Comment. sur Gal. i. 17.

[d] Says Lightfoot in his Commentary upon Acts ix. 26. Vol. I. p. 814. 'Some cannot conceive how it should be 'possible, that he should have been a convert three years, 'and yet his conversion and present qualities should be un- 'known to the church at Jerusalem. But these two or three 'considerations may help the scruple. 1. The distance 'between Damascus and Jerusalem. 2. The persecution that 'continued still upon the church of Judea, which would keep 'the disciples of Damascus from going thither. And, 3. The 'just fear that might possess the disciples at Jerusalem, in the 'very time of persecution. For though it was said before, 'that the church of Jerusalem, and of Judea, enjoyed a great 'deal of rest and tranquillity after the conversion of Paul, 'their great persecutor, in comparison of what they had done 'before, yet was not the persecution of the church utterly 'extinct to the very time of Paul's coming up to Jerusalem, 'but continued still. And therefore it is the less wonder, if 'the disciples there be the more fearful and cautelous.'

brought Paul to the apostles. Some have imagined that [a] he and Barnabas had studied together under Gamaliel: or [b] at least, that they had been acquainted formerly. But I see no ground for such a supposition in the history. If that had been the case, there would have been some intimation of it; which there is not. I therefore rather think, that it was entirely owing to the circumstances of things. When Paul came to Jerusalem, it was a time of persecution, as before observed, and the apostles lived privately. Paul endeavoured to join himself to the disciples, and be acquainted with them: but they were all shy of him. And possibly they were desirous that he should be approved by some of the apostles, before they took notice of him. However, he met with Barnabas, and gave him an account of his conversion, and of every thing that had happened to him, since he went from Jerusalem. And Barnabas gave credit to his account. Nor is it impossible, but that some believers might come from Damascus, and confirm the truth of it. Whereupon Barnabas was willing to introduce him to the apostles. Unquestionably, they placed full confidence in Barnabas, and he might know where they were. However, it is evident he had access to James. To him he brought Paul: and James brought him to Peter: so Paul had communion with all the apostles. After which he was readily received by the disciples, or believers in general. "And he was with them, coming in and going out of Jerusalem. And he spake boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus, and disputed with the Grecians," or Greeks: meaning proselytes to the Jewish religion, in whom we see the true spirit of the Jewish proselytes about this time, as declared by our Saviour himself, Matt. xxiii. 15. "But they went about to slay him. Which when the brethren knew, they brought him down to Cæsarea, and sent him forth to Tarsus."

By Cæsarea I should be apt to understand "Cæsarea by the sea side," mentioned before, ch. viii. 40. But some learned men, particularly [c] Witsius, and [d] Dr. Doddridge, hereby suppose to be intended Cæsarea Philippi. If we could be assured of that interpretation, perhaps it might lead us to the meaning of that expression of Paul in his speech to Agrippa, cited not long ago: "throughout all the coasts of Judea." And indeed it may be reckoned probable, that therein Paul refers to what was now done by him. For we cannot think of any more likely season for it, considering how short a stay he generally made in Judea, whenever he came thither after his conversion. It is very probable, that as he travelled with the disciples, who accompanied him, he was not silent. Though he made no long stay in any one place, he would embrace every opportunity that offered, to speak of the doctrine, which now lay with so much weight on his mind.

"The brethren," as St. Luke says, "brought him down to Cæsarea, and sent him forth to Tarsus." And St. Paul himself says, Gal. i. 21, "Afterwards I came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia." Tarsus was now the chief city of Cilicia, and Paul's native place: where he had not been since he first came up to Jerusalem, to study the law under Gamaliel. Possibly, Paul now found some of his relations, and likewise some others, who were disciples of Jesus before him. See Rom. xvi. 7. 11. Possibly also, while he travelled now in these countries of Cilicia and Syria, he met with some of those dangers and difficulties, which are entirely omitted by St. Luke, but are mentioned, or hinted by the apostle in his epistles, especially the eleventh chapter of the second epistle to the Corinthians.

In those countries Paul was the remainder of the year 40, and all 41, and likewise all 42, or the greatest part of it, till about the beginning of the year 43, preaching, undoubtedly, in the name of Jesus to native Jews, and to proselytes of the Jewish religion.

Afterwards he went to Antioch, and began to preach to Gentiles, as we shall see presently.

The churches having peace, and being no longer disturbed by a violent persecution, Peter visited the disciples in the several parts of Judea, Acts ix. 32—43. Before he returned to Jerusalem, whilst he was in the city of Joppa, "where he tarried many days," he received an order from heaven to go to Cæsarea. And in ch. x. and xi. 1—18, St. Luke gives a distinct

[a] On prétend, qu'il avoit étudié avec Saül sous Gamaliel. Lenfant. sur Actes, ix. 27. See also Pool's English Annotations upon the place.

[b] Forte Barnabas Saulum ante conversionem noverat, credebatque ei ut minime mendaci. Grot. ad loc.

[c] ——Hierosolymam reliquit, et a fratribus Cæsaream deductus est, non maritimam illam, quæ et Turris Stratonis dicta, de quâ supra cap. viii. 40, sed Cæsaream Philippi, quæ sita erat circa montem Libanum, ad confluentem Jor et Dan, unde Jordanes originem ducit, quæ olim Lachis, deinde Dan appellata fuit, de quâ Jud. xviii. Cujus pomœria quum Rex Agrippa protulisset, mutato nomine in honorem Neronis vocavit Neroniada. Joseph. Antiq. 20. viii. Wits. de Vita Pauli sect. 3. n. ii.

[d] See the Family Expositor, Vol. III. p. 146. upon Acts ix. 30.

account of St. Peter's going to the house of Cornelius at Cæsarea, and there preaching to Gentiles and of the defence which he made of his conduct to the apostles and brethren at Jerusalem, and their acquiescence therein, upon which I do not now enlarge.

Afterwards, at ver. 19, 20, St. Luke says, "Now they which were scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen, travelled as far as Phenice, and Cyprus, and Antioch, preaching the word to Jews only. And some of them were men of Cyprus and Cyrene: who when they were come to Antioch, spake unto the Grecians, preaching the Lord Jesus."

These men had preached the gospel to Jews, and the proselytes to Judaism, in Phenice, and Cyprus, and Antioch. But some time after their arrival at Antioch, hearing of Peter's having opened the door of the kingdom of heaven to Gentiles at the house of Cornelius, they began to preach also to the Greeks at Antioch, that is, the[a] people of the country: who might, possibly, some few of them, be pious men like Cornelius, who even before his conversion was a worshipper of the true God, the God of Israel: but the greatest part of them must have been heathen idolaters, as all the people of the earth, except the Jews, generally were, till the coming of Christ, and the preaching of his gospel[b] among them.

Ver. 21. "And the hand of the Lord was with them." God graciously accompanied their ministry with miraculous works which he enabled them to perform in the name of Jesus. Whereby they who saw them were awakened and convinced. And those evangelists likewise were greatly encouraged, being thereby fully satisfied, that what they did was approved by God himself. "And a great number believed and turned unto the Lord."

Ver. 22—26. Then tidings of these things came unto the ears of the church, which was at Jerusalem: and they sent forth Barnabas, that he should go as far as Antioch. Who when he came, and had seen the grace of God, was glad, and exhorted them all, that with purpose of heart, they should cleave unto the Lord. "Then departed Barnabas to Tarsus, for to seek Saul. And when he had found him he brought him unto Antioch."

VIII. If Peter preached to Cornelius, in the year 41, and about the middle of that year, as is probable, it would be near the end of the year 42, or the beginning of the year 43, when Paul was brought by Barnabas to Antioch.

During this time of Paul's being at Antioch, in the year of Christ 43, he might have the rapture, mentioned by him 2 Cor. xii. It seems to me to have happened soon after he came to Antioch, when he first began to preach to Gentiles, who hitherto had preached to Jews only.

Ver. 26. "And it came to pass, that a whole year they assembled themselves with the church and taught much people; and the disciples were called Christians first at Antioch."

This whole year, I think, must be part of the years 43 and 44, according to the vulgar computation. It may have reached some way into the year 44. Indeed, I apprehend, the whole year, mentioned by Luke, to have expired not long before the time that Paul and Barnabas went up to Jerusalem, with the contributions made at Antioch, for the relief of the believers in Judea in the approaching famine. For that is what St. Luke immediately proceeds to relate in ver. 27. —30. that is, to the end of the chapter. And in this year, 44, I suppose the believers in Jesus to have obtained this denomination.

"And the disciples were called Christians." Which[c] some think to have been done by a divine admonition. And they translate after this manner: "And[d] the disciples were by divine appointment first named Christians at Antioch."

Witsius[e] does not discern any particular emphasis in the word, and readily admits the inter-

[a] —— 'that is, the people of the country.' Acts xix. 10. —— 'so that all they which dwelt in Asia, heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks.' And ver. 17. 'And this was known to all the Jews and Greeks also dwelling at Ephesus.' It is common with all authors about that time, to call the people, who inhabited the cities of Asia, and Syria, Greeks. Οἱ δὲ μετ αυτου —— παντα τοις επ' Αντιοχειας Ιουδαιοις απεδοσαν, —— και συνεχωρησαν αυτοις εξ ισθ της πολεως τοις Ελλησι μετεχειν. Jos. de B. J. l. 7. cap. 3. n. 3. p. 1299. Hudson. Iter igitur ita per Asiam feci. . . . Nullo judicio, nullâ contumeliâ, auctoritate et cohortatione perfeci, ut et Græci, et cives Romani, qui frumentum compresserant, magnum numerum populis pollicerentur. Cic. ad Att. l. 5. ep. 21. et passim.

[b] Ut ut sit, Gentiles hic intelligi, res ipsa clamat. Atque hoc primum exemplum est evangelii publice Gentibus prædicati. Nam alterum illud Cornelii non nisi domesticum fuit. Quum vero Dei favorem in sancto hoc opere insigniter experirentur fideles illi Cyprii ac Cyrenenses, multusque Græcorum numerus, fide ipsis habitâ, converteretur ad Christum, non potuit tantæ rei fama Hierosolymitanæ ecclesiæ proceres diu latere. Wits. de Vita Paul. sect. 3. n. iii.

[c] See Dr. Benson's History of the first planting the Christian religion, Vol. i. ch. 1. sect. vi. p. 241. first ed. p. 248. second ed.

[d] That is Dr. Doddridge's translation. Family Expositor, Vol. iii. p. 178.

[e] Quod nomen Latinâ non Græcâ forma a Christo de-

pretation of Grotius, that the Greek word, according to its usual meaning in the best Greek writers, and in the New Testament itself, signifies named, or called. And he inclines to the conjectures of Abp. Usher, that this appellation was given to the believers by the Romans, then at Antioch.

Suicer in his Thesaurus explains[a] the original word, and understands this text, exactly as Grotius did.

Dr. Heumann has[b] a Dissertation concerning the origin of the name of Christians. Wherein[c] he largely shows it to be very probable, that this name had not its rise from the Jews. Nor did the disciples of Jesus take it to themselves. But probably, they were first so called by heathens, particularly the Romans: as Abp. Usher had argued, the name not having a Greek, but a Latin termination.

This will overthrow the observation of Chrysostom, formerly[d] mentioned, 'That St. Paul 'gave us this name.' And indeed Dr. Heumann shows, that both [e] St. Luke, and [f] St. Paul seem to have declined the use of it: possibly, lest our Saviour should have been esteemed an ordinary leader of a sect, like the philosophers at that time much celebrated among the Greeks and Romans.

However, it was not long, before it obtained, and was very acceptable to the followers of Jesus. It is used by St. Peter 1. iv. 16. And some[g] have thought it to be the "worthy name," intended by St. James, ch. ii. 7. And it is certain, that afterwards it was much, and justly valued by those, who bore it. In the epistle of the churches of Vienne and Lyons, given an account of their late sufferings, it is styled[h] an honourable, and glorious, and reviving appellation.

flexum, a Romanis Antiochiæ degentibus impositum illis fuisse, conjectat in Annalibus suis Usserius. Nec desunt, qui emphasin quærant in voce χρηματισαι, quâ Lucas utitur. Scilicet talem volunt nominationem eo vocabulo designari, quæ publico edicto, et jussu Reipublicæ fit.——Non invideo sane observationes istas doctissimis auctoribus suis, modo mihi debitare liceat, an tam solidæ quam subtiles sint. Simplicior videtur annotatio Grotii: χρηματιζειν, pro nominari, est vox melioris Græcitatis, quam et Polybius non semel usurpat, et Paulus, Rom. vii. 3. ρρα ουν ζωντος τ ανδρος μοιχαλις χρηματισει. Ubi hæc jactata vocis emphasis? Wits. ubi supr. sect. 3. num. iv.

[a] χρηματιζω significat nominor, vocor, appellor. Ita sumitur Acts xi. 26.——'Factum est autem, ut primum Antiochiæ discipuli nominarentur vel appellarentur Christiani.' Χρηματισαι hic est ονομασθηναι, προσαγορευθηναι, λεχθηναι, κληθηναι. Suicer.

[b] De ortu nominis Christianorum. Diss. xii ap. Primit. Gotting. p. 130—147.

[c] Satis nunc cognovimus, Christianorum appellationis auctores fuisse non ipsos Christi cultores, sed Ethnicos.—— Illud præterea hinc discimus, Latinum potius esse nomen Christianorum, quam Græcum. Ac proinde facile subscribimus sententiæ Usserii, in Annalibus suis pronuntiantis: 'Nomen Christianorum Latinâ non Græcâ formâ a Christo deflexum, a Romanis Antiochiæ tum agentibus impositum illis fuisse videtur.' Nec Rex Agrippa, Act. xxvi. 28, appellatione Christianorum utens, cum esset in domo Festi, Romani præsidis, alio credi potest nomine usus esse, quam quod usurpabant Romani. Ac certe in universâ Laërtii Historiâ Philosophorum Græcorum, ne una quidem secta occurrit, cujus nomen terminationem anus nactum sit; neque e. g. Platoniani dicuntur Platonis asseclæ, uti Ciceronianos dixissent Latini et Catonianos, sed Platonici.——Illud adjicio, etiam Herodianis hoc nomen imposuisse non Græcos aut Judæos, sed Romanos. Heum. ib. num. ix. p. 140.

[d] See Vol. ii. p. 612.

[e] Nec vero solum non probari potest, primum usos esse Christianorum appellatione Christi discipulos; verum etiam gravibus id negari potest argumentis.——Primum enim Lucam sequentibus in capitibus hujus sui libri uti oportuisset hac appellatione, si Christiani Antiocheni hoc nomen ipsi sibi imposuissent. Jam vero id ne semel quidem ab eo factum est; sed, uti antea Christianæ religionis professores modo μαθητας vocavit, cap. i. 15. vi. 1, 2, 7. ix. 1, 10, 19, 25, 26, 36 modo αδελφους. ix. 30. x. 23. xi. 1, 12, semel etiam τ̃ς πιστευσαντας. iv. 32, ac semel τ̃ς ἁγιας. ix. 32, sic post mentionem de ortu nominis Christianorum eos semel appellavit τ̃ς πεπιστευκοτας. xxi. 25; cæteris in locis aut μαθητας. xi. 29. xiii. 52. xiv. 20, 28. xvi. 1. xviii. 23. 27. xix. 1, 9. xx. 1, 7, 30. xxi. 4, 16. aut αδελφ̃ς xi. 29. xii. 17. xv. 1, 3, 22, 23, 32, 33, 40. xvi. 2, 40. xvii. 6, 10, 14. xviii. 18. xxi. 7, 17. xxviii. 14, 15. Ubi supr. num. vi. p. 137.

[f] Deinde, si eo tempore, quo Paulus Antiochiæ docuit, Christi discipuli hoc nomen sua sponte adscivissent, dubitari non potest, quin is Apostolus usurpaturus hanc appellationem fuisset suis in epistolis. Semper autem alio is utitur nomine. In exordiis solet eos τ̃ς ἁγιους vocare. Nactus quoque opportunam occasionem eos appellandi τ̃ς Χριστιανους ex. gr. Rom. viii. 9. Gal. v. 24. tamen dicere maluit τ̃ς τ̃ Χριστ̃. Imo, cum Agrippa, Act. xxvi. 28, ad ipsum hanc vocem edidisset: 'Prope abest, ut et ego fiam' Χριστιανος· quasi refugiens appellationem hanc, non ita respondet; 'Vellem fias Christianus,' sed hisce verbis: 'Vellem fias talis, qualis ego sum.' Notabilis et ille locus Gal. i. 22.——At non ait ibi Paulus: ταις εκκλησιαις Χριστιαναις, sed ταις εν Χριστ̃. Eodem modo, 1 Tim. v. 16. ubi dicere poterat, 'si quis Christianus vel Christiana mulier,' ita locutus est: ει τις πιστ̃ς η πιστα. Jam si ecclesia ipsa auctor fuisset hujus appellationis, an eâ tam studiose abstinere potuisse Paulum, credi potest? Memini, etiam, Isidorum Pelusiotam, olim hanc proposuisse quæstionem, lib. IV. ep. 61. Cur nusquam Paulus nomen usurparit Χριστιανος, nihil autem ad eam respondisse. Nos vero videmur nobis justissimâ responsione defuncti esse. Ibid. num. vii. p. 138.

Nomine illo Christianorum nec Paulum usquam nec Lucam usum esse, cum supra observaverimus, nunc disceptemus, age, cur hic Apostolus, unâ cum Ministro suo sociisque sacri itineris id fecerit: cur item non ita multo post in civitatem Christianam recepta fuerit ea appellatio. Abstinuisse scilicet eâ hanc ob causam videtur Paulus, ne Christus hoc pacto in ordinem redigeretur doctorum sapientiæ των φιλανθρωπων, cum sit θεανθρωπος, &c. Ib. num. xi. p. 142.

Ad ultimum non dubitabant ipsimet Christiani pervulgato uti hoc nomine.——Cujus rei etsi unum duntaxat exemplum in N. T. codice, in prioris videlicet Petri epistolæ capite quarto, unum tamen illud exemplum est instar sexcentorum. Ib. num xii. p. 142, 143.

[g] Vid. Grot. et Wolf. Curæ in loc.

[h] —— την παντιμον, και ενδοξον, και ευσεβοις πρεπηγοριαν Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 5. cap. 1. p. 160. D. Vid. et p. 158. A.

It may be hence concluded, that the believers at Antioch were now numerous. Otherwise, heathen people had not taken so much notice of them. And indeed St. Luke had before said, that when the men of Cyprus and Cyrene "were come to Antioch and spoke to the Greeks, preaching the Lord Jesus, the hand of the Lord was with them, and a great number believed, and turned unto the Lord," ver. 20, 21, and that upon the coming of Barnabas, and his preaching there, "much people was added unto the Lord," ver. 24. It is reasonable to suppose, that after Paul came thither, farther additions were made, at which time they received this new name.

It follows, Acts xi. 27—30, "And in those days came prophets from Jerusalem unto Antioch. And there stood up one of them, named Agabus, and signified in the spirit, that there should be great dearth throughout all the world" [or all the land, meaning Judea.] "Which came to pass in the days of Claudius Cæsar. Then the disciples, every man according to his ability, determined to send relief to the brethren, who dwelt in Judea. Which also they did. And sent it to the elders by the hands of Barnabas and Saul."

Then follows in the twelfth chapter an account of the persecution, and death of Herod Agrippa: in the last verse of which chapter it is said: "And Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem, when they had fulfilled their ministry. And they took with them John whose surname was Mark."

Of this famine we spoke[a] formerly. And as Agrippa died in 44, and Barnabas and Paul seem not to have performed this service, nor to have returned to Antioch, until after his death, it was argued, that this commission of the church of Antioch was not finished by them till near the end of that year.

At this time of Paul's being at Jerusalem, in the year 44, I suppose, he had the trance mentioned by him in his speech to the Jewish people, Acts xxii. 17—21. For it was in that city, and in the temple, as he expressly says: "And it came to pass, that when I was come again to Jerusalem, even while I was praying in the temple, I was in a trance.——And he said unto me: Depart, for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles." And we shall presently see, that soon after this Paul and Barnabas left Antioch, and made a farther progress in preaching the gospel to Gentile people.

I suppose this period to be about two years, from the time of Paul's coming first to Antioch, and beginning to preach there to Gentiles, to his return thither again, after he had been at Jerusalem upon the commission above-mentioned: that is, from near the end of the year 42, or from the beginning of the year 43, to the end of the year 44.

IX. I now intend to take in the history of Paul and Barnabas from that time to their coming again to Jerusalem, and returning thence to Antioch.

Says St. Luke, Acts xiii. 1—3, "Now there were in the church that is at Antioch certain prophets, and teachers, as Barnabas, and Simeon, and Lucius, and Manaen, and Saul. And as they ministred unto the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Ghost said: Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them. And when they had fasted, and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away."

Pearson supposeth, that[b] at this time, which, according to his computation, was the year 44, Paul had the rapture mentioned by him 2 Cor. xii. 1—4. But first, I suppose it to have been now the year 43, where also this mission is placed by[c] Basnage. Secondly, that rapture must have happened before the year 44. The second epistle to the Corinthians was written, according[d] to Pearson, in the year 57. St. Paul's expression, speaking of this rapture, is above fourteen years ago. Which[e] will carry us back to the fifteenth year, consequently, to the year of Christ 43, for the soonest. At which time I suppose Paul was come to Antioch, and was beginning to preach the gospel there to gentiles, together with Barnabas. Basnage[f] placeth this rapture in the year 41.

Acts xiii. 4. "So they being sent forth by the Holy Ghost, departed unto Selencia, and thence sailed to Cyprus."

[a] See Vol. i. p. 131—135.

[b] Dum, ibi Prophetæ et Doctores ministrarent Domino, Saülus et Barnabas segregati ab illis sunt in opus ad quod assumsit eos Spiritus sanctus. Acts xiii.

Et tum, opinor, Saülus raptus est in tertium cœlum, post quod tempus anno xiv. scripsit secundam ad Corinthios epistolam, xii. 2. Pearson. Ann. Paulin. p. 6. ad ann. Claudii. 4. ær. vulg. 44.

[c] Ann. 45. num. iii. iv. &c.

[d] Annal. Paulin. p. 15.

[e] That rapture, or trance, was somewhat above fourteen years before he wrote his second epistle to Corinth. 2 Cor. xii. 2. Now in that he saith, it was πρὸ ἐτῶν, before, or above fourteen years ago, he speaketh not of an indefinite time,——but that it was a little above that space, though it were somewhat above 'exact fourteen years,' &c. Lightfoot, Vol. I. p. 792.

[f] Vid. Ann. 41. num. xxi. xxii.

Antioch upon the Orontes was the capital city of Syria. Seleucia was a city lying about twelve miles lower upon the same river, a port upon the Mediterranean sea, a few miles above the mouth of the Orontes. There Paul and Barnabas took shipping, and sailed to Cyprus, which lay westward. They went ashore at Salamis, a city at the east end of the island. Where finding Jewish synagogues "they preached the word of the Lord to them." After which they went through the island to Paphos, at the west end, where was the seat of the proconsul. His name was Sergius Paulus: who sent for Barnabas, and Saul, desiring to hear the word of God. He being a man well disposed, and seeing the miracle wrought by Saul upon Elymas the sorcerer, whom he smote with blindness for a season, believed, or embraced the doctrine of the gospel, taught by Saul and Barnabas. And henceforward St. Luke writes the apostle's name Paul, whom he had hitherto called Saul.

It may be thought, that the chief reason of their going now to Cyprus, was, that it was the native country of Barnabas, as we know from Acts iv. 36. But beside that, I imagine, there was another reason, and more influencing. For we perceive, that some of them who left Jerusalem upon account of the persecution that followed the death of Stephen, were men of Cyprus, and had been there preaching to Jews only, as well as at Antioch. And it might be reckoned very proper, when the gospel was to be preached to Gentiles, as well as to Jews, that these special messengers should go directly to a country where an address had been already made to Jews: and where some of them, as may be reasonably supposed, had been converted to the faith of the gospel.

Leaving Paphos, they came back to the continent, and landed at Perga in Pamphylia. Where Mark, who hitherto had accompanied them, left them, and returned to Jerusalem.

From Perga they went to Antioch, the chief city of Pisidia, lying north of Pamphylia. St. Luke has given a large account of Paul's discourse in the Jewish synagogue there, and the success of it. Acts xiii. 14—52. From Antioch they went to Iconium, the chief city of Lycaonia. Where they also taught in the Jewish synagogue: "so that a great multitude both of the Jews, and also of the Greeks believed." Many miracles likewise were wrought by their hands, during their stay in that city, xiv. 1—4. But at length a design being formed, both by Jews and Gentiles, and their rulers, to stone them to death, and they receiving intelligence of it, when it was almost ripe for execution, went thence, and preached the gospel at "Lystra, and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia, and in the region round about," ver. 6, 7; meaning, perhaps, Isauria, sometimes reckoned a part of Lycaonia. At Lystra, Paul healed a man lame from his birth. Which raised great admiration in the people. And if not restrained, they would have offered a sacrifice to Paul and Barnabas. Nevertheless by artifices of unbelieving Jews, who came thither from Antioch and Iconium, the minds of the people were soon changed, and they "stoned Paul, and dragged him out of the city, supposing he had been dead. Howbeit, as the disciples," who had not left him, "stood round about him, he rose up, and came into the city. And the next day he departed with Barnabas to Derbe. Where having preached the gospel, and taught many, they returned again to Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch, confirming the disciples" there, "and exhorting them to continue in the faith, and letting them know, that we must, through much tribulation, enter into the kingdom of God. And when they had ordained them elders in every city, they commended them to the Lord, on whom they had believed." From Antioch they went to Pamphylia. "And when they had preached the word in Perga," where they had been before, but probably made no stay, "they went down to Attalia," a maritime city of the same country. "Thence they sailed to Antioch, whence they had been recommended to the grace of God, for the work which they had fulfilled. And when they were come, and had gathered the church together, they rehearsed all that God had done with them, and how he had opened the door of faith unto the Gentiles. And there they abode long time with the disciples," ver. 8—28.

For this journey Pearson[a] allots three years, that is, 45, 46, 47, and somewhat more. For he placeth their setting out, and going to Salamis in the year 44. Tillemont[b] thinks this journey might be performed in two years, that is, according to his computation, part of the year 44, all 45, and part of 46. From which time to the council at Jerusalem, next mentioned by St. Luke, might be, as he thinks, about five years. In which space of time, he supposeth Paul to have

[a] Annal. Paulin. p. 67. [b] S. Paul. Art. xii. xv.

gone into Illyricum, and also to have preached "throughout all Judea:" as mentioned Acts xxvi. 20, and likewise in Cilicia.

I likewise am of opinion, that this journey of Paul and Barnabas in the several countries just mentioned, might be performed in two years. I think they could not set out from Antioch before the beginning of the year 45, and probably returned in the former part of the year 47: but if any are rather for three years, and think this journey was not completed before the beginning of the year 48, I should not reckon it worth while to dispute about it.

But I do not see any reason to believe, that they undertook any more journies, before they went up to the council at Jerusalem. They might judge it very proper to make a long stay at Antioch, where was the first Gentile church: as the other apostles made a long stay at Jerusalem, and in Judea. However, this church of Antioch, I suppose, with [a] Witsius, to have consisted partly of Jews, and partly of Gentiles. Nor do I think that Paul and Barnabas would, as yet, extend their ministry farther than they had done, without an express divine appointment. What they had already done was a great deal; and must have exceeded the most raised expectations, till they had seen the event. Their stay at Antioch must have been very useful, probably expedient. It was proper to secure what they had gained. And they might there receive applications from the several countries in which they had been, and impart counsel and encouragement. If they had soon gone hence again, some might have arrived, that should unsettle the minds of new converts. We plainly perceive, that from Judea came several to see this new colony at Antioch. Some might come with good views, to encourage and confirm the believers there: or to satisfy themselves concerning the truth of what they had heard with great pleasure. But others might come with a design to instil narrow principles, and disturb their minds with different sentiments from those which had been taught them by Paul and Barnabas. St. Luke, notwithstanding the conciseness of his history, has informed us of two visits made here from Judea, the first in the year 43, or 44, "when there came prophets from Jerusalem to Antioch," ch. xi. 27. Afterwards "there came men from Judea, who taught the brethren, that unless they were circumcised, they could not be saved," xv. 1. Of which more presently.

If Paul and Barnabas went any where, we might think of Cilicia: the rather, because we can perceive, that soon after this there were Gentile believers there: though when Paul first preached in that country, we suppose him to have applied to Jews only. And it is well observed by Tillemont upon the case now before us: 'it [b] is certain, that Christianity had been established 'among the Gentiles in Cilicia, before the council of Jerusalem.' Acts xv. 23. Nevertheless, I should rather think, that Paul and Barnabas did not now leave Antioch, after their return thither, before they went up to Jerusalem. For some of Cilicia might learn the doctrine of the gospel by coming to Antioch. Or some of the prophets and evangelists of Antioch, may have gone to Cilicia, with the approbation, and by the direction of Paul and Barnabas.

In this way of arguing I am encouraged by those words of St. Luke, just cited: "And there they abode long time with the disciples." We now proceed.

Acts xv. 1—5. "And certain men, which came down from Judea, taught the brethren: except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved. When therefore Paul and Barnabas had no small dissension and disputation with them, they determined, that Paul and Barnabas, and certain other of them, should go up to Jerusalem, unto the apostles and elders, about this question——And when they were come to Jerusalem, they were received of the church, and of the apostles and elders. And they declared all things that God had done with them. But, (they said) there [c] had risen up certain of the sect of the pharisees, which

[a] Erat enim urbs Gentilis, et ecclesia ibidem collecta omnium prima, quæ partim Judæis, partim conversis Gentilibus constabat. Ubi supra, sect. iii. num. v.

[b] As before, Art. xv.

[c] Many have mistaken those words, as if they were St. Luke's, who observed, that there were at Jerusalem some of the sect of the pharisees, who insisted upon imposing the law upon the Gentiles. So thought Dr. Doddridge, Family Expositor, Vol. III. p. 233. So likewise Tillemont, whose words are these: Ils furent bien reçus à Jerusalem. Mais ils y trouvèrent les mêmes troubles, qui agitoient l'église d'Antioche, et dont ils venoient chercher le remede. Car quelques Chrétiens, qui avoient été Pharisiens, vouloient qu'on obligeat les Gentils à la circoncision, et à l'observation de la loi. S. Paul. art. xvi. Grotius himself seems to have understood these words in the same manner. Sicut Antiochiæ quidam e Judæis facti Christiani, ita et Hierosolymis quidam duriorem illam defendebant sententiam. Grot. in ver. 5. Whereas, upon due consideration, I think, all must be sensible, that they are not the words of the historian, but of the messengers of the church of Antioch, representing to the apostles and elders at Jerusalem the case, or state of the question, about which they were sent, and which they desired to have now fully resolved, and determined. This is the interpretation,

believed, saying, that it was needful to circumcise them, and to command them to keep the law." Thus they delivered their message, and proposed the question, which they were desirous to have determined.

"And the apostles and elders came together to consider of this matter." Having in that assembly, after many debates, formed some resolutions, they sent them in a letter "to the brethren, which are of the Gentiles, in Antioch, and Syria, and Cilicia," ver. 6—31.

Those determinations were intended for all believers in general from among the Gentiles, containing, as it were, the terms upon which all Gentiles were to be admitted into the church of Christ. But the epistle was directed, particularly to the Gentiles in Antioch, and Syria, and Cilicia, because among them the controversy had arisen, and they were the persons who had sent a solemn deputation to the apostles and elders at Jerusalem, to have their opinion upon it.

This journey to Jerusalem, related by St. Luke, Acts xv. I suppose to be the same with that mentioned by St. Paul himself, of which he gives an account to the Galatians, ch. ii. 1—10. Indeed, he mentions some circumstances, wanting in Luke, but, as I apprehend, they are not such as need induce us to think two different journies to be spoken of.

From Paul therefore, we shall endeavour to find out the time of it. "Then fourteen years after," says he, "I went up again to Jerusalem, with Barnabas, and took Titus with me also. And I went up by revelation." In the preceding chapter of the epistle to the Galations, Paul had related his conversion in the way to Damascus, and then his "going up to Jerusalem, after three years, to see Peter, and abiding with him fifteen days," ch. i. 18. Where are we to date the beginning of those fourteen years? at his conversion? or at his coming to Jerusalem, to see Peter? Pearson is clearly of opinion, that [a] the computation must be made from the time of his conversion. So likewise say [b] Estius, and [c] Basnage.

Says St. Paul, Gal. i. 18. "Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem, to see Peter." Those three years cannot be computed from his return to Damascus, out of Arabia, though it be the thing mentioned immediately before in ver. 17. But must be reckoned from his conversion. In like manner must be understood those words in ch. ii. 1, "then fourteen years after I went up to Jerusalem." We must take the same date or epoch for the "three years," and for the "fourteen years." They both begin from the same time, that is, St. Paul's conversion.

The council deputed with their epistle two chosen men of their own number, Judas and Silas, to go to Antioch, together with Paul and Barnabas, Acts xv. 22, 23. After they had tarried there awhile, Judas returned to Jerusalem, but Silas abode there still, ver. 32—34.

This council at Jerusalem, according to [d] Pearson, and, I suppose, many others, was held in the year of Christ 49. Basnage, supposing Paul to have been converted in 37, placeth [e] this council in the year 50.

As I cannot say exactly, when Paul was converted, whether in 36, or 37, I am led to hesitate about the time of the council. But if he was converted before the end of the year 36, the council, as I apprehend, may be computed to have been held in the year 49. St. Paul says, Gal. i. 18, "then after three years I went up to Jerusalem," επειτα μετα ετη τρια. Which, I think, implies, full "three years," or somewhat more, as before observed. But the expression in Gal. ii. 1, is different. We translate: "Then fourteen years after I went up again to Jerusalem." Επειτα δια δεκατεσσαρων ετων παλιν ανεβην εις Ιεροσολυμα. Which, I think, may be thus rendered: "Then in about fourteen years, I went up again to Jerusalem." The "three years," above-mentioned are complete: but the "fourteen years" need not be so understood. And,

which Beza preferred. Hunc locum video omnes perinde interpretari, ac si essent verba Lucæ, quasi cum suam expeditionem narrarent Paulus ac Barnabas, insurrexerint, qui circumcisionem urgerent. Quod mihi non fit admodum probabile? sed potius illos, expositâ suâ expeditione, subjecisse controversiam illam Antiochiæ excitatam, cujus caussâ ipsi Hierosolymam venerant. Puto igitur, esse illorum verba, non Lucæ. Bez. in loc. Leufant follows Beza. And Whitby, if I do not mistake him, gives the same interpretation. And Dr. Doddridge, upon my telling him how I understood the place, readily acquiesced, as I well remember: for he was always open to conviction, therein giving a good example to all inquirers after truth.

[a] Anno xiv. a conversione S. Pauli congregatum. Hunc enim adventum suum narrat Apostolus Gal. 1, 2. et tempus ipsum determinate exprimit.——Quod autem Apostolus ad epocham conversionis suæ referat annos, quos ibi narrat, manifestum est ex scopo capitis i. et ii.——'Deinde, post annos quatuordecim rursus ascendi Hierosolymam.' Idem enim horum verborum scopus, eadem annorum epocha. Vox enim επειτα, 'deinde,' non conjungit hæc verba cum illis de triennio, quasi a fine illius triennii initium sumerent. Aliud enim επειτα inter hæc et illa intercedit. Annal. Paulin. p. 89.

[b] Est. in Gal. ii. 1, 2. [c] Ann. 50. num. iii.

[d] Annal. Paulin. p. 8, 9, 10.

[e] Ann. 50. num. xxi, xxii.

probably, were not complete. If therefore Paul be supposed to have been converted in the year 36, this council might be held, accordingly, in 49.

This period, from Paul's setting out with Barnabas from Antioch, to go to Cyprus, in the beginning of the year 45, to their coming up to the council at Jerusalem, and returning thence to Antioch, near the end of the year 49, or the beginning of 50, is the space of about five years.

X. The next period will reach from this time to St. Paul's coming again to Jerusalem, when he was apprehended, and imprisoned.

Soon after the return of Barnabas and Paul to Antioch, Peter, as it seems, came thither, as related by St. Paul, Gal. ii. 11—21. Nevertheless, that occasioned not their making any long stay at Antioch. For, says St. Luke, Acts xv. 36. "And some days after," that is, I think, after their being come back to Antioch, or after Judas had gone away to Jerusalem, and the controversy, which had been troublesome for some while before, was fully composed, "Paul said unto Barnabas: let us go again, and visit our brethren, in every city, where we have preached the word of the Lord, and see how they do. And Barnabas determined to take with them John, whose surname was Mark." By which we perceive, that Mark, who before had left Paul and Barnabas, and gone to Jerusalem, was now come again to this country, and was willing to have again accompanied them. Possibly, he came hither with Peter. "But Paul thought not good to take him with them who departed from them from Pamphilia, and went not with them to the work. And the contention was so sharp, that they departed asunder one from the other. So Barnabas took Mark, and sailed unto Cyprus. Paul chose Silas, and departed—— and went through Syria, and Cilicia, confirming the churches," Acts xv. 33—41.

I am inclined to think, that it was in the beginning of the year 50, that St. Paul now set out from Antioch. Pearson [a] likewise, and [b] Basnage, place it in the same year.

Witsius thinks, that [c] at this time Paul went from Cilicia to Crete: and that not being able to stay long there himself, he left "Titus, that he might set in order the things that were wanting, and ordain elders in every city," ch. i. 5. Pearson [d] placeth Paul's journey into Crete in the latter part of the apostle's life, in 63, or 64, after the deliverance from his imprisonment at Rome. But Witsius says, it is not likely, that the preaching of the gospel in Crete should have been deferred so long: when all Achaia, Macedonia, Asia, Cyprus, Syria, had been already instructed in the doctrine of the gospel. And he observes, that not long after Paul was come from Cilicia, he took Timothy into his attendance, to supply, as he thinks, the want of Titus, lately left in Crete.

Though I cannot say, that Paul now went from Cilicia to Crete, I readily own myself to be of opinion, that the apostle's journey in Crete was performed, and his letter to Titus written, before his imprisonment at Rome. But of this more hereafter.

Having gone through Syria and Cilicia, confirming "the churches, Paul came to Derbe, and Lystra:" where they had been before. Here they found Timothy, who, as may be supposed, had been converted, when Paul and Barnabas were there together. Timothy having a good character "from the brethren at Lystra and Iconium, Paul would have him to go forth with him," Acts xvi. 1—3.

Afterwards they came into Phrygia. And it may be reckoned very probable, that now Paul preached in the chief cities of that country, Hierapolis, Laodicea, and Colosse. He also went into Galatia, and there founded many churches. But they were forbidden to preach in Asia, properly so called. St. Luke's words are ver. 6, 7, "Now when they had gone through Phrygia, and the region of Galatia, and were forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia, after they were come to Mysia, they assayed to go into Bithynia: but the Spirit suffered them not."

[a] Ann. Paul. p. 10. [b] Ann. 50. num. xlvi.

[c] Ex Cilicià videtur Paulus in Cretam navigâsse, et, prædicato ibi evangelio, quoniam alio properabat, Titum reliquisse, ut 'quæ desunt corrigeret, atque oppidatim presbyteros constitueret.' Quæ Lucæ omissa, ex epistolâ ad Titum supplenda esse, et huic tempori optime convenire, opinatur L. Capellus. At Pearsonus ad postrema Pauli tempora refert, eaque ejus itinera, quæ solutionem ex vinculis Romanis consecuta sunt.—— Capelli tamen rationes potiores hic mihi videntur. Non enim verisimile est, ad illud usque tempus ignoratum fuisse Christum in Cretâ, quum tota Achaia —— personarent evangelii præconio. —— Deinde Derben et Lystram venit. Ibi in Timotheum incidit, fidissimum sibi abhinc omnium itinerum suorum futurum comitem, &c. De Vitâ Paul, sect. v. num. i.

[d] Ann. Paulin. p. 21.

Then it follows, ver. 8—10. "And they passing by Mysia, came to Troas. And a vision appeared to Paul in the night: there stood a man of Macedonia, and prayed him, saying: Come over into Macedonia, and help us. And after he had seen the vision, immediately we endeavoured to go into Macedonia, assuredly gathering, that the Lord had called us to preach the gospel unto them."

By which manner of speaking we perceive that Luke was now in Paul's company. It is likely, that he met them at Troas. Which seems to have been the name of a country, and of a city, the chief of the country, situated upon the sea coast.

Ver. 11, 12. "Therefore loosing from Troas, we came with a straight course to Samothracia, and the next day to Neapolis: and thence to Philippi, which is the chief city of that part of Macedonia, and a colony. And we were in that city abiding certain days."

Samothracia was an island, over against Thrace, bordering upon Macedonia. Neapolis was a town upon the sea coast, on the Thracian side of the Strymonic bay, which separated Macedonia and Thrace. Here, I suppose, they landed, but made no stay. Thence they went by land to Philippi. Here they stayed some while, and several remarkable occurrences in that city are related by St. Luke. Lydia, a seller of purple, of the city of Thyatira, in Asia, attended to the things that were spoken of Paul, and was baptized, both she, and her household. She seems to have been a merchant, of no small dealings, and probably had with her many servants, and other attendants. Here likewise, Paul healed the young maiden, said to be "possessed with a spirit of divination." After which Paul and Silas were apprehended, beaten, and imprisoned. But they were soon set at liberty. Whereupon they left that city, ver. 13—40.

"From thence they passed through Amphipolis, and Apollonia, and came to Thessalonica, where was a synagogue of the Jews." Acts xvii. 1.

Amphipolis and Apollonia were cities of Macedonia. And Thessalonica was the chief city of that country. Here being a Jewish synagogue, "Paul, as his manner was, went in unto them, and three sabbath-days reasoned with them out of the scriptures.——And some of them believed, and consorted with Paul and Silas." Whilst he was here, believed also, "of the devout *Greeks*," that is, of the people of the country, who were well disposed, "a great multitude; and of the chief women" of the city, "not a few." But the unbelieving Jews made a great disturbance, ver. 2—9.

"The brethren therefore immediately sent away Paul and Silas by night unto Berea," where many of the Jews, and many of the men, and honourable women of the place believed. But some Jews came from Thessalonica, and "stirred up the people" there also, ver. 10—13.

The brethren therefore immediately sent away Paul, and conducted him to Athens, with Luke, it is likely, the writer of this history. "But Silas and Timothy abode still at Berea." St. Luke then gives an account of the apostle's preaching at Athens. The event was, "that some mocked. Howbeit some adhered to Paul, and believed. Among which was Dionysius, the Areopagite, and a woman named Damaris, and others with them."

Acts xviii. 1, 2. "After these things Paul departed from Athens, and came to Corinth: and found a certain Jew, named Aquila, born in Pontus, lately come from Italy, with his wife Priscilla, because that Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome."

The council of Jerusalem, as before said, was held in the year 49, or 50. And it was supposed by us, that Paul might set out from Antioch in the year 50, before it was far advanced. If so, he might come now to Corinth, before the end of the year 51. For as Basnage computes, the apostle's journeyings, after leaving Antioch till his coming to Corinth, need not take up more than a year and a half. I put below [1] his brief enumeration of all the places, which have been lately taken notice of by us. But he did not think of the journey into Crete, mentioned by Witsius, nor do I suppose it to have been then performed. This computation suits Paul's

[1] Re dux a synodo Paulus, post dies aliquot moræ Antiochæ, mox in Syriam et Ciliciam proficiscitur. Quibus peragratis, continuo in Pisidiam, Lycaoniam, Phrygiam penetravit, haud longâ usquam morâ, ut verbo διέρχων ostenditur. Hinc solvens Troade, per Samothraciam delatus est Macedoniam, ubi dies non multos exegit. Mox, per Amphipolim et Apolloniam, Thessalonicam, Macedoniæ metropolim, pervenit, ubi per sabbata tria disseruit. Motâ seditione, Beroeam noctu petiit; quâ salutatâ, eâ discessit propter adventum Judæorum ——et Athenas pervenit; quâ post aliquantulam temporis moram relictâ, Corinthum anno 51 ingressus est. Nostram non minimum adjuvat chronologiam adventus Aquilæ in hanc urbem, Româ nuper edicto Claudiano pulsi; quod probabilissimâ sane conjecturâ anno Claudii xi. promulgatum esse colligitur; ut a synodo ad peregrinationem usque Corinthum sesquiannus circiter elapsus sit. Bas. ann. 50. num. xxii. Vid. et ann. 51. n. lxviii. lxix.

finding Aquila and Priscilla at Corinth. For he thinks that edict of Claudius to have been published in the eleventh year of his reign, which began on Jan. 24th in the year 51.

At Corinth Paul tarried a year and six months, ch. xviii. 11, that is, as I suppose, the remainder of the year 51, and all 52, and part of 53.——"And then he took leave of the brethren, and sailed thence into Syria, and with him Priscilla, and Aquila, having shorn his head in Cenchrea: for he had a vow. And he came to Ephesus, and left them there: but he entered into the synagogue, and reasoned with the Jews. When they desired him to tarry longer time with them, he consented not: but bade them farewell, saying, I must by all means keep this feast at Jerusalem:" meaning, as I apprehend the feast of Pentecost in the year 53. "But I will return again unto you, if God will. And he sailed from Ephesus. And when he had landed at Cæsarea, and gone up, and saluted the church," namely, at "Jerusalem, he went down to Antioch. And after he had spent some time there, he departed, and went over all the country of Galatia, and Phrygia, in order," that is, visiting the churches, formerly planted by him in those countries, "strengthening all the disciples," ver. 18—23.

In this space of time, after Paul had left Ephesus, there came thither "Apollos, born at Alexandria:" who received from Aquila and Priscilla farther instructions concerning the christian religion, beyond what he knew before, and then went away to Corinth, ver. 24—28.

Ch. xix. 1. "And it came to pass, that while Apollos was at Corinth, Paul having passed through the upper coasts," meaning the country of Galatia and Phrygia, before-mentioned, "came to Ephesus:" that is, as I apprehend, before the end of the year 53, possibly, in October or November.

I hope I have allowed time enough for all the journies hitherto mentioned, and that I have not brought Paul to Ephesus too soon.

Ver. 8—10. Says St. Luke: "And he went into the synagogue, and spake boldly for the space of three months, disputing, and persuading the things concerning the kingdom of God. But when divers were hardened, and believed not, but spake evil of that way before the multitude, he departed from them, and separated the disciples, disputing daily in the school of one Tyrannus. And this continued by the space of two years; so that all they which dwelt in Asia," strictly [a] so called, the country of which Ephesus was the metropolis, "heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks." St. Paul afterwards, Acts xx. 31, in his discourse to the elders of Ephesus, at Miletus says, he had been with them the space of three years. Which may be a round number. Three months, at least, he had disputed in the Jewish synagogue, and two years in the school of Tyrannus, and, possibly, somewhat more, making in the whole, a good deal above two, which St. Paul might call three years.

I think that Paul might come to Ephesus before the end of the year 53, in October, or November, as before said. There he continued the remainder of that year, and the whole of the years 54 and 55, till the year 56, about Pentecost. However, let us observe the history.

From ver. 11 to 41, the end of the forecited xixth chapter of the Acts, is St. Luke's account of the special miracles wrought by Paul at Ephesus, and divers remarkable events, and then of a tumult raised by Demetrius, a silversmith, and "other workmen of like occupation."

Then Acts xx. 1—6. "And after the uproar had ceased, Paul called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia. And when he had gone over those parts, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece: and there abode three months. And when the Jews laid wait for him, as he was about to sail into Syria, he purposed to return through Macedonia. And there accompanied him into Asia Sopater of Berea, and of the Thessalonians Aristarchus and Secundus, and Gaius of Derbe, and Timothy, and of Asia, Tychicus and Trophimus. These going before tarried for us at Troas. And we sailed away from Philippi, after the days of unleavened bread, and came unto them to Troas in five days, where we abode seven days."

There is not, perhaps, any part of St. Paul's travels attended with more difficulties, than this period of his leaving Ephesus and setting out upon his voyage to Jerusalem, with the collections

[a] Atque hinc diversæ notiones vocis Asiæ oriuntur, ut latissima tertiam orbis terrarum Continentem sonet, Europæ ab ortu oppositam; latior magnam peninsulam inter Ponticum et Mediterraneum mare; lata Asiam cis Taurum, vel intra eum montem; deinde stricte est provincia proconsularis; strictius media pars illius provinciæ, circa Ephesum et Lydiam propriam; strictissime, Homericâ notione, parvus tractus ad Caystrum fluvium. Sacris scriptoribus significatio illa placuit, quam strictiorem modo diximus, uti ex iis, quæ varie adhuc dicta sunt, elucet. Cellar. Diss. de sept. eccles. Asiæ sect. ix.

made in the churches of Greece and Macedonia, and some other places. St. Luke is very distinct and particular in the account of the journey from Troas to Jerusalem. But from Ephesus to Troas he has mentioned but one city only, which is Philippi. Otherwise, as we have seen in the passage just transcribed, he speaks only of the countries of Macedonia and Greece.

We will therefore endeavour to settle the time when Paul left Ephesus, and then consider how long he might be in Macedonia or other places before he went to Troas.

After having related Paul's preaching at Ephesus, for a good while, and the success of it, St. Luke says, in the forecited xixth. 21, 22, 23. "After these things were ended, Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying: After I have been there, I must see Rome. So he sent into Macedonia two of them that ministred to him, Timothy and Erastus. But he himself stayed in Asia for a season. At the same time there arose no small stir about that way:" meaning the tumult caused by Demetrius, as before mentioned.

Lightfoot has a happy thought upon this place. 'Paul's thoughts, says [a] he, of going to 'Rome argue the death of Claudius, who had banished all the Jews from thence; Acts xviii. 2. 'and that by the coming in of Nero, a new emperor, that decree was extinct, and freedom of 'access to Rome opened to them again. For it can be little conceived, that Paul should think 'of going thither, when he could neither find any of his nation there, nor himself come thither 'without certain hazard of his life: as the case would have been, if Claudius and his decree 'were yet alive. It is therefore agreeable to all reason, that the death of Claudius, and the 'succession of Nero, were now divulged. And Paul thereupon knowing, that it was now lawful 'again for a Jew to go to Rome, intendeth to take a farewell journey and visit to Macedonia, 'Achaia, and Jerusalem, and then to go and preach there.'

Claudius died Oct. 13, in the year 54. It might be the beginning of 55, before the tidings of the death of Claudius, and the accession of Nero reached Ephesus, upon which, or soon after, the thought of going to Rome entered Paul's mind. But he intended first to go to Macedonia, and Greece, and Jerusalem.

"So," says St. Luke, "he sent into Macedonia two of them that ministred unto him, Timothy and Erastus. *But he himself* stayed in Asia for a season."

By which we are led to think, that those messengers were sent into Macedonia in the year 55. After they were gone, came to Paul at Ephesus, from Corinth, Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus, 1 Cor. xvi. 17. By them he sends his first epistle to the Corinthians, written, as I suppose, in the beginning of the year 56. And it appears from 1 Cor. xvi. 10, 11, that Timothy, who, as before seen, had been sent into Macedonia, was also to go to Corinth. For there the apostle says: "now if Timothy come, see that he may be with you without fear. For he worketh the work of the Lord, as I also do. Let no man therefore despise him: but conduct him forth in peace, that he may come unto me. For I look for him with the brethren." Paul therefore was in expectation of Timothy's coming to him at Ephesus. Which I suppose he did, before Paul removed thence. Paul says, 1 Cor. xvi. 8, 9. "But I will tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost. For a great door and effectual is opened unto me. And there are many adversaries." The Pentecost, there mentioned, I suppose to be that of the year 56.

Some time therefore in the year 56, before Pentecost, or about that season, Paul left Ephesus to go into Macedonia. So says St. Luke in his account of Paul's removal from Ephesus. He first mentions Macedonia, and then Greece, Acts xx. 1, 2. And from what Paul says, 2 Cor. ii. 12, it is argued, that [b] he did not sail away directly from Ephesus to Macedonia: but travelled by land to Troas, and then went over to Macedonia by sea. If so, he went now into Macedonia by the same way that he had done, when he was first there, Acts xvi. 11, 12.

But how long was Paul now in Macedonia and Achaia? or what space of time was there between his leaving Ephesus and Troas, and his return to Troas, in his way to Jerusalem? If it was a year only, or somewhat less, the passover mentioned, Acts xx. 6, and the Pentecost mentioned ver. 16, were in the year 57. But if Paul's journey from Ephesus, round about by Troas, Macedonia, and Achaia, and Macedonia again, to Troas, in the way to Jerusalem, took up two

[a] Harmony of the N. T. Vol. I. p. 299.

[b] Sed quid interea Paulus, postquam Epheso profectus est, ut iret in Macedoniam? Per Minorem Asiam iter faciens, venit Troadem, nobilissimam civitatem, quæ adjacet Hellesponto; ubi quærens Titum, cum non invenisset, transmisso freto abiit in Macedoniam, 2 Cor. ii. Baron. ann. 57. num. clxxxv.

Paul ne s'embarqua pas à Ephèse; mais il vint à Troade dans le dessein d'y prêcher l'évangile. Tillem. S. Paul. art. 31.

years, or thereabout, then the Pentecost mentioned Acts xx. 16, was in the year of Christ 58. And, if I mistake not, there are several considerations, leading us to think, that these journeyings took up more than the space of a year.

It need not to be doubted, that Timothy returned from Corinth to Paul, before the apostle removed from Ephesus. And that Paul left him there, will be manifest from that which is called the first epistle to Timothy. "As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some that they teach no other doctrine." 1 Tim. i. 3. Paul therefore left Timothy at Ephesus, for weighty reasons: and some time after his coming into Macedonia, wrote him a letter, for his direction and assistance in the arduous work lying before him. But Timothy was with Paul at writing the second epistle to the Corinthians. For it begins thus: "Paul an apostle of Jesus Christ——and Timothy our brother unto the church of God, which is at Corinth, with all the saints in all Achaia." That letter was sent from Macedonia, a little before Paul went to Corinth. But some good while must have passed between Paul's leaving Timothy at Ephesus, and writing to him, and this second epistle to the Corinthians. Paul, it is very probable, did not send for Timothy to come to him from Ephesus presently after he had left him there. I might add, that there must have been some emergent occasions, that induced Paul to call Timothy to him from Ephesus, where his presence was of great importance. What those occasions were Luke has not at all hinted. But they may be supposed. However, I do not now stay to hint what they were.

Paul in his second epistle to the Corinthians, ch. i. and xiii. 1, apologizeth for his deferring so long to come to them. But there could have been no occasion for such apologies, if he had come to them in the same year that he wrote his first epistle.

Paul says, 1 Cor. xvi. 5, 6. "Now I will come unto you, when I shall pass through Macedonia——And it may be, that I will abide, yea, and winter with you." But Paul did not abide and winter with them, according to this proposal, as here intimated. If he had, there could have been no ground for such apologies, as are in the second epistle. Nevertheless the apostle did spend "three months" with them, not very long before a passover. Which must have been partly in some winter. As they could not be in the year 56, when the first epistle to them was written, they must have been in the year after, that is, about the end of the year 57, and the beginning of the year 58. See again Acts xx. 1—6.

St. Paul says, 2 Cor. ix. 2. "For I know the forwardness of your mind. For which I boast of you to them of Macedonia, that Achaia was ready a year ago. And your zeal has provoked very many." Which plainly shows, that it was now above a year since writing the first epistle to the Corinthians, which was sent from Ephesus. For there he says, ch. xvi. 1, 2. "Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given directions to the churches of Galatia, so do ye. Upon the first day of the week, let every one of you lay by him in store, as God has prospered him: that there be no gatherings when I come." These directions were then sent to the Corinthians. They therefore were not ready then. They could not be ready till some while after. And yet, at the time of writing the second epistle to them from Macedonia, they had been "ready above a year."

This shows, that Paul was above a year in Macedonia, or near it. Moreover after sending away this second letter, Paul went to Corinth, and stayed there "three months," and afterwards went through Macedonia to Troas.

Consequently there was the space of two years, or almost two years, between Paul's leaving Ephesus and coming to Troas, in his way to Jerusalem.

As Paul did not winter at Corinth in the year 56, we are led to think of Nicopolis, mentioned Titus iii. 12.

Before I proceed, I must take some farther notice of the words of 2 Cor. i. 15, 16. "And in this confidence I was minded to come unto you before," or first, "that you might have a second benefit: and to pass by you into Macedonia, and to come again out of Macedonia to you, and of you to be brought on my way toward Judea." Hence it may be concluded, that in the beginning of the year 56, before Paul left Ephesus, he once had hopes of getting to Judea in the year following, that is, in the year 57, probably at Passover, or Pentecost, and that he had been prevented. He then intended to go from Ephesus to Corinth, thence to Macedonia, and to return from Macedonia to Corinth, that by the Christians there he might be brought on his way to Judea. But by some means he had been carried into a different course. He had not yet been

in Judea: nor was he yet come to Corinth, though he had been in Macedonia. And, probably, he did not get into Judea before the Pentecost in 58. These words therefore must induce us to think, that there was a longer space of time between Paul's leaving Ephesus, and coming to Corinth and Jerusalem, than has been generally supposed of late.

Baronius says, that [a] during this period Paul was in Crete, as well as in Macedonia and Achaia, as does [b] Lightfoot; who also supposeth [c] Paul to have been now in Illyricum.

Dr. Benson [d] thinks, that Paul might say as he does, Rom. xv. 19, that he had preached the gospel from Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum, 'upon account of his being, and that more 'than once, in Macedonia, which bordered upon Illyricum, the Scardican mountains, and the river 'Drilo, being the boundaries between them.' And after the like manner Witsius, who thinks that [e] Paul did not intend to say, that he had preached in Illyricum, for he only makes it the boundary of his labours. However, he says, that Appollonia was a city of Illyricum.

Wall, upon Acts xx. 2, [f] says, 'St. Paul did many great things in that nine months time. '[So he computes.] It must have been during that space, I think, that he made an excursion 'into Illyricum, and preached the gospel there.'

Mr. Biscoe delivers his thoughts in this manner: 'In [g] the same epistle he says: "From 'Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the gospel of Christ." Which is 'a general confirmation of the whole history of his travels in the book of the Acts. For in that 'history he is said to have gone through Syria, Cilicia, and most, if not all the countries in 'Peninsular Asia, to have gone over into Europe, and to pass through Macedonia into Greece. 'Now Berea, the last city in which St. Paul is said to have preached in Macedonia, could not be 'far from Dessaretia, which was part of the ancient Illyricum. At the same time I must own, 'it does not seem at all improbable to me, that St. Paul might in one of his journies through 'Macedonia (for St. Paul relates his passing through Macedonia three times) make an excursion 'into some of the nearer parts of Illyricum, and plant the gospel among them, though not taken 'notice of in the history of the [h] Acts. It is certain, however, that during St. Paul's life the 'gospel was preached even in the remoter parts of Illyricum, and not improbably by the apostle 'himself, after his release from his first imprisonment at Rome. For in his second epistle to 'Timothy, written when he was a second time prisoner in that great city, he informs him, that 'he had sent Titus into Dalmatia.'

If I were to alter the latter part of that paragraph, agreeably to my apprehensions, it would stand thus: 'It is certain, that during St. Paul's life the gospel was preached even in the 'remoter parts of Illyricum, and more than probable by the apostle himself, and that before 'his imprisonment at Rome, when he was sent thither from Judea by Festus. For in his 'second epistle to Timothy, written during that his imprisonment at Rome, he informs him, 'that he had sent Titus into Dalmatia.'

The second epistle to Timothy having been written at that time, if any argument can be fetched from it, it must prove, that Paul had been in Illyricum, before he went to Jerusalem, and probably at the time which we are now speaking of.

It appears to me very probable, that at this time Paul was in Illyricum and Crete. But I cannot digest the order of his journies, since St. Luke has not related them. St. Luke says

[a] Ann. 57. num. ccix.

[b] Lightfoot. Harm. of the N. T. Vol. I. p. 309.

[c] Ibid. p. 307.

[d] Upon the Acts, Vol. II. p. 174. first edit. p. 194. the second edit.

[e] Deinde iter fecerunt per Amphipolim, urbem Philippis vicinam, et Apolloniam, quæ est Corinthiorum et Corcyræorum colonia, civitas Illyriæ. Sic enim Stephanus.—— Verum id nostræ nunc potissimum consideationis est, quod Apollonia urbs Illyrica sit. Pertinet hoc ad illustrationem illius quod Paulus Romanis scripsit xv. 19.——Multorum iste locus ingenia fatigavit, non invenientium, quo tempore Paulus evangelium in Illyrico, quod supponunt, prædicavit.——Sed quid laboramus in cassum? Primo enim Illyricum non comprehendit Paulus suis itineribus, quasi id quoque evangelium prædicando peragraverit; sed Illyricum statuit itinerum suorum terminum. Venit enim ad limites Illyrici, quando venit Apolloniam. Optime Grotius ad Rom. xv. 19. Macedonia, quam peragravit Paulus, Dalmatiam attingit, quæ pars Illyrici, et ipsum mare Illyricum. In eo tractu est Apollonia, nominata, Act. xvii. 1. Wits. de Vit. Paul. sect. v. num. xi.

[f] Wall's Notes upon the N. T. p. 205.

[g] Upon the Acts, p. 424, 425.

[h] 'All that St. Luke says of his second journey is this: '"And, when he had gone over those parts, and had given 'them much exhortation, he came into Greece," Acts xx. 2. 'All that is said of the third journey is, that whereas he in'tended to have sailed from Greece into Syria, knowing that 'the Jews laid wait for him, he changed his mind and passed 'through Macedonia, ver. 3—6. At either of these times 'he might make an excursion into Illyricum, but most 'probably in his second journey.' That is a note of Mr. Biscoe at p. 425.

nothing of Paul's going to Troas. He only says, that Paul went from Ephesus to Macedonia, and then came into Greece. Though Paul was preparing for his journey to Jerusalem, with contributions of Gentile churches, he was not in a hurry. Nor were those collections his only concern. Notwithstanding the tumult at Ephesus, he took leave of his friends there with a good deal of deliberation. St. Luke's words are, Acts xx. 1, "And after the uproar was ceased, Paul called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia." Nor does St. Luke represent the apostle in great haste in that country. For he says, ver. 2, "And when he had gone over those parts, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece."

It is now a common opinion, that [a] Paul did not go directly to Macedonia from Ephesus, but went by land to Troas, and there crossed over to Macedonia. It is evident that before he wrote his second epistle to the Corinthians from Macedonia, he had been at Troas. For 2 Cor. ii. 12, he says, "he came to Troas, to preach Christ's gospel, and that a door was opened to him of the Lord." There is no absurdity in supposing that St. Luke, who says nothing of Paul's having been then at Troas, and omitted the apostle's journey into Arabia, and indeed many other things, has omitted an account of his going to Crete and Illyricum. Wall, and others, who compute no more than nine months between Paul's leaving Ephesus, and coming to Troas, in the way to Jerusalem, may find a difficulty in admitting what we contend for. But I think I have shewn it to be a space of almost two years, or about a year and three quarters. This alone will render it probable, that somewhat was done by Paul, beside what is mentioned by St. Luke in Acts xx. 1—6.

St. Paul's words, in the epistle to the Romans, written at Corinth, in this period, are very remarkable: "so that from Jerusalem, and round about, unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the gospel of Christ.——For which cause also I have been much hindred from coming unto you. But now having no more place in these parts, and having a great desire these many years to come unto you," ch. xv. 19, 22, 23. He seems now, as it were, at ease, knowing what he had done, and considering, that there was nothing more left to be done by him in those parts. And why should not Illyricum be understood in the same manner as Jerusalem? He had been at Jerusalem: and consequently, I think, in Illyricum likewise. And I should apprehend, that now was the time when Paul could first say so much as he here does.

Jerom had no doubt, but that Paul was in Illyricum. 'Christ,' says [b] he, 'was with Peter 'at Rome, with Paul in Illyricum, with Titus in Crete.' That opinion, it is likely, was built upon this text in the epistle to the Romans. Consequently, it is to be supposed, that Paul had been in Illyricum, before writing that epistle. Nor can any season be thought of more likely, than this period, between his leaving Ephesus, and coming to Troas, in the way to Jerusalem.

I suppose Theodoret to be of the same mind with us, and to confirm what we are now saying, in his comment upon Rom. xv. 19. 'He [c] shews to how many people he had preached: 'so that "from Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the gospel 'of Christ." As if he had said, I have not cultivated the nations in a straight line only; but 'going round about I have planted the doctrine of the gospel in the eastern countries, and also 'in Pontus, and likewise in Asia and Thrace. That is what he intends by "round about."'

And Euthalius, in his prologue to St. Paul's fourteen epistles, reckons [d] Illyricum among the countries where Paul had preached, and says, that he converted a large part of it to the faith of Christ.

It may be not improper for us to give here some attention to the history of Aquila and Priscilla. They were with Paul at Ephesus when he wrote his first epistle to the Corinthians, in the spring of the year 56. For he sends their salutations in these words: "The churches of Asia salute you. Aquila and Priscilla salute you much in the Lord, with the church that is in their house." 1 Cor. xvi. 19. The Jews having been banished from Rome by an edict of Clau-

[a] 'He did not go directly from Ephesus to Macedonia, 'that is, he did not take shipping at Ephesus (that was not 'safe); but escaped by land to Troas, as he says, 2 Cor. ii. 12, 'and from thence took ship to Macedonia.' Wall's Critical Notes upon the N. T. p. 205.

[b] Erat igitur uno eodemque tempore et cum Apostolis quadraginta diebus——cum Thomâ in India, cum Paulo in Illyrico, cum Tito in Cretâ, cum Andreâ in Achaiâ. Ad Marcell. T. IV. P. I. p. 167. Bened.

[c] Διδασκει δε και ποσοις εκηρυξεν εθνεσιν——ου γαρ τα κατα την ευθειαν οδον παρακειμενα εθνη εγεωργησα μονα, αλλα και κυκλω περιων, ταυτα εωα, και τα Ποντικα μεση, και προς τουτοις τα κατα Ασιαν, και την Θρακην, της διδασκαλιας επληρωσα. Τουτο γαρ δηλοι το κυκλω. Theod. in Loc. T. III. p. 111, 112.

[d] —— πολλας μεν πολεις, πολλας δε χωρας περιεγραψεν, μικρω δε το Ιλλυρικον απαν των της εις Χριστον ευσεβειας δογματων ενεπλησε. Euthal. ap. Zac. p. 520.

dius, they came to Corinth, a short time before Paul. Acts xviii. 1—3. When Paul went from Corinth to Ephesus and Jerusalem, they went with him as far as Ephesus, and tarried there, ver. 18, 19. When Paul wrote the epistle to the Romans, at the end of his second peregrination in Macedonia and Achaia, in the spring of the year 58 (as we suppose), they were at Rome. For Paul sends his salutations to them, Rom. xvi. 3. Afterwards they returned to Ephesus. For Paul sends his salutations to them in his second epistle to Timothy, then at Ephesus, 2 Tim. iv. 19, which epistle I think to have been written in the summer of the year 61, soon after Paul's coming a prisoner to Rome. And it has been supposed, that they continued at Ephesus the remainder of their life: which to me seems not improbable. It is likely, that soon after Paul went from Ephesus to Macedonia, which he did in April or May 56, they also went from Ephesus to Rome. They might return thither, with a view to settle some secular affairs, they having before left Rome in a hurry, in compliance with the edict of Claudius. Or they returned to Rome with a design to continue there. For they seem to have had their family with them. Says St. Paul, in the place before referred to, Rom. xvi. 3—5; "Salute Priscilla and Aquila,——and the church in their house." Mr. Biscoe [a] explaining these words, "the church in their house," says, 'they had, it is probable, a considerable number of servants to carry on 'their trade. These, doubtless, were taught by them the christian faith: by which means they 'had a church in their house, wherever they settled.' And speaking of their being at Corinth, he says, 'they [b] came from Rome, and settled at Corinth: in whose house at Corinth St. Paul took up his lodging, and wrought with them at their trade of tent making.

What I would observe is this; that there is nothing in the history of these two excellent Christians, Paul's helpers, inconsistent with the account which we have just given of this peregrination of Paul: which is to this purpose. Paul removed from Ephesus in the spring of the year 56, and went into Macedonia. But which way he went, I cannot tell, whether by the way of Troas, or some other course. He also was in Crete, and Illyricum about this time. Having spent the winter of 56 at Nicopolis, either in Thrace or Epirus, he came into Macedonia, where he stayed some while. And near the end of the year 57, in November or December, he came into Achaia, and particularly to Corinth, where he stayed three months. Hence Paul intended to have sailed to Syria. But understanding "that the Jews laid wait for him," he returned again to Macedonia. "And sailed away from Philippi, after the days of unleavened bread, and came to his friends at Troas in five days." Acts xx. 3—6. That passover which Paul kept at Philippi we suppose to have been in the year 58. At Troas Paul stayed seven days.

It is not needful for us to pursue distinctly Paul's journey thence to Jerusalem, it being very clearly laid down by St. Luke, in the remaining part of ch. xx. and the beginning of xxi. I observe a few things only, ch. xx. 13; "And we went before by ship to Assos [from Troas] there intending to take in Paul. For so he had appointed, minding himself to go afoot." By which, I apprehend, we need not suppose that Paul walked all that way: the original word, as seems to me, importing no more than that Paul chose to go so far by land; whilst the rest of the company went by water. [c]

Ch. xx. 16. "For Paul had determined to sail by Ephesus, because he would not spend the time in Asia. For he hasted, if it were possible for him, to be at Jerusalem the day of Pentecost." As I suppose he was, though it is not particularly mentioned by St. Luke. So says [d] Lightfoot: 'St. Paul cometh to Jerusalem at the feast of Pentecost, when the city was now 'full of a confluence to that festival.' Whereby we may be able to apprehend the greatness of the multitude of the people, as intimated by St. Luke xxi. 27—36, and the extremity of the apostle's danger, and the terrifying circumstances of it.

We have now gone through a period of about eight years, from Paul's leaving Antioch, not far from the beginning of the year 50, to his coming to Jerusalem at the Pentecost in 58.

XI. I shall next observe the apostle's history from this time to his deliverance from his imprisonment at Rome.

Paul was about two years in Judea. He came to Jerusalem, as just said, at the feast of Pentecost in the year 58. And he was sent away to Rome near the end of the year 60. St.

[a] Upon the Acts, p. 433. [b] The same, p. 432.

[c] Μεταμεληθηναι δ' αυτος εν παντι τω βιω τρεις μεταμελειας· μιαν μεν επι τω γυναικι πιστευσαι λογον απορρητον· ετεραν δε, πλευσας, ὁπυ δυνατον ην πεζευσαι· την δε τριτην, ὁτι μιαν ἡμεραν αδιαθετος εμεινεν. Plutarch. Vit. M. Caton. Maj.

[d] As before, Vol. I. p. 319.

Luke's account of what happened to Paul in that space of time is in ch. xxi. 17.——ch. xxv. 1—32. For when he had been a few days at Jerusalem, he was seized by a rude and enraged multitude, who would have killed him, if he had not been rescued out of their hands by Lysias, a tribune, and the chief officer at Jerusalem, under the Roman governor; who secured him in the castle of Antonia, binding him with two chains to two soldiers. But before Paul was carried into the castle, he made a speech to the people, as he stood upon the stairs going up into it. But the people not being at all mollified, and still shewing great rage, the chief captain ordered that Paul should be brought into the castle. The next day he loosed Paul from his bonds, and brought him before the Jewish council. But a great dissension arising in the council between the members of it, the captain was obliged "to take him by force from them, and bring him into the castle." The day after the captain being informed of a conspiracy to assassinate Paul, he prudently sent him from Jerusalem, under a strong guard, to Cæsarea by the sea side, where the governor Felix resided. After two years imprisonment Porcius Festus came in the room of Felix, who, to gratify the Jews, left Paul bound. In a short time Festus brought his prisoner's cause to a hearing at Cæsarea. And the Jews still prosecuting him with great earnestness, Paul appealed to Cæsar. "Then Festus, when he had conferred with his council, answered, hast thou appealed to Cæsar? Unto Cæsar thou shalt go." A while after which, Paul, and other prisoners in that country, were delivered to Julius, a centurion, to be conducted by sea to Italy.

Whilst Paul was in Judea, he made a speech to the people at Jerusalem, already taken notice of, when he freely declared his principles and conduct. He was also brought by Lysias before the whole Sanhedrim, or Jewish council. He pleaded before Felix in answer to the accusations of Tertullus, and the Jews who employed him. He preached before Felix and his wife Drusilla, and was several times in the presence of Felix. And before he was sent away to Rome, Festus gave him an opportunity to appear, and plead before himself, and king Agrippa, and Bernice, and the tribunes, and principal men of Cæsarea: when Paul gave that august assembly an account of his doctrine, and of himself from his conversion to that time. And it is manifest, that Paul's discourse was well received. And both he and his doctrine were acquitted from all the charges and accusations of the Jews. For when the company had withdrawn, they said among themselves, where certainly they could speak with freedom: "This man doth nothing worthy of death, or of bonds."

Indeed, it must be owned, that Paul was civilly treated by all the Roman officers in Judea. Lysias, Felix, Festus, Julius. They all behaved as magistrates ought to do. They gave their prisoner and his accusers a fair hearing, that they might know the truth of the case. Felix was a bad man. Nevertheless, "he commanded a Centurion to keep Paul, and to let him have liberty, and that he should forbid none of his acquaintance to minister, or to come to him." ch. xxiv. 23. And he left Paul bound, when he should have released him. But it was only out of compliance to the Jews, of whom he was afraid. And if there was any other defect of justice toward Paul, in the behaviour of the Roman officers, it may be fitly imputed to the powerful influence of the Jews, the people of the country; to whom governors, sent in from abroad, would be obliged to shew a great regard from political considerations.

In ch. xxvii. and xxviii. 1—16, is an account of Paul's voyage to Rome, which St. Luke has related very distinctly. As it was near winter when they set out, they met with bad weather, and were wrecked on the island Melita, now called Malta, lying south of Sicily. There they stayed "three months," xxxviii. 11, and then sailed for Italy in a ship of Alexandria. They landed at Puteoli, and so went for Rome. Paul and the other prisoners were delivered by the centurion to the captain of the guard. How the other prisoners were disposed of, is not particularly related. "But Paul was suffered to dwell by himself with a soldier that kept him," ver. 16. And as Paul had appealed to the emperor, I suppose that he was soon brought before him, and that the method of his confinement was ordered by the emperor himself. Of which I may say more hereafter, when we come to the second epistle to Timothy.

Says [a] Lightfoot: 'His accusers, that were come from Judea to lay in their charge against 'him (for we can hardly suppose otherwise, but that some such were come), would be urgent 'to get their business dispatched, that they might be returning to their own home again. And

[a] As before, p. 322.

'so would bring him to trial as soon as they could.——As he appealed to Nero himself, so 'Nero himself heard his cause.' Philip. i. 13; 2 Tim. iv. 16.

So Lightfoot. And it appears to me very strange, that any should think Paul's cause was not heard at all at Rome, during his two years stay there. And yet it has been the opinion of several learned men, particularly of [a] James Capellus, and [b] Dr. Doddridge, whose words I have placed below. And Fr. Spanheim speaks to the like purpose. But his sentiments are rejected by his friend [c] Witsius, as no better than trifling.

Paul came to Rome in the spring of the year, as all will readily think. Some learned men place his arrival there in [d] February, others [e] in April. Here Paul "dwelled two whole years in his own hired house." Therefore he was released from his confinement in the spring two years after.

I suppose Paul to have come to Jerusalem at the Pentecost of the year 58, to Rome in the spring of the year 61, and to have been released in the former part of the year 63. This period therefore is about the space of five years.

XII. We are now to write the history of our apostle from this time to his death. But in this period we have no assistance from St. Luke, very little from the other books of the New Testament, nor very much from ancient authors, which can be depended upon as certain.

Whither Paul went after he had obtained his liberty, has been debated. Some think, that [f] he went from Rome to Spain. Others see not sufficient reason for that supposition. Among these are [g] Lenfant and Beausobre, [h] Basnage and [i] Cellarius, and [k] Du Pin.

That Paul went into Spain, has been argued from an expression of Clement in his epistle to the Corinthians, who there says of Paul, 'that [l] having taught the whole world righteousness, 'and having come to the borders of the west, and having suffered martyrdom, he went to the 'holy place.' Which some have rendered "the utmost bounds of the west," and argue, that [m] hereby is meant Spain. I rather think, that Clement only meant Italy, or Rome, where Clement was, and where Paul suffered. From a note of Le Clerc upon the place we learn, that [n] Bp. Fell so understood Clement. The word "coming" also leads to this sense. If Clement had thought of Spain, or Britain, or any other places beyond that, in which himself was, he would not have said *και ελθων*, "and having come," but *πορευσαμενος*, or some other equivalent word, "and having gone to the bounds of the west." Lenfant and Beausobre, in their general preface to St. Paul's epistles, say "the bounds of the west" [o] signify nothing but the west. It is an ex-

[a] Rediit Romam causam acturus, quod in primâ Romæ mansione non comparuissent accusatores. Jac. Cap. Compendios. in Apostol. Histor. Chronolog. Tab.

[b] 'After this, Paul continued two whole years at Rome in 'his own hired house, before he was heard by Cæsar, or his 'deputy, upon his appeal.' Upon Acts xxviii. 30. Family Expositor, Vol. III. p. 434.

[c] Celeberrimus Spanhemius noster ad Historiæ Christianæ seculum i.——hæc habet: 'Dimissus nempe fuerat Paulus, 'eâ lege, ut in Asiâ coram accusatoribus suis sisteretur, aut 'Romæ rursus se sisteret, quum ante nulli in ipsum Romam 'missi a Judæis essent. Eâ occasione adiit Corinthum.—— 'Sed apparentibus Hierosolymâ Judæis, Romam redire coac- 'tus est, anno, ut videtur, sequente; ubi conjectus in vincula; 'ibidemque ultima Pauli certamina, &c.'——Quæ quam debili nitantur fundamento, non puto mihi esse ostendendum. Wits. de Vit. Pauli. sect. xii. num. xl.

[d] Ita Paulus, postquam per tres menses Melitæ hiemâsset, per Syracusas, Rhegium, et Puteolos, Romam venit mense Febr. Neronis vii. Pearson. Ann. Paul p. 18. A. D. lxi.

Ita tandem Paulus, post tot casus, post tot rerum discrimina, Romam venit, anno vii. Neronis, mense Februario. Wits. ib. sect. xii. n. i.

See likewise Tillemont. S. Paul. art. 42.

[e] Basnag. ann. 60. num. x.

[f] Adveniente Timotheo, ex Italiâ profectus est in Hispaniam, quo iturum se dixerat in epistolâ ad Romanos. Pearson. ib. p. 20.

[g] Quelques anciens pères ont dit, que saint Paul, ayant été mis en liberté, alla faire le voyage d'Espagne, dont il avoit formé le dessein cinq ou six ans auparavant. Rom. xv. 24. Mais, outre que ces témoignages sont du quatrième ou du cinquième siècle, il semble que ces pères n'ont parlé de ce voyage, que sur ce que S. Paul en a dit dans l'épitre aux Romains. C'est au moins tout ce que S. Jérome allègue. ——Aussi les épitres, que S. Paul écrivit durant sa captivité, témoignent qu'il ne pensoit qu' à retourner en Grèce et en Asie, dès qu'il seroit délivré. Pouvoit-il avoir dans l'esprit un voyage en Espagne, lorsqu'il mandoit à Philémon, 'de lui préparer un logement?' Laissant donc une tradition, au moins fort incertaine, &c. Lenf. et Beaus. Pref. générale sur les epitres de S. Paul. sect. liv. p. 33.

[h] Ann. 46. num. xlvi—l.

[i] Eruditis placet, et admodum est probabile, Paulum primâ captivitate, quam Lucas scripsit, liberatum in Græciam et Asiam revertisse, adeoque bis Romæ fuisse: in Hispaniam autem penetrâsse, credibile non est. Chr. Cellar. de Itineribus S. Pauli Apostoli. sect. xxviii.

[k] Il arriva à Rome au commencement de l'an 61. Il en sortit au bout de deux ans. Plusieurs ont crû, qu'il avoit alors fait le voyage d'Espagne. Mais nous avons fait voir ailleurs que cela est fort incertain. Il est plus vraisemblable, qu'il revint dans l'Asie, et dans la Grèce. Du Pin. Diss. Prel. I. 2. ch. 2 sect. viii.

[l] *διδαιοσυνην διδαξας ὁλον τον κοσμον, και επι το τερμα της δυσεως ελθων, και μαρτυρησας επι των ἡγεμονων.*——κ. λ. Clem. cap. v.

[m] Et certe eam regionem vidit, quam Clemens Romanus, ejus itinera commemorans, appellat *το τερμα της δυσεως*. Pearson. ibid.

[n] Romæ, hoc est in Hesperiâ, sive Italiâ. Fell.

[o] Num. liv. p. 33.

pression, they say, borrowed from the scriptures, in which the borders of a country denote the country itself. In like manner by those words Clement intended Italy.

However, another ground of this opinion is what St. Paul himself says, Rom. xv. 24. "Whensoever I take my journey into Spain, I will come to you. For I trust to see you in my journey, and to be brought on my way thitherward by you, if first I be somewhat filled with your company." But Paul's measures had been broken by his imprisonment at Rome, and the consequences of it. And it was now at least five years since writing the epistle to the Romans. It is more likely, that [a] when Paul left Rome, he went into the east, and Greece. For in his letters, written near the end of his confinement there, he expresseth hopes of so doing. Philip. ii. 23, 24, speaking of Timothy, he says: "Him therefore I hope to send presently, so soon as I shall see how it will go with me. But I trust in the Lord, that I also myself shall come shortly." Compare i. 20—25.——And he says to Philemon, an inhabitant of Colosse, ver. 22, "But withal prepare me a lodging: for I trust that, through your prayers, I shall be given unto you." And in the epistle to the Hebrews, probably written by Paul to the Jews of Judea and Jerusalem, he says, ch. xiii. 18, 19, "Pray for us.——And I beseech you the rather to do this, that I may be restored to you the sooner." And lower, ver. 23, "Know ye, that our brother Timothy is set at liberty. With whom, if he come shortly, I will see you." Moreover, it is not impossible, but that Paul may have taken care of Spain, by sending thither some of his fellow-labourers, whilst he was a prisoner at Rome.

As I suppose the epistle to the Hebrews to have been written after that to Philemon, I am apt to think, that Paul came from Rome to Jerusalem, as soon and as directly as he could. But he made there a short stay only. From Judea I think it likely that he went to Ephesus, and there left Timothy: whom about two years before he had sent for to come to him from Ephesus to Rome. From Ephesus Paul might go to Laodicea and Colosse. And possibly, he returned to Rome by Troas, Philippi, and Corinth.

Some have hesitated to allow, that Paul ever came again into this country, because he says, Acts xx. 25, "And now, behold, I know, that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more." But Lewis Capellus [b] has well removed that difficulty. I therefore have placed below a part of his observations. And says Wall upon the place: 'Εγω οιδα, "I know," when spoken of things future, does not, (as it is used by St. Paul) 'always signify a certain knowledge, or a prophetic certainty: but often means only thus much: '"I take it for granted: I am fully persuaded: I foresee it highly probable: I have no other 'expectation." And the like. See also what there follows.

They who think, that Paul did come again into this country, but nevertheless was not at Ephesus, seem not to attend to St. Paul's expressions, who does not say to the elders of Ephesus: "I know that you will see me no more." But his words are these: "And now, behold, I know, that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more." The apostle then thought, that he should never more come into those parts. Consequently, he might as well come to Ephesus as to Colosse: which he probably did, and certainly hoped, and intended to do. See Philem. ver. 22.

Beside Capellus and Wall, already alleged, I might refer to others, who hesitate not at all to allow, that Paul came again into this country, particularly Le Clerc, and Lenfant and Beausobre, upon Acts xx. 25, and [d] Pearson. Not now to mention any more.

I said just now, that, probably, Paul went to Jerusalem, as soon as he could, after he was set at liberty. And say Lenfant and Beausobre in their [e] general preface to St. Paul's epistles:

[a] Nos tamen præcipue movent petita ex Scripturis argumenta, quibus aperte liquet, Paulum egressum Romanorum carcere, in Orientem se contulisse. Documento sane magno, mutatum esse jubente Deo Pauli consilium, quo in Hispaniæ tractum ex civitate Romanâ proficisci statuerat.——Illud etiam nobis est vero proximum, peregrinationem Pauli Hispanicam ex verbis Pauli fabricatam.——Unde collegerunt, quod decreverat, illud executioni esse mandatum. Quæ tamen non est apta argumentandi ratio, &c. Basnag. Ann. 46. num. xlix.

[b] Sed responderi potest, Paulum non semel ex humanâ conjecturâ, atque ex humano spiritu, consilio, et proposito, multa ejusmodi cogitâsse, pritâsse, proposuisse, ac dixisse. Quæ tamen postea, Deo ita disponente, aliter ceciderunt.—— Itaque mirum videri non debet, si, cum Spiritus Paulum [illegible] epidatim moneret vincula et afflictiones graves [illegible] Jerosolymis, sentiretque se Spiritu ligatum, ut eo [illegible] proficisceretur, nesciens quænam essent illic [illegible] desperaverit de reditu suo ad eos, quos post se [illegible] licet, Deo ita disponente——res aliquot post [illegible] aliter, quam ipse tum credebat. Non est [illegible] adversus nos argumentum illud, ut eo subver[illegible] nostra de Pauli reditu in Orientem, post soluta [illegible] vincula. Lud. Capel. Hist. Apost. Illustrat. p. 34—

[c] Notes upon the N. T. p. 255.

[d] Paulus venit Miletum, &c. Ann. Paulin. p. 24. A. D. lxvi.

[e] P. 34.

We have seen, that the apostle was accustomed to go from time to time to Jerusalem, and to take the opportunity of solemn festivals. So long as the temple subsisted, the Jewish Christians did not neglect the ordinances of the law. St. Paul himself did not neglect them, 'that he might give no offence to the Jews.' I readily assent to what they say about the apostle's going to Jerusalem. I could almost think, that Paul was desirous to go thither, to praise God in his temple for the favourable circumstances of his imprisonment at Rome, and for his deliverance from it. Paul's case at Rome very much resembled what had happened to him at Corinth. After [a] which, we find, he had a vow, and went from Corinth to Ephesus, and hastened to Jerusalem, Acts xviii. 9—22. In like manner, I imagine, that now Paul went to Jerusalem, as soon as he could. But he made no long stay there. It had not been his custom so to do, since his conversion.

Having been at Jerusalem, I suppose, as before said, that he visited divers churches, which had been planted by him, and then returned to Rome. St. Paul, though a prisoner, had lived very comfortably at Rome. And he had there had great success in his services for the gospel. It seems to me, that he now considered that city, as the most proper place for him to reside in the remaining part of his life. It was the most conspicuous place in all the world, and the place of the greatest resort from all parts. There he hoped to be more useful than in any other place.

But things do not always fall out exactly according to human expectations. For, as I suppose, the apostle had not been long returned to Rome, before he was called out to resign his life for the name of Christ.

In the year of Christ 64, as we learn from [b] Suetonius, and [c] Tacitus, heathen historians, as well as from others, was a dreadful fire at Rome, which continued six or seven days. It was thought by many people, that the city had been set on fire by the emperor's orders. But soon after the Christians were most cruelly treated by him, as if they had been the authors of the conflagration. So says Tacitus. The fire is said to have begun on [d] the 19th of July. And the persecution of the Christians began, as is supposed by some, in [e] November following, by others [f] in August. Which to me seems not so likely.

It is the opinion of [g] Pagi, and [h] Basnage, that Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom in the year of [i] Christ 65. They argue in this manner. Orosius [k] having given an account of Nero's persecution of the Christians, and of the death of the two apostles in it, adds, that it was followed by a pestilence in the city, and other disasters. And Tacitus [l] speaking of affairs, when Nerva and Vestinus were consuls, which was the year of Christ 65, mentions a pestilence in the

[a] A particular account of that journey from Corinth to Jerusalem may be seen in the first volume of this work, p. 114—116.

[b] Nam, quasi offensus deformitate veterum ædificiorum, et angustiis flexurisque vicorum, incendit urbem.——Per sex dies septemque noctes eâ clade sævitum est.——Hoc incendium e turri Mæcenatianâ prospectans, lætusque flammæ, ut aiebat, pulcritudine, Ἅλωσιν Ilii in illo suo scenico habitu decantavit. Sueton. Neron. cap. 38.

[c] Sed non ope humanâ, non largitionibus Principis, aut Deûm placamentis, decedebat infamia, quin jussum incendium crederetur. Ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos, et quæsitissimis pœnis affecit, quos, per flagitia invisos, vulgus Christianos appellabat.——Igitur primo correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens, haud perinde crimine [illegible]ii, quam odio humani generis convicti, &c. Tacit. Ann. [illegible]. cap. 44.

[d] Fuere qui annotarent, xiv. Calendas Sextiles principium incendii hujus ortum, quo et Senones captam urbem inflammavêrant. Tacit. Annal. 15. cap. 41.

——cujus initium in medium mensem Novembrem A. 64, cadit. Moshem. de Reb. Christian. sec. i. cap. 34.

[f] Vid. Toinard. ad lib. de Mort. Persecut. cap. ii.

[g] Vid. Pagi ann. 64, 65, 67.

[h] Inchoatam superiore anno persecutionem currente continuavit Neronis furor, qui Petri Paulique sanguine respersus est. Basn. an. 65. n. ix.

[i] That also was the opinion of Du Pin, not now to mention any others. Quoiqu'il en soit, il est certain, qu' étant revenu à Rome avec saint Pierre, il y eût la tête tranchée dans le temps de la persécution de Néron, et probablement la 65 année de Jésus Christ, comme nous l'avons fait voir en un autre endroit. Du Pin. Diss. Prel. I. 2. ch. 2. sect. viii.

[k] Nam primus Romæ Christianos suppliciis et mortibus adfecit, ac per omnes provincias pari persecutione excruciari imperavit; ipsumque nomen extirpare conatus, beatissimos Apostolos, Petrum cruce, Paulum gladio occidit. Mox acervatim miseram civitatem obortæ undique clades. Nam subsequente autumno tanta urbi pestilentia incubuit, ut triginta millia funerum in rationem Libitinæ venirent. Oros. l. 7. c. 7.

[l] Tacitus lib. XVI. cap. 13, loquens de iis quæ Nervâ et Vestino Coss. gesta, sic narrationem suam concludit: 'Tot facinoribus fœdum annum etiam Dii tempestatibus, et morbis insignivere. Vastata Campania turbine ventorum, qui villas, arbusta, fruges passim disjecit, pertulitque violentiam ad vicina urbi. In quâ omne mortalium genus vis pestilentiæ depopulabatur, nullâ cœli intemperie, quæ occurreret oculis.' Petrus itaque et Paulus eo anno morti traditi, quo urbem pestilentia afflixit. Quare, cum, teste Tacito, anno Christi sexagesimo quinto pestis Romæ grassata fuerit, Principum Apostolorum martyrium perperam a Baronio ad præsentem annum dilatum. Pagi Ann. 67. n. iii.

city, violent storms in some part of Italy, and other calamities. So Pagi. And Basnage [a] argues in the like manner from that passage of Orosius.

The last mentioned learned chronologer likewise observes, that [b] Sulpicius Severus having given an account of the fire at Rome, and Nero's persecution of the Christians, and of the martyrdom of Peter and Paul therein, adds: 'Whilst these things were doing at Rome, the 'Jews being uneasy under the oppressions of their governor Gessius Florus, began to rebel.' Upon which Basnage observes: the [c] Jewish war began in May 66. Therefore the martyrdoms of the apostles happened in the year before, that is, 65. To which, perhaps, might be added, that [d] Suetonius having spoken of the fire, the pestilence, and those calamities which are mentioned by Tacitus and Orosius, takes notice, that at the same time Syria was difficultly kept from breaking out into a rebellion: intending, probably, the uneasiness of the Jewish people in 65 and 66.

Basnage observes also, that [e] Epiphanius placeth the death of Peter and Paul in the twelfth year of Nero: part [f] of which, as he says, fell in the year 65.

I am the more inclined to this date, because we do not find in the epistles of the New Testament any notice taken of the persecution of the Christians at Rome, or of the devastations in Judea, after the commencement of the war. If Peter and Paul had been in any of the provinces, and had survived the terrible persecution at Rome in 64 and 65, we should have had some epistle, or epistles of theirs, concerning it, to the Romans, or to the Christians of some other place.

I do not presume to assign positively the year of the martyrdom of these two apostles. I have mentioned the specious and probable arguments of two very eminent chronologers in favour of the year 65. Nor do I think the apostles survived that year. But I cannot say whether their martyrdoms happened in the year 64, or 65. Pagi says that Peter and Paul were taken up and imprisoned in 64, and put to death in the year 65. But I know nothing of the imprisonment of the apostles at this time. There may be in late and fabulous authors large and particular accounts of their imprisonment, just before their martyrdoms. But there is little or no notice taken of it by the most ancient writers. If Peter and Paul were come to Rome before the city was set on fire, and before the persecution of the Christians began (which is not improbable) they might be taken up, and soon put to death, before the end of the year 64.

[a] Jam vero sæva hæc lues in Nervæ et Vestini consulatum incidit. Basn. ann. 65. n. ix.

[b] Interea, abundante jam Christianorum multitudine, accidit, ut Roma incendio conflagraret, Nerone apud Antium constituto. Sed opinio omnium invidiam incendii in Principem retorquebat, credebaturque Imperator gloriam innovandæ urbis quæsisse. Neque ullâ re Nero efficiebat, quin ab eo jussum incendium putaretur. Igitur vertit invidiam in Christianos, actæque in innoxios crudelissimæ quæstiones. ——Hoc initio in Christianos sæviri cœptum. Post etiam, datis legibus, religio vetabatur: palamque edictis propositis, Christianum esse non licebat. Tum Paulus ac Petrus capitis damnati; quorum uni cervix gladio desecta. Petrus in crucem sublatus est. Sulp. Sev. l. 2. c. 41.

Dum hæc Romæ geruntur, Judæi, præsidis sui Gessii Flori injurias non ferentes, rebellare cœperunt. ib. cap. 42.

[c] Bellum autem Judaïcum incœpit anni sequentis mense Maio. Proindeque Apostolorum martyrium in præsens tempus conferendum. Basn. an. 65. n. ix.

[d] Accesserunt tantis ex Principe malis, probrisque quædam et fortuita: pestilentia unius autumni, quo triginta funerum millia in rationem Libitinæ venerant: clades Britanica,—— ægreque Syria retenta. Sueton. Neron. cap. 39.

[e] ——μετα την τε ἁγιε Πετρε και Παυλε τελευτην την επι τω δωδεκατω ετει Νερωνος γενομενην. Hær. 27. num. vi.

[f] Pars autem anni Neroniani duodecimi ad præsentem spectat, utpote Octobris tertio et decimo incipientis. Basn. an. 65. n. ix.

[g] Præterquam quod, cum persecutio adversus Christianos anno lxiv. decreta fuerit, ac insequenti continuata, non dubium, quin priori anno Petrus et Paulus in carcerem conjecti sint, ac posteriori necati. Ann. 65. num. iii.

CHAP. XII.

ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES.

I. *The Introduction.* II. *The two Epistles to the Thessalonians.* III. *The Epistle to the Galatians.* IV. *The first epistle to the Corinthians.* V. *The first Epistle to Timothy.* VI. *The Epistle to Titus.* VII. *The second Epistle to the Corinthians.* VIII. *The Epistle to the Romans.* IX. *The Epistle to the Ephesians.* X. *The second Epistle to Timothy.* XI. *The Epistle to the Philippians.* XII. *The Epistle to the Colossians.* XIII. *The Epistle to Philemon.* XIV. *The Epistle to the Hebrews.*

SECT. I.

The Introduction.

I SHALL now endeavour to settle the time of St. Paul's epistles, of which Origen said: 'If[a] 'any man reads them with attention, I am persuaded, he will admire the writer's abilities in 'expressing great things in vulgar language: or, if he does not admire them, himself will appear 'ridiculous.'

It cannot but afford satisfaction, to know the order of time, in which they were written. It will not only be attended with pleasure, but will also contribute to the right understanding of them. For wrong dates have been the occasion of many mistakes. Baronius observes, that some have imagined the shipwreck at Melita, related in Acts xxvii. to be one of the three mentioned by St. Paul 2 Cor. xi. 25, not considering, that the second epistle to the Corinthians had been written several years before. I have put the passage [b] in the margin, as quoted by Lewis Capellus. The author of the commentary upon thirteen of St. Paul's epistles, in the fourth century, made [c] the same mistake, and several others of a like kind, in explaining the paragraph of 2 Cor. xi. 25, 26.

Of St. Paul's fourteen epistles, thirteen have been generally received by catholic Christians in all times. I therefore need not now allege the testimonies of ancient Christian writers, which may be seen in the preceding volumes of this work. But as the epistle to the Hebrews has been sometimes doubted of, I shall observe the evidences of its genuineness. With regard to the others, I shall do little more than show the time when they were written. And I would take it for granted, that they who are disposed to examine the arguments in this chapter, have first read the history of St. Paul, in the preceding chapter: which will be of great use, and prevent the trouble of numerous references.

SECT. II.

The two Epistles to the Thessalonians.

The first and second epistles to the Thessalonians are now generally allowed by learned interpreters and chronologers to be the two first written epistles of St. Paul. The time and

[a] See Vol. i. p. 535.

[b] Quamvis juvet, quamque sit utile, certo tenere tempus, quo Pauli epistolæ ab eo fuerunt scriptæ, recte observavit Baronius ad A. C. 58, sect xlii. Sed hic, inquit ille, et illud necessario monendum putamus lectorem, nonnullis accidisse, ut temporum ignoratione in maximos errores incidant, putantes nimirum naufragium apud Melitam passum, quod Lucas narrat Act. xxvii. unum e tribus fuisse a Paulo enumeratis, 2 Cor. xi. non animadvertentes, secundam istam epistolam ad Corinthios longe ante illud naufragium esse scriptam. Quamobrem scrupulosa, quæ videtur, in historiâ temporum indagatio, quantum conferat ad veram atque germanam Divinæ Scripturæ interpretationem, quisque facile judicabit. ——Hæc, rectissime Baronius. Itaque hac in parte operam nostram ejusmodi indagatione post alios collocavimus. Lud. Cap. Append. ad Hist. Apost. p. 63.

[c] 'Nocte et die in profundo maris fui.'] Hoc factum est, quando missus est Romam, cum appellâsset Cæsarem. Tunc desperatione vitæ in alto, id est, in profundo maris fuit, mortem ante oculos habens.——'Periculis in mari.' Jam superius dixit: 'Ter naufragium feci, nocte et die in profundo maris fui.' Quod aliud periculum fuit in mari? Sed hoc est periculum, quando in mari, hoc est, in navi, milites cogitaverant omnes custodias occidere, ne quis enatans effugeret. Quod periculum centurio prohibuit inferri, ne Paulus occideretur, ut eum vivum Romam produceret. In 2 ep. ad Cor. xi. 25. 26. p. 202. ap. Ambros. in App. tom. II.

place of writing them may be deduced from the epistles themselves, and from the history of St. Paul's travels in the book of the Acts. Some have thought, that [a] the first, at least, if not also the second, was written at Athens. But I suppose it to be now generally allowed, that [b] both these epistles were written at Corinth: whereby we are also assured of their time. For it was formerly shewn to be probable, that [c] St. Paul came to Corinth before the end of the year 51, and stayed there till the beginning of the year 53.

In the Synopsis ascribed to Athanasius, the [d] first epistle to the Thessalonians is said to have been written at Athens, and [e] the second, very absurdly, at Rome.

Theodoret, as [f] before quoted, saw these to be the two first written epistles of the apostle. The [g] first he supposed to have been written at Athens, and the second not long after, either at Athens or Corinth. For he does not seem to say distinctly, at which of these two cities the second was written. Nevertheless I suppose it may be shown that they were both written at Corinth. St. Paul came from Thessalonica to Berea: which place he left in haste, because of the violence of the Jews, who came thither from Thessalonica, and "stirred up the people," Acts xvii. 10—13. "And then immediately," says St. Luke, "the brethren sent away Paul, to go as it were to the sea. But Silas and Timothy abode there still. And they that conducted Paul, brought him unto Athens. And receiving a commandment unto Silas and Timothy to come to him with all speed, they departed," ver. 14, 15. Accordingly, as we may suppose, Silas and Timothy did soon come to him. And Paul, having great concern for the Thessalonians, whilst he was at Athens, sent Timothy to them. As he says, 1 Thess. iii. 1, 2, "Wherefore, when we could no longer forbear, we thought it good to be left at Athens alone. And sent Timothy, our brother and minister of God, and our fellow-labourer in the gospel of Christ, to establish you, and comfort you, concerning your faith." From Athens Paul went to Corinth, where he stayed a year and six months. There Timothy came back to him from Thessalonica. Comp. Acts xviii. 5. and 1 Thess. iii. 6. And Silas, or Sivanus, and Timothy are joined with the apostle in the inscription of the epistle.

Near the end of this epistle, ch. v. 27. are these remarkable words: "I charge, [or adjure, you by the Lord, ορκιζω υμας τον κυριον, that this epistle be read unto all the holy brethren.]" It is likely, that from the beginning all Christian assemblies had readings of the scriptures of the Old Testament. Paul, knowing the plentitude of the apostolical commission, now demands the same respect to be paid to his writings, with those of the ancient prophets. This is a direction fit to be inserted in the first epistle written by him. And the manner in which it is given, suggests an argument that this was his first apostolical epistle.

The second epistle to the Thessalonians appears to have been written soon after the first, and at the same place. And Silvanus and Timothy are joined together with the apostle in the inscription of this epistle, as well as of the former.

These two epistles therefore I suppose to have been written at Corinth, in the year of Christ 52. Which is also the opinion of [h] Mill, and others. But by whom these epistles were carried to the Thessalonians, we do not perceive.

Some objections have been made against the above-mentioned date of these two epistles. But the point is so clear, that I do not think it worth the while to prolong this argument in examining them. They who are curious, may see those objections well answered by Dr. Benson, in the second edition of [i] his history of the first planting the Christian religion.

Sect. III.

The Epistle to the Galatians.

The epistle to the Galatians is inscribed after this manner: "Paul, an apostle, —— and all the brethren which are with me, unto the churches of Galatia." Upon which Jerom observes, "In [k] other epistles Sosthenes and Silvanus, and sometimes also Timothy, are mentioned as the

[a] Ante Pauli vincula omnium prima scripta est ad Thessalonicenses utraque. Scriptæ autem omnino videntur duæ istæ epistolæ Athenis. Lud. Cap. Hist. Ap. p. 63.

[b] Pearson. Ann. Paulin. p. 11—13. Mill. Proleg. num. 4. et 6.

[c] See before, p. 273, 274.

[d] Synops. S. S. n. 66. ap. Athan. T. II. p. 196. Num. 67. ib. p. 197.

[f] Vol. iii. p. 11.

[g] Præf. in Ep. Pauli. T. III. p. 3.

[h] Prolegom. num. 4—7.

[i] Vol. ii. p. 119—122.

[k] In aliis epistolis Sosthenes et Silvanus, interdum et Timotheus, in exordio præponuntur: in hac tantum, quia necessaria erat auctoritas plurimorum, omnium fratrum nomen assumitur. Qui et ipsi forsitan ex circumcisione erant, et a

'beginning: but in this, for adding the greater weight and authority, are put "all the brethren:" 'who, perhaps too, were believers of the circumcision, and not despised by the Galatians. And 'the consent of many is of great use to satisfy people. 'To the churches of Galatia." Here 'also, as he proceeds, it is to be observed, that in this place only, Paul writes in general, not 'to the church of one city only, but to the churches of a whole province: and that he calls them 'churches, whom afterwards he reproves as corrupted with error. Whence we learn, that a church may be understood in a two-fold manner: both of that which has no spot, or wrinkle, 'and is indeed the body of Christ: and of that which is assembled in the name of Christ, without 'complete and perfect virtues.'

Tertullian[a] seems to have thought this one of St. Paul's first written epistles: as has been observed by Grotius,[b] who transcribed the passage, though long, into his preface to the epistle to the Galatians. Fabricius[c] likewise has taken notice of it.

Theodoret,[d] the[e] Synopsis of sacred scripture, ascribed to Athanasius, and[f] the author of the Argument in Œcumenius, reckon this among the epistles written at Rome, and consequently a late epistle. But I see no ground for that opinion, there not being in the epistle any notice taken of an imprisonment at the time of writing it.

However Lightfoot[g] was also of the same opinion. He supposeth this to have been the first epistle written by St. Paul after his arrival at Rome. He says it was carried by Crescens, arguing from 2 Tim. iv. 10. Which epistle to Timothy he thinks was written at Rome soon afterwards.

Chrysostom[h] says, this[i] epistle was written before that to the Romans. And in like manner[k] Theophylact, probably, borrowing from him.

Divers learned moderns have thought, that this epistle was written at Ephesus, after Paul's arrival there from his journey, related in Acts xviii. 23. and xix. 1. consequently, after that the apostle had been a second time in Galatia. To this purpose[l] Lewis Capellus,[m] Witsius, and[n] Wall. This likewise seems to have been the opinion of[o] Pearson. For he placeth this epistle in the year 57, after the first to the Corinthians, and before Paul left Ephesus. But I do not discern his reasons for so doing.

Grotius[p] thought it difficult to assign the time when this epistle was written: but conjectures, that it was written about the same time with that to the Romans.

Fabricius says, 'the[q] design of the epistle is to dissuade the Galatians from putting their

Galatis non contemptui ducebantur. Plurimum quippe facit ad populum corrigendum multorum in unâ re sententia atque consensus. Quod autem ait, 'Ecclesiis Galatiæ,' et hoc notandum, quia hic tantum generaliter non ad unam ecclesiam unius urbis, sed ad totius provinciæ scribat, ecclesias: et 'ecclesias' vocet, quas postea errore arguat depravatas. Ex quo noscendum, dupliciter ecclesiam posse dici; et eam, quæ non habet maculam aut rugam, et vere corpus Christi sit; et eam, quæ in Christi nomine absque plenis perfectisque virtutibus congregetur. In ep. ad Gal. cap. i. T. IV. p. 225.

[a] ——ab illo certe Paulo, qui adhuc in gratiâ rudis, trepidans denique, ne in vacuum cucurrisset, aut curreret, tunc primum cum antecessoribus Apostolis conferebat. Igitur, si ferventer, ut adhuc neophytus, adversus Judaïsmum aliquid in conversatione reprehendendum existimavit, passivum scilicet convictum, postmodum et ipse usu omnibus omnia futurus, ut omnes lucraretur Judæis quasi Judæus, et eis qui sub lege, tamquam sub lege; tu illam solius conversationis, placituræ postea accusationem, reprehensionem suspectam vis haberi, etiam de præsumptionis erga Deum prævaricatione. Tertull. adv. Marc. l. i. cap. 20. p. 443.

[b] Tertullianus, in primo adversus Marcionem, hanc epistolam inter primas Pauli fuisse existimat. &c. Grot. Pr. in ep. ad Gal.

[c] Scripsisse hanc epistolam adhuc neophytum, et in gratiâ eadem, adeoque inter primas non dubitat affirmare Tertullianus.——Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. v. tom. III. p. 155.

[d] Τας μεν δη αλλας απο της Ρωμης απεστειλε, και ταυτην μεν ηγεμαι την προς Γαλατας γραφηναι. Theod. Præf. in ep. Paul. T. III. p. 5. B.

[e] Ap. Athan. T. II. p. 194.

[f] Arg. ep. ad Gal. ap. Œcum. T. I. p. 713.

[g] Vol. I. p. 323. [h] See of this work, Vol. ii. p. 606.

[i] Δοκει δε μοι και ἡ προς Γαλατας προτερα ειναι της προς Ρωμαιους. Chrys. Proæm. ep. ad Rom. T. IX. p. 427. D.

[k] Αλλα και ἡ προς Γαλατας προτερα εστι ταυτης προς Ρωμαιους. Theoph. Arg. ep. ad Rom.

[l] Per idem tempus, nempe sub finem biennii Ephesini, videtur omnino scripta epistola ad Galatas, &c. Cap. Hist. ap. p. 69.

[m] Epistola ad Galatas temporis sui hos characteres habet. Primum, quod non diu post Pauli ab iis discessum scripta esse videatur. Sic enim ipse cap. i. 6.——Affuerat autem iis Paulus paulo antequam proficisceretur Ephesum. Act. xviii. 23. coll. cum cap. xix. 1. Unde probabiliter saltem infertur Ephesi esse datam. Specialius, datam esse 'sub finem biennii,' quod Paulus Ephesi exegit, inde colligit Capellus.——Wits. de Vit. Paul. sect. viii. num. xxxii.

[n] 'About this time, A. D. 55, when Paul had been at 'Ephesus a little while, he is supposed to have written his 'epistle to the Galatians.' Wall's Notes upon the N. T. p. 164.

[o] Scribit primam ad Corinthios epistolam.——Scribit epistolam ad Galatas. Per Demetrium Epheso pellitur. Annal. Paulin. p. 15. A. D. 57.

[p] Tempus, quo scripta est hæc epistola ad Gallograecos epistola, sicut designate indicare non possum, ita videre mihi videor, non longe abfuisse ab eo tempore, quo ad Romanos scripta est epistola. Gr. Pr. ep. ad Galat.

[q] Argumentum epistolæ est, Galatas dehortari, ne jugo Legis Mosaïcæ iterum collum animasque supponerent. Idem dissuaserat Romanis, sed ad illos, quos nondum præsens ille

'neck under the yoke of the Mosaic law. And,' says he, 'to the like purpose the apostle 'writes to the Romans. But them he had never seen, and he treats them very respectfully, and 'enlargeth upon the doctrine of the gospel with greater prolixity. To the Galatians he writes more 'briefly, and as their master, and not without some severity in his reprehensions. He adds, that 'he is inclined to their opinion, who suppose this epistle to have been written not long after that 'to the Romans, and in the way to Jerusalem, in the year of Christ 58.'

Mill being a man of great judgment in these things, and what he says appearing at first sight plausible, I shall transcribe it below. He thinks, that [a] this epistle was not written until after that to the Romans, probably at Troas, or some other place in Asia, as Paul was going to Jerusalem. And he thinks that Paul refers to the collections lately made in Macedonia and Greece Gal. ii. 10. And the apostle writes not only in his own name, but also in the name of all the brethren, mentioned Acts xx. 4. who were with him at Troas, and accompanied him to Jerusalem. Moreover, this epistle was written by the apostle with his own hand, and the more easily and readily, though in a journey, because he had just before treated the same argument in his epistle to the Romans. This epistle therefore is placed by Mill at the year 58.

Upon all which I beg leave to remark, as follows. First, that those words, "all the brethren which are with me," need not to be understood of those who were with Paul at Troas, and were setting out with him for Jerusalem. Thereby may be intended the brethren of some other place where Paul was. Secondly, the apostle Paul was able at any time to represent the doctrine of the gospel to any churches, suitably to their particular case and circumstances: whether he had just before treated of it in an epistle, or not. So that the agreement between the epistles to the Romans and the Galatians is no proof, that they were written very soon one after another. Thirdly, when Paul says, ch. ii. 10, "The same which I also was forward to do:" he cannot intend the collections made in Macedonia and Greece, with which he was going to Jerusalem. If that he had been his meaning, he would have expressed himself more particularly, like to what he says to the Romans, ch. xv. 25—27. What he says here, he might have said, when at Ephesus, before he set out for Macedonia, and indeed at any time, and in any place. For he had been always mindful of the poor in Judea. I apprehend, that the apostle's words are to be interpreted in this manner. "The same, which I also had endeavoured to do, or had been careful to perform:" referring to his conduct, even before that proposal of the three apostles at Jerusalem: and intending, probably, in particular, the contributions brought by himself and Barnabas from Antioch to Jerusalem, some while before, as related Acts xi. 29. Which contributions, as may be well supposed, had been promoted by our apostle's exhortations. Fourthly, St. Paul says to the Galatians in this epistle, ch. i. 6, "I marvel, that ye are so soon removed from him that called you unto the grace of Christ, unto another gospel." Those expressions cannot possibly suit the date assigned by Mill, that is, after the passover of the year 58. Which must have been above four years after even Paul's second journey in the country of Galatia.

Another opinion has been proposed by the ingenious and thoughtful author [b] of Miscellanea Sacra, and embraced by [c] Dr. Benson: that the epistle to the Galatians was written at Corinth, when the apostle was first there, and made a long stay of a year and six months. Whilst Paul was there, he received tidings of the instability of his converts in Galatia, with which he was

docuerat, et scribit minus familiariter, et prolixius iis capita Christianæ fidei exponit. Ad Galatas vero, et brevius omnia, et tamquam doctor ipsorum, ita ut nec a gravi increpatione sibi temperet.——Non possum tamen improbare eorum sententiam, qui non diu post epistolam ad Romanos in itinere Hierosolymam versus A. C. 58. exaratam hanc epistolam arbitrantur. Fabr. ubi supra. p. 155.

[a] Paulo post dictatam hanc, quæ Romanis inscripta est, scripsit Paulus epistolam ad Galatas, ut apparet ex cap. ii. 10. ὁ καὶ ἐσπούδασα αὐτο τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. His enim verbis aperte indicat Apostolus, epistolam hanc post ministerium seu studium, quod eleemosynis pro ecclesiâ Hierosolymitanâ colligendis impendebat, scripsisse se, dum aoristo utitur, ἐσπούδασα ——ποιῆσαι. In itinere itaque versus Hierosolymam versatus D. Paulus alicubi hanc epistolam exarâsse videtur, et quidem Troade fortassis, ubi septem dies moratus est; postquam in Asiam veniens comperisset Galatas ad aliud evangelium ὀτῳ ταχέως translatos fuisse. Auditâ nempe, jam ut videtur ab appulsu ejus in Asiam, istâ ἀποστασίᾳ, arrepto calamo, propriâ manu, contra quam factum in aliis epistolis (exceptâ forte unâ ad Philemonem) totam istam scripsit epistolam, acrem et objurgatoriam, nomine suo, cum [illegible] qui cum ipso erant fratrum jam Troade, Sopatri, [illegible], Secundi, Gaii, Tychici, Trophimi, Titi, Silæ, aliorum. Scripsit autem eo celerius, et festinantius, quod eadem argumenta in hac epistolâ prosequeretur, quod tractaverat paulo ante in epistola ad Romanos, cujus fere sensus in hanc transfundit. ——Scripta est statim, ut dixi, post epistolam ad Romanos, anno 57 vulgaris Iviii. Proleg. num. 30, 31.

[b] See there the Abstract of the Scripture History of the Apostles, p. 31. and the Postscript to the Preface, p. 36—38.

[c] History of the first planting the Christian Religion, B. 3. ch. v. sect xi. Vol. ii. p. 118, 119. first edit. p. 136, 137. second edit.

much affected. Whereupon he wrote this epistle, and sent it by one of his assistants. At that season he might well say at the beginning of his address to them: "I marvel, that ye are so soon removed from him that called you unto the grace of Christ." Nor is there in the epistle any hint of his having been with them more than once. The epistle therefore was written at Corinth, or perhaps at Ephesus, when Paul was first there, in his way to Jerusalem, as mentioned Acts xviii. 19—21.

This opinion is proposed by the above-mentioned author, as his own. And I make no doubt, that it was so, and the fruit of his own inquiries and observations. Nevertheless it is not quite new. Say Lenfant and Beausobre, in their general preface to St. Paul's epistles: 'We[a] find not 'in the epistle to the Galatians any mark that can enable us to determine with certainty, at what 'time, or in what place, it was written. It is dated at Rome in some printed copies and manu-'scripts. But there is nothing in the epistle itself to confirm that date. Paul does not here 'make any mention of his bonds, as he does in all his epistles written at Rome. He says 'indeed ch. vi. 17. that "he bears in his body the marks of the Lord Jesus." But he had often 'suffered, before he came to Rome. There are therefore[b] some learned chronologers, who 'place the epistle to the Galatians immediately after the two epistles to the Thessalonians. They 'think it was written between the third and fourth journey of Paul to Jerusalem, and 'between his first and second journey into Galatia. This opinion appears to me very probable. 'For since the apostle says, "he wonders, that they were so soon turned unto another gospel," 'this epistle must have been written a short time after he had preached in Galatia. Nor can we 'discern in the epistle any notice of the second journey which St. Paul made into this 'country. For this reason it is thought that the epistle to the Galatians was written at 'Corinth, where the apostle made a long stay, or else in some city of Asia, particularly 'Ephesus, where he stayed some days in his way to Jerusalem, Acts xviii. 19—21. Therefore, 'in all probability, the epistle to the Galatians was written from Corinth, or from Ephesus, in 'the year 52 or 53.'

Nothing could be said more properly. And I think this date may be farther confirmed by some other considerations. Paul says to the Corinthians, xvi. 1. "Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given orders to the churches of Galatia, so do ye." Which shows that at the writing of that epistle to the Corinthians, in 56, he had a good opinion of his converts in Galatia, and that he had no doubt of their respect to his directions. Which probably, had been sent to them from Ephesus, during his long abode there, by some one or other of his assistants. This good temper of the Galatians may be supposed owing to the letter sent to them some time before, and to his second visit to them, related Acts xviii. 23.

And now we shall be better able to account for what appears very remarkable. When Paul left Corinth, after his long stay there, he went to Jerusalem, having a vow. In his way he came to Ephesus. Acts xviii. 19—21. "And when they desired him to tarry longer with them, he consented not. But bade them farewell, saying: I must by all means keep this feast that cometh at Jerusalem. But I will return again unto you, if God will." When we read this we might be apt to think that Paul should hasten back to Ephesus, and return thither presently after he had been at Jerusalem. But instead of so doing, after he had been at "Jerusalem, he went down to Antioch. And after he had spent some time there, he departed, and went over all the country of Galatia, and Phrygia, in order, strengthening the disciples." ver. 22, 23. We now seem to see the reason of this course. At Corinth he heard of the defection of many in Galatia. Whereupon he sent away a sharp letter to them. But considering the nature of the case, he judged it best to take the first opportunity to go to Galatia, and support the instructions of his letter. And both together had a very good effect. Gal. iv. 19, 20. "My little children, of whom I travail in birth again—I desire to be present with you, and to change my voice. For I stand in doubt of you:" or, I am perplexed for you. Now then, we see the reason of the apostle's not coming directly from Jerusalem to Ephesus. However he was not unmindful of his promise, and came thither, after he had been in Galatia.

Upon the whole, the epistle to the Galatians is an early epistle. And, as seems to me most probable, was written at Corinth, near the end of the year 52, or at the very beginning of the year 53, before St. Paul set out to go to Jerusalem by the way of Ephesus. But if any should

[a] Sect. xlii. p. 24—26.

[b] Here, in the margin, are put the names of Usher and L. Capellus, without any references. Nor have I found the places, where this opinion is maintained by them.

rather think, that it was written at Ephesus, during the apostle's short stay there, in the way from Corinth to Jerusalem, that will make but very little difference. And still according to our computation, this epistle was written at the beginning of the year 53.

Ch. vi. 11. "Ye[a] see how large a letter I have written unto you with my own hand."

Hereby some understand the apostle to say, that this, with what follows to the end of the epistle, was written with his own hand. So[b] Jerom, and[c] Grotius. Others understand St. Paul to speak of the whole epistle. So thought[d] Chrysostom, and[e] Theophylact, and[f] Theodoret, and[g] the author of the commentary upon thirteen of St. Paul's epistles. Which interpretation is approved by[h] Wolfius.

——"How long a letter I have written unto you." Which some interpret after this manner: "in what large letters I have written unto you," intending the deformity, or inelegance of the characters. Which sense is also found in divers[i] ancient authors.

But it is not approved of either by[k] Beza, or[l] Wolfius. They say that this is as long as any of St. Paul's epistles, excepting the epistle to the Romans, the two epistles to the Corinthians, and that to the Hebrews. I may add another thought: that according to our computation this is the third apostolical epistle, written by St. Paul, and is much longer than either of those to the Thessalonians, which had been written before. However, undoubtedly, the apostle has regard to the quantity of his own hand-writing. The rest of his epistles were written by others, while he dictated, (as is generally done by eminent men, much engaged,) and himself wrote only a few words, or sentences, at the end: whereas this epistle was all in his own hand-writing.

And the original word is elsewhere used for epistle, or letter. Acts xxviii. 21, "We[m] have not received letters out of Judea concerning thee."

So far therefore as I am able to judge, our English version is very right. "Ye see how large a letter I have written unto you with my own hand."

That is[n] Beza's translation. Le Clerc[o] in his French Testament, and[p] Beausobre translate in the like manner.

[a] Ἰδετε πηλικοις ὑμιν γραμμασιν εγραψα τῃ εμῃ χειρι.

[b] Hi qui circumcidi Galatas volebant, disseminaverant, alia Paulum facere, alia prædicare.——Hanc opinionem quia non poterat Paulus apud omnes præsens ipse subvertere——seipsum per literas repræsentat. Et ne aliqua supposititæ epistolæ suspicio nasceretur, ab hoc ipso usque ad finem manu suâ ipse perscripsit, ostendens superiora ab alio exarata. Hieron. in ep. ad Gal. T. IV. p. 314.

[c] In aliarum epistolarum fine quædam scribebat suâ manu. 1 Cor. xvi. 21; 2 Thess. iii. 17; et Col. iv. 18; cætera manu alienâ, ut videre est Roman. xvi. 22. Hic vero Paulus suâ manu scripsit omnia quæ sequuntur, ut recte putat Hieronymus. Id autem multum erat in homine adeo occupato, et, ut videtur, non multum assueto Græce scribere. 'Quantis literis,' id est, 'quam multis.' Solent adjectiva magnitudinis poni pro adjectivis ad numerum pertinentibus. Sic Græcum τοσοι, 'tanti,' utroque sensu usurpatum. Grot. ad Galat. vi. 11.

[d] Ενταυθα ουδεν αλλο αινιττεται, αλλ' ὁτι αυτος εγραψε την επιστολην ἁπασαν, ὁ πολλης γνησιοτητος σημειον ην. κ. λ. Chr. in loc. T. X. p. 727. B.

[e] In loc. T. II. p. 492.

[f] Πασαν, ὡς ἑοικε, την δε την επιστολην αυτος εγραψε. Theod. in loc.

[g] Auctoritatem dat epistolæ suæ.——Ubi enim holographa manus est, falsum dici non potest. In loc. ap. Ambros. in App. p. 230.

[h] Idem vero [Grotius] quamvis præeunte Hieronymo, errat, quando hæc verba non ad totam hanc epistolam, sed ad ea tantum, quæ inde usque ad finem leguntur, vult referri. Rectius Chrysostomus.——Addit idem causam, cur totam epistolam suâ manu exarârit, ut nempe omnis νοθειας suspicio ἰδιογραφῳ hoc præcideretur iis, qui dicere alioquin poterant, nonnulla illi inserta, quæ Apostoli sententiæ non responderent. Wolf. in Loc.

[i] Το δε πηλικοις, εμοι δοκει, ου το μεγεθος, αλλα την αμορφιαν των γραμματων εμφαινων λεγειν, μονονουχι λεγων, ὁτι ουτ' αρίστα γραφειν ειδως, ὁμως ηναγκασθην δι' εμαυτου γραψαι, ὡς ε των συκοφαντων εμφραξαι το στομα. Chr. ubi sup. p. 727. C.

Το δε πηλικοις γραμμασι, τινες, μεν μεγαλοις, τινες δε φαυλοις ἑρμηνευσαν. Εγω γαρ, φησιν, εγραψα την επιστολην, καιτοι μη γραφων εις καλλος. Theod. in loc.

[k] 'Quam longis,' πηλικοις. Ad verbum 'quantis.' Vulgata 'qualibus.' In quo explicando miror cur se tantopere torqueant interpretes, dum alii——ad sublimitatem sententiarum referunt, ut Hilarius, alii ad ipsa literarum elementa, quæ grandiuscula fuerint,——alii ad deformitatem characterum, quasi Paulus imperitus fuerit pingendarum literarum, ut exponit Theophylactus, Chrysostomum secutus.——Sunt autem sane longiores epistolæ Romanis et Corinthiis inscriptæ, sed alienâ manu exaratæ, &c. Bez. ad loc.

[l] 'Ecce quantis,' i. e. 'quam multis, literis vobis scripsi.' Ita recte Grotius, addens, adjectiva magnitudinis, pro adjectivis ad numerum pertinentibus, poni solere, quemadmodum et Græcum τοσοι utroque sensu usurpetur.——Longius autem a vero aberrant, qui το πηλικος ad designandam 'characterum,' quibus usus sit, 'magnitudinem,' spectare putant, ut πηλικα γραμματα sint literæ majusculæ.——Addit [Le Clerc] Apostolum hanc epistolam non potuisse appellare τῃ εμῃ χειρι ratione longitudinis, cum longiores scripserit alias. Imo [Beza] scriptionem non tam multorum verborum, quam quod eam totam suâ manu scripserat, qui alias cæteris pauca quædam ablegare consueverit, longam appellat. Præterea hæc ad Galatas (Antepriores, et unam ad Hebræos exceperis, reliquas omnes longitudine excedit. Wolf. in loc.

[m] Ημεις ουτε γραμματα περι σε εδεξαμεθα απο της Ἰουδαιας.

[n] Videtis quam longis literis vobis scripserim mea manu. Bez.

[o] Voyez quelle grande lettre je vous ai écrite de ma main. Le Clerc.

[p] Voyez quelle grande lettre je vous ai écrite de ma propre main. B.

In Beausobre's remarks upon the New Testament, published after his death, is this note upon the text, we are considering: '" How [a] large a letter, πηλικοις γραμμασι." Some, says 'Theodoret, explain this of the largeness of the letters, others, that the letter was ill written: 'as if the apostle had said: "I have written to you with my own hand, though I do not write 'well." St. Jerom, in his commentary upon this place, says, he had heard somewhat of the 'like kind from somebody. But he does not seem to approve of it.' I transcribe at length [b] below the passage referred to. But Jerom, having mentioned that observation of some learned man of his time, does himself seem to trifle, when he adds, 'That St. Paul's letter to the 'Galatians was great for the sense. And so were all his letters, though short.' However, this interpretation may be approved by some. It is in the note of Beza, above [c] transcribed.

Sect. IV.

The First Epistle to the Corinthians.

The first epistle to the Corinthians was written at Ephesus, as all may perceive. Says the apostle, 1 Cor. xvi. 8, 9, "But I will tarry at Ephesus, until Pentecost. For a great door and effectual is opened unto me. And there are many adversaries." And ver. 19, he says: "The churches of Asia salute you. Aquila and Priscilla salute you much in the Lord." Those two good Christians had come with Paul from Corinth to Ephesus, when he was first there, and stayed but a short time. As appears from Acts xviii. 18, 19. And there they continued, as we suppose, till after Paul left Ephesus, to go into Macedonia.

This epistle is placed by [d] Pearson in the year 57. Mill thinks [e] it was written before the passover of the year 57.

According to our computation [f] of St. Paul's times and travels, this epistle was written at Ephesus, in the spring of the year 56. Which [g] was also the opinion of the French commentators before named, Lenfant and Beausobre. Some have argued from ch. v. 7. "For Christ, our passover, is sacrificed for us," that it was now the time of the Jewish passover, or that it was just over. But to me it seems, that the apostle might make use of that expression, and build an argument or exhortation upon it in any part of the year. And when a year was begun, he might speak of staying where he was, till some distant feast. And supposing the epistle to have been written early in the spring, he might think of continuing at Ephesus, till Pentecost. This letter was carried to Corinth by Stephanus, Fortunatus, and Achaichus, mentioned 1 Cor. xvi. 17, 18, who had come to the apostle from the Corinthians, and are supposed to have brought a letter with them. See 1 Cor. vii. 1. It was after writing this epistle, that the tumult happened, which was caused by Demetrius. For as Lightfoot [h] says: 'Between 'ver. 22 and 23 of this xixth chapter of the Acts falleth in the time of St. Paul's writing the 'first epistle to the Corinthians.' Consequently this epistle was sent away before the tumult raised by Demetrius, and other silversmiths, related by St. Luke Acts xix. 23—41, nevertheless, after Paul had fought with beasts at Ephesus, as he says, 1 Cor. xv. 32. When that tumult of Demetrius was appeased, Paul seems to have been at rest. And though he did not judge it prudent to stay any longer there, he took leave of his friends with deliberation. "And

[a] 'Quelle grande lettre.' Quelques uns, dit Théodoret, expliquoient ce mot de la grandeur des lettres, et d'autres de ce que la lettre étoit mal écrite, les caractères mauvais: 'Je 'vous ai écrit de ma main, quoique j'écrive mal.' St. Jérome, dans son Commentaire sur cet endroit, dit avoir ouï dire quelque chose d'approchant, à quelqu'un dont il ne paroit pas approver la pensée. Beaus. Remarques sur le N. T. p. 466.

[b] 'Videte qualibus literis scripsi vobis:' non quod grandes literæ fuerint [hoc quippe in Græco sonat πηλικοις] sed quod suæ manûs essent eis nota vestigia; ut, dum literarum apices recognoscunt, ipsum se putarent videre, qui scripserat. In hoc loco vir apprime nostris temporibus eruditus, miror quomodo rem ridiculam loquutus sit. Paulus, inquit, 'Hebræus 'erat, et Græcas literas nesciebat. Et quia necessitas expetebat, ut manu suâ epistolam subscriberet, contra consuetudinem curvos tramites literarum exprimebat: etiam in hoc 'suæ ad Galatas indicia caritatis ostendens, quod propter illos 'id quoque, quod non poterat, facere conaretur.' Grandibus ergo Paulus literis scripsit epistolam, quia sensus erat grandis in literis.——Grandes Paulus literas non solum tunc ad Galatas, sed etiam hodie scribit ad cunctos: et quamvis parvi sint apices, quibus ejus epistolæ conscribuntur, tamen magnæ sunt literæ, quia in literis magnus est sensus. Hieron. Comm. in Gal. T. IV. p. 315.

[c] See note [k] p. 290.

[d] Scribit primam ad Corinthos epistolam, cum Sosthene respondens epistolæ Corinthiorum. Pearson. Ann. Paulin. p. 15. Anno lvii.

[e] Quando igitur? Haud diu sane antequam ex Asiâ abiret anno æræ vulgaris. lvii. et quidem ante illius anni festum paschale. Proleg. num. 9.

[f] See here, p. 276.

[g] La i. Epître aux Corinthiens fut écrite d'Ephèse au printemps de l'année 56. Préf. Gén. sur les ep. de S. Paul. sect. 45. p. 27.

[h] Vol. I. p. 299.

after the uproar was ceased, Paul called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia," Acts xxi. 1.

The first epistle to the Corinthians, therefore, according to our account, was written at Ephesus, in the beginning, or the spring, of the year 56.

Sect. V.

The First Epistle to Timothy.

The first epistle to Timothy was written, according to [a] Pearson, [b] Whitby, [c] Basnage, [d] Cave, [e] Fabricius, [f] Mill, and others, in the year of Christ 64 or 65, some while after St. Paul's release from his confinement at Rome. In [g] Lightfoot this is the epistle written next after the first to the Corinthians. It is the same in [h] Baronius and [i] Estius. Who say, that this epistle was written in Macedonia, when Paul was there the second time. In this date agree in the main [k] Dr. Benson, and [l] Dr. Doddridge. This also was the opinion of Hammond, as may be seen in his preface to this epistle. Witsius, after having considered the reasons of Lightfoot and Pearson in behalf of their several opinions, hesitates [m] and cannot say exactly, when this epistle was written: though he does not judge it needful to defer it so long as Pearson did, that is, till after St. Paul's deliverance from his imprisonment at Rome. Lewis Capellus was in doubt which was first written, whether [n] the second epistle to the Corinthians, or the first epistle to Timothy. However, he thinks that both were written not long after St. Paul had left Ephesus, to go into Macedonia. Consequently his opinion was not very different from that of Lightfoot, Baronius, and Estius, before recited.

According to Theodoret, in his general preface to St. Paul's epistles, the first four are the two epistles to the Thessalonians, and the first and second to the Corinthians. 'The [o] *fifth*, 'says he, is the first epistle to Timothy. For after the introduction he says: "As I besought 'thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some, 'that they receive no other doctrine." 1 Tim. i. 3. It is manifest, therefore, that when Paul 'went the second time into Macedonia, he left the most excellent Timothy at Ephesus, to take 'care of those who had received the salutary doctrine.'

I shall now endeavour to shew at length the grounds of this opinion.

St. Luke expressly says, Acts xx.. 1. "And after the uproar was ceased, Paul called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia." And St. Paul says, in the place just cited, 1 Tim. i. 3. "As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia." And St. Luke informs us, ch. xix. 21, 22. "After these things were ended, Paul purposed in spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem.——So he sent into Macedonia two of them that ministred unto him, Timothy and Erastus. But he himself stayed in Asia for some season." Then follows an account of the tumult at Ephesus. Some while after those messengers, Timothy and Erastus, were gone to Macedonia and Greece, Paul, as it seems, wrote and sent away his first letter to the Corinthians. From which letter we plainly perceive, that Timothy was in those parts. For so it is said in 1 Cor. iv. 17, "For this cause have I sent unto you Timothy." And ch. xvi. 10, 11, "Now, if Timothy come, see that he may be with you without fear.——Let no man therefore despise him,

[a] Pearson Annal. Paulin. An. 64. p. 22.
[b] Wh. in his preface to the epistle.
[c] Ann. 62. n. vii. [d] Cav. H. L. in Paulo.
[e] Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. v. T. III. p. 157.
[f] Proleg. num. 123.
[g] See Harmony of the N. T. Vol. I. p. 307.
[h] An. 57. n. 187.
[i] Scripta est autem hæc epistola, posteaquam Paulus, Epheso relictâ, sicut habetur initio xx. cap. Actorum, profectus est in Macedoniam. Id quod ipsius epistolæ verba statim initio declarant. Unde cum Cardinale Baronio colligimus, in Macedoniâ scriptam esse. Est. arg. 1 ep. ad Timoth. p. 758.
[k] History, &c. B. 3. ch. vii. sect. v. p. 167, &c. first edit. p. 184, &c. sec. edit. See also his preface to the first ep. to Tim. sect. iii.
[l] See Family Exposit. Vol. III. p. 305. note (*e*) p. 319, note (*b*) p. 332, note (*b*).
[m] Non tamen æque constat, scriptionem epistolæ differendam esse ad solutionem Pauli a Romanis vinculis. Neque enim omnia Pauli itinera descripsit Lucas, sed notabiliora quædam.——Pronuntiemus itaque, de tempore, quo scripta est prior Pauli ad Timotheum epistola, non liquere. Wits. de Vit. Paul. sect. 9. num. v.
[n] Posterior ad eosdem Corinthios epistola, et prior ad Timotheum, certant de proprietate, et sub judice lis est. Utraque autem scripta est paulo postquam Paulus Epheso discessisset, adeoque dum Macedoniam peragraret. Sed utra tempore præcedat, non liquet. Lud. Cap. Hist. Ap. p. 72.
[o] Πεμπτην ἠγεμαι των προς Τιμοθεον την προτεραν. Μετα γαρ δε το προοιμιον ἑτω φησι· Καθως παρεκαλεσα σε προσμειναι εν Εφεσω, πορευομενος εις Μακεδονιαν.——Δηλον τοινυν, ὡς ἡνικα το δευτερον απο της Εφεσου παρεγινετο εις Μακεδονιαν ὁ μακαριος Παυλος, τοτε τον παντα αριστον Τιμοθεον εκει καταλελοιπεν, εις επιμελειαν των δεξαμενων το σωτηριον κηρυγμα. Præf. in ep. Paul. T. III. p. 3, 4.

but conduct him forth in peace, that he may come unto me. For I look for him with the brethren." Whence it appears, that at concluding that letter Paul was in expectation of Timothy's return to Ephesus. And very probably he did return before Paul went thence. Moreover St. Luke said just now, that after Timothy and Erastus had been sent into Macedonia, "Paul himself staid in Asia for a season."

St. Paul, in the place above cited, says, 1 Tim. i. 3, that he "besought Timothy to abide still at Ephesus, when he went into Macedonia." Does not that term, beseeching, or entreating Timothy, imply some difficulty in the service required of him? And do we not see, what apprehensions Timothy might be under upon being left at Ephesus, where Paul had met with much opposition, and some very lately? 'A soft word,' says Beza upon the place, 'to be 'used by one of much superior authority.' But if we consider the dangers of our supposed time, we may see the reason of Paul's speaking in that manner to Timothy.

Again. 1 Tim. iii. 14, 15. "These things write I unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly. But if I tarry long, that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God." Words which mightily suit the present time. St. Paul went into Macedonia, with a design to forward the collections for the poor saints in Judea, and then to go to Jerusalem. And it may be well supposed, that he had then hopes of calling in at Ephesus, in his way to Judea, and there seeing Timothy. However, he could not yet say the time. Which also is plainly agreeable to the apostle's circumstances at this season. For we perceive from what St. Luke writes in the Acts, and from the second epistle to the Corinthians, written some while afterwards in Macedonia, that Paul was not then able long before hand to fix resolutions about the time of journies to be undertaken by him.

Farther, the time assigned by Pearson, and those who agree with him, must be wrong. It appears from Acts xx. 17——that when Paul was going to Jerusalem in the former part of the year 58, there were elders at Ephesus, and probably in the neighbouring cities of Asia. But when Paul wrote this epistle, there seems to have been a want of such officers at Ephesus, or thereabout. For a main design of it appears to be, to instruct Timothy in the proper qualifications of such men, and to admonish him to use great care and caution in the choice of them.

Once more, I am of opinion, that the second epistle to Timothy was written, soon after Paul had been brought to Rome a prisoner from Judea. Therefore, if this epistle be prior to it, it must have been written before Paul went to Jerusalem, with the contributions of the Christians of Greece, and Macedonia, and other places.

There is, however, a difficulty attending our supposition. For Timothy is joined with Paul in the inscription at the beginning of the second epistle to the Corinthians, generally allowed to have been written in Macedonia. And in Acts xx. 4, Timothy is mentioned among those who accompanied Paul into Asia, when he was going to Jerusalem with the above-mentioned contributions. All which may induce some to think, that either Timothy did not return to Paul, before he left Ephesus, or that Paul took Timothy with him, when he went into Macedonia.

To which I answer: we have shewed it to be very probable, that Timothy returned to Ephesus before Paul left it. The apostle therefore might send Timothy this letter from Macedonia, and afterwards send for him, to come thither to him, having some special occasion for his assistance. And though this was not entirely agreeable to the apostle, he might be the rather disposed to it, hoping, that as he went to Jerusalem, he should have an opportunity to leave Timothy at Ephesus. Which, as I apprehend, he did, when he came to Miletus.

Farther, this difficulty is very much abated by the account formerly given of this period of our apostle's history. For it was then shewn, that there was a space of almost two years between St. Paul's going from Ephesus, when he went into Macedonia, and his coming to Troas, in the way to Jerusalem. Timothy therefore may have resided at Ephesus above a year, and yet be with the apostle at the writing of the second epistle to the Corinthians, which was not sent to them till near the end of the year 57.

Dr. Benson [b] supposeth this epistle to have been written at Troas, soon after the apostle was come from Ephesus. And indeed many learned men think, that Paul now went into Macedonia by the way of Troas. This has been collected from 2 Cor. ii. 12, 13. But that appears to me

[a] Παρεκαλεσα, 'sum precatus, vel hortatus.'] Blando vocabulo utitur singulare modestiæ exemplum relinquens quibusvis, in maximâ etiam auctoritate constitutis. Bez. in loc. [b] See his preface to the first epistle to Timothy, sect. iii.

a difficult text. And it may be disputed, whether Paul there refers to his journey from Ephesus. For it is difficult to conceive, how the apostle could have reason to expect Titus at Troas at that season: considering, that his removal from Ephesus had been sudden, or, however, somewhat sooner than he had intended. How then was it possible for him to have made an appointment for Titus to meet him at Troas punctually at the time of his arrival there?

But allowing Paul to have gone from Ephesus to Macedonia by the way of Troas, it will not follow, that this epistle was written there. It may be concluded from 1 Tim. i. 3, that the apostle was now in Macedonia, or had been there, since he left Ephesus. Accordingly, Lightfoot, Baronius, and Estius, before named, suppose this epistle to have been written in Macedonia. Says [a] Lightfoot: 'It is apparent from 1 Tim. i. 3, that this epistle was written after 'Paul's setting out from Ephesus for Macedonia.——Now it cannot be conceived to have been 'written when he was going toward Macedonia. For then he was but newly parted from 'Timothy. And it is not likely, that he would so write to him, when he was but newly come 'from him.——Therefore it cannot but be concluded, that this epistle was written whilst he 'was in Macedonia, or the parts thereabout, at this time that we are upon.' To which I readily assent.

I shall add only what is also already hinted by Lightfoot, that it is very improbable, that the apostle should use those expressions, 1 Tim. iii. 14, "hoping to come and see thee shortly," before he had been in Macedonia. St. Paul was much more likely to say this, when he had been some months absent from Ephesus, than when he had been come away but a few days only.

I should now say more particularly when this epistle was written. And I think it must have been written in the year 56. In the beginning of that year, according to our account, Paul wrote the first epistle to the Corinthians. Before Pentecost in that year he left Ephesus. And before the end of that year, I suppose, he might write this epistle to Timothy. The place is not absolutely certain. Before writing this epistle the apostle had been in Macedonia, since he left Ephesus. But whether he was now in that country, cannot, I apprehend, be fully determined by those expressions, 1 Tim. i. 3. However, this may be reckoned very likely, that the apostle was either in Macedonia, or near it. Lewis Capellus, as before observed, was in doubt, which was first written, this epistle, or the second to the Corinthians. About that I have no doubt. We shall soon see clear proof, that the second epistle to the Corinthians was written not long before the end of the year 57. This first epistle to Timothy was written in the year 56, and probably, some good while before the end of it.

Sect. VI.

The Epistle to Titus.

Says Theodoret immediately after what was transcribed from him above concerning the first epistle to Timothy: 'After that, [b] as I think, was written the epistle to Titus. For being still 'in those parts, he desired Titus to come to him, saying: "When I shall send unto thee Arte-'mas, or Tychicus, be diligent to come to me at Nicopolis. For I have determined to winter 'there," Tit. iii. 12. They say, that Nicopolis is a city of Thrace, nigh unto Macedonia.' So writes Theodoret in his general preface to St. Paul's epistles. And in his note upon Tit. iii. 12, he says, 'Nicopolis [c] is a city of Thrace, nigh unto Macedonia. It is manifest therefore, that 'he wrote this epistle when he was in Macedonia and Achaia.'

Following the opinion of this learned ancient, which I think to be very right, the epistle to Titus was written in the year 56, and Paul spent the winter of that year at Nicopolis.

If it be asked, when was Paul in Crete? I answer, in general, a short time before he wrote this epistle, as may appear from those words: "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I appointed thee." ch. i. 5. More particularly, I suppose, that Paul had been in Crete in this year 56, since he came from Ephesus, to go into Macedonia. About this time, I think, he was in Crete and Illyricum, as well as in Macedonia. But as I do not indulge myself in making conjectures,

[a] Harmony of N. T. Vol. I. p. 307.

[b] Μετα ταυτην υπολαμβανω την προς Τιτον γεγραφθαι· εν εκεινοις γαρ ετι διαγων τοις μερεσι, καταλαβειν αυτον παρηγγυησε. Λεγει δε ουτως· οταν πεμψω Αρτεμαν.——Την δε Νικοπολιν Θρακικην μεν πολιν ειναι φασι, τη δε Μακεδονια πελαζειν. Theod. T. III. p. 4. C.

[c] Της Θρακης εστιν η Νικοπολις, τη δε Μακεδονια πελαζει. Δηλον τοινυν ως κατ' εκεινον τον καιρον, καθ' ον εν τη Μακεδονια και Αχαια διετριβεν, εγραψε την επιστολην. Ibid. p. 515. A.

I do not attempt to describe the order of the apostle's voyages. It was before shown to be probable, that[a] between Paul's leaving Ephesus in the spring of the year 56, and his coming to Troas, after the passover, in the year 58, in his way to Jerusalem, there was the space of about two years. In that time Paul might do, and probably did more than is particularly related by St. Luke. Few learned men, considering the conciseness of St. Luke's manner of writing, can make any difficulty to allow, that[b] he has not related all the apostle's journies. It is observable, that Titus was the person who was sent by Paul into Dalmatia, when he was come to Rome. As it appears from 2 Tim. iv. 10. Which may be reckoned an argument that he had been there before.

About this time the epistle to Titus was written, according to the opinion of divers learned men, to whom I refer: as [c]Baronius, [d]Capellus, [e]Hammond, and [f]Lightfoot. Estius[g] could not determine the time of this epistle exactly: but he thought it was written before the apostle's imprisonment at Jerusalem and Rome.

Cave in his [h]Historia Literaria placeth this epistle in the year 63. But, when he wrote the lives of the apostles, he[i] supposed it to have been written soon after the first epistle to the Corinthians.

Mill[k] placeth this epistle in the year 64. Pearson[l] in 65. Paul having, as he supposes, been in Crete, and left Titus there the year before, that is, in 64. And many others may be of the same opinion.

But this appears to me too late a date. All that is said of Paul's going into Spain, and Crete, and some other places, after being released from his imprisonment at Rome, is mere conjecture, without any good authority, either from the books of the New Testament, or very early antiquity. It is not likely that Paul, who in his epistle to Philemon calls himself "aged," should after that undertake new work. It is more probable, that he went to such places, where he had *been* before, and where he had disciples already: as he intimates in his epistles to the Philippians, the Colossians, Philemon, the Hebrews. Nor is it at all likely, that[m] the Cretans should have been so long without being instructed in the doctrine of the gospel, as Pearson supposeth.

I have already shewn the most probable date of the first epistle to Timothy. It is likely, that the epistle to Titus was written about the same time. For the state of things in both appears to be very similar. In both are instructions concerning the qualifications of elders, or bishops, and deacons. So 1 Tim. iii. and Tit i. Nor is it reasonable to think that Paul should have occasion, so late as the Year 64 or 65, to send to his assistants and fellow labourers such particular directions concerning that matter, as are in these two epistles. It is probable, that instructions of that kind had been given sooner. Moreover, the like errors are guarded against in both these epistles. 1 Tim. i. 4. "Neither give heed to fables, and endless genealogies."——Ch. iv. 7. But refuse profane and old wives' fables.——Ch. vi. 20. "Avoiding profane and vain babbling."——Tit. iii. 9. "But avoid foolish questions, and genealogies, and contentions, and strivings about the law. For they are unprofitable and vain." See also ch. i. 10—14. In both are like directions for paying a proper regard to civil magistrates. 1 Tim. ii. 1—6. and Tit. iii. 1—3. There are also like directions concerning relative duties, particularly those of masters and servants, 1 Tim. vi. 1, 2. Tit. ii. 9, 10. Timothy and Titus are in a like manner exhorted to take heed to themselves, and their doctrine, and to be examples of virtue. 1 Tim. i. 18, 19. iv. 6, 16. Tit. ii. 1—8. I might add, that near the conclusion of each epistle the practice of good works is in a very similar manner enjoined upon the converts to Christianity.

It appears from many texts of the second epistle to the Corinthians, written in Macedonia, that about this time Paul had the assistance of Titus in those parts. And Tychicus, mentioned Tit. iii. 12. was likewise with Paul at this time: for he was one of the company that went with him into Asia, Acts xx. 4. And therefore, probably, not he, but Artemas, had been sent into

[a] See before, p. 276.

[b] Neque enim omnia Pauli itinera descripsit Lucas, sed notabiliora quædam. Wits. de Vitâ Pauli. Sect. 9. num. v.

[c] Baron. Ann. 57. num. ccix.

[d] Lud. Capell. Hist. Ap. p. 16. et 66. Vid. et Jacob. Cap. Compend. in apost. hist. Chronol. Tab.

[e] Præf. in ep. ad Tit.

[f] Lightfoot's Works, Vol. i. p. 309, 310.

[g] Quando scripta sit hæc epistola, non liquet, nec facile ex Actis Apost. colligi potest, quod in iis non legatur Paulus Cretam ingressus fuisse. Verisimile est, ante captivitatem Apostoli, quia vinculorum hic nulla mentio. Imo, cum dicit cap. iii. 'ibi enim statui hiemare,' plane significat, non esse vinctum. Est. Argum. ep. ad. Tit.

[h] Epistola ad Titum——data anno 63, e medio aliquo loco inter Macedoniam et Nicopolim. Illic enim hiemare decreverat. H. L. in Paulo.

[i] See there the Life of St. Paul, sect. iv. num. ix.

[k] Proleg. num 122. [l] Ann. Paulin. p. 20—22.

[m] Non verisimile est, ad illud usque tempus ignoratum fuisse Christum in Cretâ; quum tota Achaia, Macedonia, Asia, Cyprus, Syria, personarent evangelii præconio. Wits. de Vitâ Pauli. sect. v. num. i.

Crete, to relieve Titus. Moreover, Apollos was at Ephesus, a little before Paul left that city, to go into Macedonia. That is manifest from 1 Cor. xvi. 12. And it may be reckoned very probable, that he did not stay long at Ephesus after Paul: but either went with him into Macedonia, or came into those parts soon afterwards. So that Paul might now have occasion to recommend him to Titus, in Crete, together with Zenas. Tit. iii. 13.

There are not in this epistle any tokens of Paul's great age, or of his being near the period of his ministry. He is plainly at liberty at the time of writing this epistle. Nor are there any intimations of his having as yet endured any long imprisonment.

This letter may be the shorter, because probably, Paul had lately written at length upon the same subject to Timothy. Moreover, Titus was older, and might have more experience. Chrysostom judged[a] the brevity of this epistle to be an argument of the ability of Titus. He did not need a long exhortation. A few hints were sufficient.

St. Paul says, Tit. iii. 12. "When I shall send Artemas unto thee, or Tychicus, be diligent to come to me at Nicopolis. For I have determined there to winter." Thereby Theodoret understood Nicopolis in Thrace, as seen above. So likewise Chrysostom.[b] But Jerom[c] supposed the apostle to mean Nicopolis in Epirus. Neither of these interpretations is any prejudice to our argument. In which-soever of those countries Nicopolis was situated, the apostle was as likely to be there at the time supposed by us, as at any other.

At Nicopolis the apostle wintered, in the year 56, according to my computation. Consequently, this letter was written some time before, in the same year 56. When the winter was over, Paul came into Macedonia, where he had been before, since he came from Ephesus. From Macedonia he came into Greece.

Sect. VII.

The Second Epistle to the Corinthians.

Whilst the apostle was in Macedonia, at this time, he wrote the second epistle to the Corinthians, A. D. 57.

Concerning this there can be no doubt, if we attend to the epistle itself. From which it plainly appears, that the apostle was then in Macedonia, and was going to Greece, particularly to Corinth. So 2 Cor. ix. 1—5. "For as touching the ministring to the saints, it is superfluous for me to write unto you. For I know the forwardness of your mind, for which I boast of you to them of Macedonia: that Achaia was ready a year ago——Yet have I sent the brethren—— lest haply, if they of Macedonia come with me, and find you unprepared, we (that we say not you) should be ashamed in this same confident boasting. Therefore I thought it necessary to exhort the brethren, that they would go before unto you, and make up beforehand your bounty."—See also ch. viii. and ch. xiii. 1. "This is the third time I am coming to you."

According to Pearson[d] this epistle was written in Macedonia, in the year 57, according to[e] Mill, near the end of that year. I likewise think that it was written in the year 57, probably, in September, or October. For the apostle, plainly, was soon to go to Corinth, where he might arrive, as I apprehend, in November.

I suppose it was now above a year since writing the first epistle to the Corinthians. The reasons of that supposition were mentioned[f] formerly. And need not to be repeated here.

Timothy was with Paul at writing this epistle: for his name is in the inscription. It is likely that[g] he had come from Ephesus to the apostle in Macedonia, either upon occasion of some affairs of that church, or at the desire of the apostle, who needed his assistance. As before said.

[a] ——βραχειαν δε ποιει την επιστολην, εικοτως. Και τουτο δε της αρετης του Τιτου τεκμηριον ην, το μη δεισθαι λογων πολλων, αλλ' ωσπερ τινος ὑπομνησεως. In Tit. hom. i. tom. XI. p. 730. B.

[b] Ἡ δ' Νικοπολις της Θρακης εστι. Chrys. in Tit. hom. 6. ib. p. 766. B.

[c] Scribit igitur Apostolus, o Paula et Eustochium, de Nicopoli, quæ, in Actiaco littore sita, nunc possessionis vestræ pars vel maxima est, &c. Hieron. Pr. in ep. ad Tit. T. IV. P. I. p. 407.

Nicopolis ipsa est, quæ ob victoriam Augusti, quod ibi Antonium et Cleopatram superârit, nomen accepit. Id in Tit. cap. iii. ib. p. 439.

[d] Annal. Paulin. p. 15. A. D. lvii.

[e] ——sub finem, ut videtur, anni æræ vulgaris lvii. Proleg. num. 21.

[f] See before, p. 276.

[g] Fateor, cum Paulus esset in Macedoniâ, unâ cum illo fuisse Timotheum. 2 Cor. i. 1; et postquam hyemem transegisset in Epiro, Tit. iii. 12, ac per tres menses commoratus in Græciâ, Act. xx. 2, 3, reversusque esset in Macedoniam, illi adfuisse Timotheum, Act. xx. 4, ac recta cum illo ivisse

Sect. VIII.

The Epistle to the Romans.

The epistle to the Romans is dated by[a] Pearson in the year 57, by[b] Mill in the year 58. According to our computation of Paul's journies there can be no reason to hesitate about either the time, or the place of this epistle. It was written at Corinth in the beginning of the year 58, before Paul set out on his journey to Jerusalem.

As St. Luke's few words in Acts xx. 1, 2, 3, afford great light, and are a sure guide, I recite them here. "And after the uproar was ceased, Paul called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed" [from Ephesus] "for to go into Macedonia. And when he had gone over those parts, and given them much exhortation, he came into Greece. And there abode three months." In the space of these three months was written the epistle to the Romans.

According to Theodoret the epistle to the Romans[c] is the seventh in order of time, having been written by the apostle after the two epistles to the Thessalonians, and to the Corinthians, the first to Timothy, and the epistle to Titus. He adds: 'That[d] the epistle to the Romans was 'written from Corinth, is manifest from the conclusion. For there the apostle recommends 'Phœbe, calling her "deaconness of the church in Cenchrea," which was a borough of the Corin-'thians, Rom. xvi. 1. Besides, he says: "Gaius, my host, and of the whole church, saluteth 'you," ver. 23. By host he means the person who entertained him. And that Gaius was a 'Corinthian, we learn from the first epistle to the Corinthians. For thus he writes to them: '"I thank God that I baptized none of you, but Crispus and Gaius." 1 Cor. i. 14. The epistle 'to the Romans therefore is the last of the epistles written from Asia, and Macedonia, and 'Achaia: and is the seventh in order, as has been shewn. The rest were sent from Rome.' So Theodoret. Who might have added, as a proof, that this epistle was written at Corinth, what follows in ver. 23. "Erastus, the chamberlain of the city, saluteth you." For by the city I suppose to be meant Corinth. But whether this Erastus be the same who is mentioned by St. Luke Acts xix. 22. as one of St. Paul's assistants, I cannot say certainly.

The time of writing this epistle is farther manifest hence. It was written after that Paul had completed his collections in Macedonia, and Achaia, and when he was setting out for Jerusalem. For so he writes, ch. xv. 25, 26. "But now I go unto Jerusalem, to minister unto the saints. For it has pleased them of Macedonia and Achaia to make a certain contribution for the poor saints which are at Jerusalem."——ver. 30, 31. "Now I beseech you, brethren,—— that ye strive together with me, in prayers to God for me: that I may be delivered from them that do not believe in Judea, and that my service, which I have for Jerusalem, may be accepted of the saints."

Consequently, it is probable, that it was now near the end of the three months, that the apostle stayed in Greece. Whence "he returned to Macedonia, and after the days of unleavened bread sailed from Philippi to Troas," upon the continent of Asia, Acts xx. 3—6. And then went to Jerusalem, where he arrived about the time of Pentecost in the year 58.

If St. Paul came to Corinth in November 57, the epistle to the Romans might be sent thence in the month of February, in the year 58.

Sect. IX.

The Epistle to the Ephesians.

Concerning St. Paul's epistles, written during his imprisonment at Rome, particularly the epistle to the Ephesians.

Soon after writing the epistle to the Romans, as was before hinted, Paul set out from Corinth,

Troadem. Quæ omnia contingere potuerunt, postquam Paulus reliquisset Timotheum Ephesi; ex quâ urbe tamen iverit ad Paulum, sive propter negotia Ephesinæ ecclesiæ, de quibus Paulum consuli ab eo oporteret, vel ut pareret Paulo, quem, ut videmus, et postea invisit, longiore itinere, Romam usque. 2 Tim. iv. 9. Hammond. Præf. in 1 ep. Timoth. ex versione Clerici.

[a] Annal. Paulin. p. 15.

[b] Proleg. num. 26.

[c] Ἑβδόμην τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστέλλει· μετὰ γὰρ ὀκτὼ ταύτας ἁπάσας ταύτην αὐτὸς γεγραφέναι διδάσκει. κ. λ. Theod. T. III. p. 4. C.

[d] Ibid. p. 5.

on his journey to Jerusalem. In a short time after his arrival there, he was apprehended. And he was kept a prisoner in that country till he was sent to Rome.

During his stay in Judea, we know not of his corresponding with any churches, or particular persons, by writing. But at Rome, though a prisoner, he wrote divers letters. Grotius says, that though all St. Paul's epistles are excellent, he most admires those written by him when a prisoner at Rome. And of the epistle to the Ephesians he says, it [b] surpasseth all human eloquence.

It is generally supposed, that St. Paul wrote there four epistles: to the Ephesians, the Philippians, the Colossians, and Philemon. Jerom has twice [c] spoken of these four epistles, as written at Rome. Theodoret having spoken of the epistle to the Romans, as the seventh in order and the last of those that were sent from Asia, Macedonia, and Achaia, says: 'The [d] rest were sent from Rome: the first of which I take to be that written to the Galatians.' Lightfoot [e] likewise supposed the epistle to the Galatians to have been written at Rome, and the first of those that were written there. That is a wrong computation, as must appear from what has been already said. But beside the four above-mentioned, the second epistle to Timothy might be written at this season. The epistle to the Hebrews likewise, if it be Paul's, was probably written about this time, either during the apostle's imprisonment, or soon after it, before he left Rome and Italy.

St. Paul's imprisonment, from the time of his being apprehended at Jerusalem, to his coming to Rome, was the space of almost, or quite three years. For a short time he was confined in the castle of Antonia at Jerusalem. Thence he was sent to Cæsarea by the sea-side, the seat of the Roman governor, who at that time was Felix. Where he was kept in Herod's judgment hall, Acts xxiii. 35. And though afterwards there was an order for enlarging the first strictness of his custody, "and that his acquaintance should be permitted to come to him, and minister to him," ch. xxiv. 23, I suppose he was still confined in the above-mentioned prison. And, perhaps, this new order imported little more, than leave for his friends to bring him needful refreshments, and take care of his health. It does not appear, that during the space of two years and several months, whilst he was in Judea, he wrote any letters, or received any, as before intimated. Says [f] Wall: 'Those two years of imprisonment under Felix seem to have been the most unactive 'part of St. Paul's life. There is no account of any preachings, or disputations, or of any epistles 'written in this space.' Indeed, considering the violent opposition made by the Jews throughout the whole space of the apostle's being in that country, I apprehend there was no attempt made by Paul, or his friends, to procure him intelligence from the christian churches abroad: and that the Roman governor could not allow of any such thing. He would rather have set Paul at liberty, and let him go quite away. But when Paul was brought to Rome, though he was under a guard, he was "suffered to dwell by himself, in his own hired house." Acts xxviii. 16—30. where he was two years. Having such liberty, he wisely improved it, not only by discoursing with all those who came to him, but also by writing several epistles.

Of all these epistles the first written seems to me to be that to the Ephesians. I think it was drawn up by the apostle, as soon as conveniently could be after his friends at Rome had taken a lodging for him, and he was settled in it. A. D. 61.

The epistle is inscribed "to the saints which are at Ephesus, and to the faithful in Christ Jesus." But I apprehend that the apostle thought of the Christians throughout Asia, properly so called, whether living at Ephesus, the chief city of the country, or not. To the like purpose [g] Hammond: and also Mr. Pyle, who paraphraseth the first verse of the epistle in this manner: 'Paul, called 'to be an apostle, sendeth this epistle to the church of Ephesus, and to all the Christians of the

[a] Omnes epistolæ Pauli egregiæ sunt; sed omnium in primis, quæ Româ ex vinculis missæ sunt. Gr. Pr. in ep. ad Col.

[b] ——rerum sublimitatem adæquans verbis sublimioribus, quam ulla unquam habuit lingua humana. Grot. Pr. in ep. ad Eph.

[c] Quod Romæ in vincula conjectus, hanc epistolam miserit eo tempore, quo ad Philemonem, et ad Colossenses, et ad Philippenses, in alio loco scriptas esse monstravimus. Hieron. in Eph. cap. iii. T. IV. p. 347.

Scribit igitur ad Philemonem Romæ vinctus in carcere, quo tempore mihi videntur ad Philippenses, Colossenses, et Ephesios epistolæ esse dictatæ. In Philem. ib. p. 445, in.

[d] Τας γαρ δη αλλας απο της Ῥωμης επεστειλε· και πρωτην μεν ηγεμαι την προς Γαλατας γραφηναι. T. III. p. 5.

[e] Lightf. Vol. i. p. 323.

[f] Notes upon the N. T. p. 267, 268.

[g] Ephesum fuisse primam Metropolim Lydiæ, vel proconsularis Asiæ, ostendimus in notis ad Coloss. iv. 16. Itaque epistola hæc, Ephesiis inscripta, non est putanda ad eos solos pertinere, verum etiam ad alias urbes provinciæ, imo et totius Asiæ. Hammond. Præf. in ep. ad Eph.

lesser Asia, those faithful Christians, that firmly rely upon the christian religion for salvation, without the observation of the Mosaical ceremonies.' We are led to this supposition by what St. Paul says near the conclusion of his first epistle to the Corinthians, written at Ephesus: "the churches of Asia salute you." 1 Cor. ch. xvi. 19. And that epistle to the Corinthians is addressed "to the church of God which is at Corinth, to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints, with all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, both theirs and ours." And the second epistle to the Corinthians is addressed "to the church of God which is at Corinth, with all the saints, which are in all Achaia."

After the salutation of these Christians, at the beginning of the epistle, he praiseth God for the gospel-dispensation, now made known to all men, agreeably to the gracious purpose long since formed in the divine counsels. "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ: according as he has chosen us in him before the foundation of the world." ver. 3, 4, to 12. He then reminds them of their first faith in the gospel, and the circumstances of it. "In whom ye also trusted, after that ye heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation: in whom also, after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that holy Spirit of promise. Which is the earnest of our inheritance"——ver. 13, 14. After which he lets them know, that in his confinement, since he came to Rome, he had heard of the continuance of their faith, and of their love for all Christians in general: which had filled him with transports of joy and satisfaction. "Wherefore I also having heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus, and love unto all the saints, cease not to give thanks for you, making mention of you in my prayers: that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, may give unto you the spirit of wisdom:" or that they might be more and more illuminated, and established in the principles of true religion, ver. 15, 16, and to ver. 23.

The account that had been brought him of the Christians at Ephesus by Tychicus, as may be supposed, having been very agreeable, the apostle does not censure them for any great irregularities in conduct, as he does the Corinthians, nor for any remarkable deviations from the simplicity of the gospel, or instability therein, as he does the Galatians. But he treats them with mildness. However, he sends them a pathetic exhortation to persevere in a conversation becoming their profession and their privileges, and to guard against the temptations which they might meet with, either from heathen idolaters, or corrupt and self-interested Christians.

At the end he tells them that he had sent Tychicus, who would give them information concerning his affairs, and comfort them, ch. vi. 21, 22. And then adds: "Peace be to the brethren, and love, with faith from God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ." ver. 23. "Peace be to the brethren," that is, the brethren with you at Ephesus, to whom the epistle is directed. So 1 Thess. v. 27. "I charge you by the Lord, that this epistle be read to all the holy brethren:" meaning the brethren, or Christians at Thessalonica. So to the Philippians. ch. iv. 21. "Salute every saint in Christ Jesus," meaning, undoubtedly, the Christians at Philippi. And then at ver. 22. "All the saints salute you:" meaning all the Christians in general at Rome. It was not needful to say of this place. The meaning is obvious.

The concluding words of this epistle are these at ver. 23. "Grace be with all them that love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity:" which, I think, may be understood and paraphrased after this manner. 'And grace be with all those, who, like you, love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.'

That is a brief and general account of the epistle itself. I must add somewhat in behalf of the early date of it, which is here assigned by me.

There might be many considerations inducing the apostle to write to the Ephesians soon after his arrival at Rome. Ephesus was a place of great importance, being the chief city of Asia, where was a great resort of merchants, and all other people. Here the apostle chose to settle that eminent disciple of his, Timothy. Here also St. John took up his residence after he had left Judea. It was the place where Paul had been longer than in any other city, except Antioch. Here also he had wrought many and special miracles, and had great success in his preaching. Acts xix. Moreover, he had intended them a visit, 1 Tim. iii. 14, but had been prevented. When he went to Jerusalem, it is likely, that it was earnestly desired, and confidently expected by the Christians at Ephesus. Such expectations are sufficiently intimated by St. Luke, Acts xx. 15—17. "The next day we came to Miletus. For Paul had determined to sail by Ephesus, because he would not spend the time in Asia: for he hasted, if possible, to be

t Jerusalem the day of Pentecost. And from Miletus he sent to Ephesus, and called the elders of the church." Where having made a pathetic discourse, all present were much affected, and gave testimonies of a fervent and high esteem. These things must have made impressions upon the apostle, and have been well remembered by him: and may have induced him to think of writing first to this church upon his coming to Rome, and having liberty of correspondence.

There might be likewise some other reasons for this determination. The epistle is carried by Tychicus, who was of Asia, and probably an Ephesian. Mr. Biscoe [a] thought that Tychicus accompanied the apostle in his voyage to Rome. But for that I see no ground. I rather think, that like divers others of his fellow-labourers, Tychicus had come to Rome of his own accord, to meet Paul, and to attend upon him: or had been sent by the Ephesians, to pay their respects to him, and inquire into the state of his affairs. It seems to me, that Tychicus was one of the first who came to the apostle, and very soon after his arrival at Rome. Yea, possibly, Tychicus was got thither before him, as some other of the apostle's friends likewise might be. However, Tychicus being now at Rome, he was a very fit person to go with a letter from the apostle to Ephesus.

If we duly attend to the apostle's situation, after having been above two years in a close confinement at Cæsarea, we may be able to discern the reason of several things. Particularly, we may perceive, why this is a kind of general epistle, not much concerning itself with the affairs and circumstances of any church: but delivering, first, the doctrine of the gospel, and then the duties of it, with a fulness scarcely equalled in any other of the apostolical epistles. As Theodoret said: 'The [b] former part of the epistle contains the doctrine of the gospel, the 'latter part a moral admonition.' Or as a learned modern says: 'Being somewhat in the manner of an institute.' The apostle might well judge it best to write thus in his first letter, written after a long silence: and in this manner, to remind his friends and converts in Asia of the principles of the gospel, and their obligations, as Christians.

We are likewise hence led to discern the great beauty and propriety of the several places of this epistle, where the apostle speaks of his bonds, ch. iii. 1. "I Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ for you Gentiles." That for their cause he was now in bonds, appears from the history of his imprisonment, as related by St. Luke in the Acts, and particularly, from what is said ch. xxii. 21, 22, and the following verses. There is an especial suitableness in that expression of the apostle, in a letter written soon after his arrival at Rome, and especially, if it be the first letter written by him after his being apprehended, as I think it is. And having enlarged somewhat farther upon his having been appointed an apostle by Christ, for forwarding the gospel among Gentiles, he goes on, and endeavours to comfort these Christians, and all Gentile converts in general, with regard to the afflictive dispensation, which he was under, and which might appear very strange to many, ver. 13. "Wherefore I desire that ye faint not at my tribulations for you, which is your glory." Again: iv. 1. "I therefore the prisoner of the Lord beseech you." And ch. vi. 20, he calls himself "an ambassador in bonds." How suitable is this to the apostle's circumstances, if we consider him now lately arrived in the city of Rome, the capital of the Roman empire, and the seat of the emperor.

I cannot forbear transcribing that passage, ch. vi. 18—20. "Praying for all saints,——and for me, that utterance may be given to me, that I may open my mouth boldly, to make known the mystery of the gospel. For which I am an ambassador in bonds: that I may speak boldly, as I ought to speak." Wherein I do not think the apostle so much desires these Christians to pray for his enlargement, as that he might discharge his commission aright: and speak with the freedom and boldness of an ambassador from a great prince: though he was chained as a prisoner, and had not the outward pomp and state, usual with men of that high character. This was very proper at the time of his arrival at Rome, where he was likely to continue some while.

There is a like passage in Col. iv. 3, 4, which, I think, ought not to be understood very differently.

It is also an argument, that this epistle was written by the apostle soon after his coming to Rome: that here are no expressions, denoting hopes of enlargement, as there are in the epistles to the Philippians, the Colossians and Philemon: written, as we suppose, not long before his deliverance. Nor does he here take any notice of successes obtained at Rome, or give any

[a] Upon the Acts, p. 435. [b] See this Vol. p. 11.

intimations of converts made by him there, as he does Philip. i. 12, 13, 14. iv. 22. He seems indeed to have pleased himself with a prospect of recommending the gospel in his present situation, ch. iii. 7—10. like to what he says 2 Tim. iv. 17. an epistle written about the same time. But he does not intimate any advantages obtained as yet. Nor does he at the end of this epistle send such salutations, as at the end of the epistles to the Philippians, the Colossians, and Philemon. All which must lead us to think, that the circumstances of the apostle at writing this epistle were different from his circumstances at writing those epistles: when his captivity, as is allowed, was near its period.

Says St. Paul, 2 Tim. iv. 12. "And Tychicus have I sent to Ephesus." It is likely that the apostle there refers to the epistle of which we are now speaking. He had just sent, or was sending away Tychicus to Ephesus with this epistle. I think I shall presently shew, that the second epistle to Timothy was written in the first year of the apostle's imprisonment at Rome, and not very long after his arrival there. Consequently this epistle, being there referred to, must have been sent about the same time.

That the epistle to the Ephesians is here referred to, has been the opinion of many. So thought [a] Tillemont. Who, supposing that the second imprisonment of the apostle at Rome, placeth the writing of this to the Ephesians in the year 65. Whitby, in his preface to the epistle to the Ephesians, observes, 'In his close of this epistle St. Paul speaks thus to them, ch. vi. '21, 22, "That ye may know my affairs, and how I do.——Tychicus shall make known unto 'you all things."——And in the second epistle to Timothy he saith, "Tychicus have I sent 'unto Ephesus," 2 Tim. iv. 12. So Whitby. But forgetting, as it seems, what he had said in some other places. However, this shews how natural and easy it is to think the epistle to the Ephesians intended in that place of the second to Timothy. And it is what most would think, if not biassed by some prejudice.

Theodoret, in his general preface to St. Paul's epistles, says, 'the [b] apostle sent to the 'Ephesians and the Colossians at the same time, and sent them by the same messenger,' meaning Tychicus. But in his preface to the epistle to the Ephesians, having quoted Eph. vi. 21, 22, he goes on: 'And 'that he sent Tychicus from Rome, he shews in his second epistle to Timothy, 'saying, do thy diligence to come to me shortly.——And Tychicus have I sent to Ephesus.' 2 Tim. iv. 10—12. So Theodoret, without considering the consequence. For he supposed the second to Timothy to have been written but a short time before the apostle's martyrdom. But if the epistle to the Ephesians was written when the apostle was first at Rome (as Theodoret allows) and if he refers to it in his second epistle to Timothy, it will follow, that this was written soon after that to the Ephesians, and when the apostle was first at Rome.

However, there are difficulties attending this opinion which must be considered.

First, it is said that the epistles to the Ephesians and the Colossians were sent by the same messenger. Comp. Eph. vi. 21, 22. Col. iv. 7, 8. The epistle to the Colossians was sent away from Rome when the apostle had hopes of enlargement. Consequently, the epistle to the Ephesians was written about the same time.

I answer, that this is no proof. For Tychicus might be sent twice into the same country, in the time of the apostle's two years imprisonment. Tychicus might be sent to Ephesus, with this letter to the Ephesians, soon after the apostle's arrival at Rome, and come back to him, and be able to take another journey into those parts a year after, when the apostle was about to be set at liberty.

Secondly, it is said that there is a great agreement between the epistle to the Ephesians, and that to the Colossians. This last, as is allowed, was written in the second year of the apostle's confinement, and when it was near its end. Consequently, the epistle to the Ephesians was written about the same time.

To which I answer: undoubtedly, there is an agreement between these epistles in several things, taken notice of by [d] Grotius and others. But it does not therefore follow that they were sent away together. For, as has been observed by [e] Lightfoot, it is likely, that the apostle

[a] Saint Paul. art. 49. et Note 58. Mem. Ec. tom. I.

[b] Και μεν τοι και Εφεσιοις και Κολοσσαευσι κατα τον αυτον γεγραφε χρονον, ενι των επιστολων διακονω αμφοτερων χρησαμενος. Theod. T. III. p. 5.

[c] Τον δε μακαριον Τυχικον απο της Ρωμης απεστειλε· και τουτο εν τη προς Τιμοθεον δευτερα διδασκει, κ. λ. Ib. p. 292. A.

[d] Proxima huic et argumento, et verbis etiam, est illa ad Colossenses, eodem, ni fallor, scripta tempore. Grot. Præf. in ep. ad Eph. vid. et ejusd. Pr. in ep. ad Coloss.

[e] 'It may be the "parchments," 2 Tim. iv. 13, were the 'originals of those epistles that he had already written. For 'that he sent transcripts, and reserved the originals, may be

kept copies of his letters. If so, it might be easy for him to write after the same manner at different times, to people not very remote from each other, and whose circumstances were much alike. Indeed, without keeping copies of his letters, I believe it would be no difficult matter for St. Paul to repeat the Christian principles, and exhortations to Christian virtues, at several times, in like expressions, if the circumstances of men required it.

And there are several things in the epistles themselves, which afford good reason for thinking that they were not written and sent away at the same time: and that the epistle to the Colossians was written some while after that to the Ephesians. From what is said in the second chapter of the epistle to the Colossians, concerning the worshipping of angels, and other matters, it may be concluded, that the apostle had received from those parts some intelligence, which he had not, when he wrote the epistle to the Ephesians. For there those matters are not at all touched upon.

And though there is a resemblance between these two epistles, they are very different. For the epistle to the Ephesians is a good deal longer than that to the Colossians, though the forementioned article in the second chapter to the Colossians is entirely wanting: and in those places where there is an agreement, there are differences.

Nor is there in the epistle to the Ephesians any notice taken of Timothy, or Epaphras, or Mark, so expressly mentioned in the epistle to the Colossians. Which must be reckoned a very strong, and even demonstrative argument, that these two epistles were not written and sent away at the same time.

In this date of the epistle to the Ephesians I have followed [a] Lightfoot: from whom I have had great assistances in settling the time of St. Paul's epistles. I have likewise had, in this instance, assistances from [b] Baronius, [c] Estius,[d] Hammond, and [e] Witsius.

Baronius [f] and Lightfoot first speak of the second epistle to Timothy, though they do not deny the epistle to the Ephesians to have been written before it. But as we are now inquiring into the order of time, I have judged it best to adhere to that strictly. A few weeks, yea a few days, might make a great alteration in the apostle's circumstances at this time. And some of his friends and assistants might be daily coming to Rome from the provinces, and getting access to him in his apartment. By comparing these two epistles I am led to think, that when the apostle wrote the second epistle to Timothy, he had been longer at Rome, and was better acquainted with the world about him, than when he wrote the epistle to the Ephesians.

Basnage is singular in his sentiment concerning the time of this epistle. 'That it was 'written at Rome, when Paul was prisoner there,' he says, 'is manifest. But he thinks it to 'have been the last epistle which was sent thence by the apostle. He argues well enough that 'it was not sent with the epistle to the Colossians. And he supposeth that Tychicus was 'sent twice into these countries by the apostle from Rome.' He should therefore have concluded, that this letter to the Ephesians was carried by Tychicus, not after those other epistles, but before them.

Says St. Paul, 2 Tim. iv. 12. "And Tychicus have I sent to Ephesus." I suppose the apostle here to refer to the epistle to the Ephesians, which was carried from Rome to Ephesus by Tychicus. But still, perhaps, it may be questioned, whether those two epistles, that to the Ephesians, and the second to Timothy, were sent away together. Baronius [h] says they were. He says, the apostle puts the preterit for the present. So Eph. vi. 21, 22.——"That ye may

'collected from these passages. "I Tertius, who wrote out 'this epistle," Rom. xvi. 22. See also 1 Cor. xvi. 21. Col. 'iv. 18. 2 Thess. iii. 17. For all the epistle beside was 'written with another hand.' Harmony of the N. T. vol. I. p. 316.

[a] As before, p. 325.

[b] Annal. 59. num. xv. Vid. et num. xx.

[c] Præf. in ep. ad Eph.

[d] Præf. in ep. ad Ephes.

[e] Wits. de Vit. Paul. sect. xii. num. vi. et ix.

[f] Hæc cum ita sint, nos tamen primum egimus de ipsâ ad Timotheum scriptâ epistolâ, eo quod multa in eâ de rebus suis Romæ gestis ipse significet, ex quibus intexeretur historia; quarum nulla est mentio in epistolâ ad Ephesios. Baron. Ann. 59. num. xv.

[g] Epistolarum omnium, quas primis in vinculis exaravit Apostolus, ea, quæ ad Ephesios, ultima esse videtur. Ludovico enim Capello non assentimur, qui eodem tempore ad Colossenses et ad Ephesios epistolam scriptam esse statuit. ——Agebat Romæ Epaphras, dum Paulus scribit Colossensibus. Col. i. 8. Urbe autem aberat, cum ad Ephesios misit epistolam, in quâ ne verbulo quidem meminit Epaphræ. Quinetiam non, ut ad Colossenses, sic et ad Ephesios, nomine suo et Timothei scribit. Præterea per Tychicum missa est epistola. Eph. vi. 21. Quæ de aliâ prorsus Tychici profectione intelligenda sunt, quam cujus meminit ad Colossenses iv. 12. Alioquin Timothei ac Epaphræ mentionem quoque injecisset. Ann. 61. num. vii.

[h] Verum eidem tabellario, nempe Tychico, dedit etiam tunc Paulus epistolam ad Ephesios. Licet in eâ ad Timotheum dicat: 'Tychicum misi Ephesum; tamen præteritum tempus pro præsenti usurpâsse videtur, sicut cum, ad Ephesios de eodem scribens, ait: 'Ut autem et vos sciatis, quæ circa me sunt——nota faciet Tychicus——quem misi ad vos ad hoc ipsum.'——Bar. ann. 59. num. xv.

know my affairs, and how I do.——Tychicus——shall make known unto you all things, whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose." And unquestionably, that way of speaking is not uncommon. Instances are obvious. So Philem. ver. 12. "Whom I have sent again." Which may be rendered: "whom I am sending again" to you. See also ver. 19—21. and Philip. ii. 28. So here in 2 Tim. iv. 12. The words may be rendered: "And Tychicus I am sending to Ephesus." Nevertheless, as that interpretation, in this place, is not certain, I would not be positive. The epistle to the Ephesians, I think, was carried from Rome by Tychicus, either at the same time with the second to Timothy, or a short time only before it.

And, according to my calculation, the epistle to the Ephesians was written at Rome, soon after the apostle's arrival there, in 61, and before the summer of that year. It was the first epistle written by the apostle in that city. And it was sent away a short time before the second epistle to Timothy, of which I shall speak next, or together with it.

Sect. X.

The second Epistle to Timothy.

We come now to the second epistle to Timothy, which we suppose to have been sent away together with that to the Ephesians, or soon after it, A. D. 61.

Many learned men speak of a second imprisonment of Paul at Rome, and suppose that this second epistle to Timothy was then written, in 67 or 68. But I do not know that we have any good account of a second imprisonment of Paul at Rome. He suffered martyrdom there, as some think, in 64 or 65, or as others, in 67 or 68. But that he might do, without a previous imprisonment of any duration. For he might be apprehended on a sudden, and be put to death presently. Which may be reckoned as likely as not.

Before I proceed to the proofs that this second epistle to Timothy was written during Paul's imprisonment at Rome, when he was sent thither from Judea by Festus, I would premise, that I suppose, with most learned moderns, that Timothy was now at Ephesus.

It has been thought that Timothy was not there, because it is said, ch. iv. 12. "Tychicus have I sent to Ephesus." But that argument is of no force. There was no need to say, I have sent Tychicus to you. There are many similar, or parallel ways of speaking in St. Paul's epistles. 1 Cor. xv. 32. He speaks of his having "fought with beasts at Ephesus:" where he certainly was at that time, as appears from xvi. 8. And 2 Tim. i. 17, he says: "When Onesiphorus was at Rome he sought me out very diligently." He does not say, when he was here. Lightfoot [a] observes, that from the epistle itself it may be concluded, that Timothy was at Ephesus. For 1. He directs him to salute the household of Onesiphorus, ch. iv. 19, who was an Ephesian, ch. i. 16—18. 2. He directs Timothy to take Troas in his way to him, ch. iv. 13, which was the way that Paul had gone from Ephesus, 2 Cor. ii. 12. and to Ephesus again, Acts xx. 5. 3. He warns him of Alexander, ch. iv. 14, who was an Ephesian. 1 Tim. i. 20. Acts xix. 33. So Lightfoot. To which, I think, may be added, 4. Paul's salutation of Priscilla and Aquila, ch. iv. 19. who, probably, were now returned to Ephesus, and settled there, where they had been formerly. Acts xviii. 18, 19—26. and 1 Cor. xvi. 19. For certainly they were not now at Rome, where Paul himself was: though they were there when he wrote the epistle to the Romans, ch. xvi. 3, 4.

Here it may be asked: when did Timothy come to Ephesus? And how long had he been there? I answer, that by a very easy and probable conjecture, it may be concluded, that he was left there when Paul was going up to Jerusalem, with the collections which he had made among the Gentile Christians, for the poor saints in Judea. For Timothy is expressly mentioned by St. Luke among the apostle's company in that journey. Acts xx. 3, 4, 5. "And as he was about to sail into Syria, he purposed to return through Macedonia. And there accompanied him into Asia, Sopater of Berea——and Timothy, and of Asia, Tychicus, and Trophimus." Timothy therefore was in Paul's company, and went with him as far as Asia, in which Ephesus stood. And so far, I suppose, all above-mentioned accompanied Paul, but not into Syria. I apprehend that Timothy and Tychicus stayed in Asia. For we have not any intimations from St. Luke or St. Paul, or any way, that these two were with the apostle at Jerusalem.

[a] Vol. i. p. 324.

Every one is here able to recollect, that when Paul went into Macedonia in the year 56, about the time of Pentecost, he left Timothy at Ephesus, 1 Tim. i. 3. But for some reasons, which may be well supposed to have been good and sufficient, he came from thence to Paul in Macedonia. For he is joined with Paul in the salutation, at the beginning of the second epistle to the Corinthians. And, as has been just seen, he attended Paul when he left Macedonia to proceed to Jerusalem. But no man can doubt that Paul would be willing to replace Timothy at Ephesus, where his presence was of great importance, if an opportunity should offer. Such an opportunity there now was. And, very probably, it was embraced. And Paul parted with him at Miletus, where he had sent for the elders of the church of Ephesus to meet him.

Tillemont says: 'It [a] is not said what became of Timothy during the two years that St. Paul 'was prisoner in Judea.' I think I may presume to say he was all that time at Ephesus, and parts adjacent in Asia. Du Pin was of the same opinion, whose words I transcribe [b] below.

Tillemont adds presently afterwards: 'It is however certain, that Timothy was at Rome, 'when the apostle wrote to Philemon, the Philippians, and the Colossians: forasmuch as he is 'named jointly with him in the titles of those three epistles.' How, Timothy came to be then at Rome, we shall see presently.

Paul therefore parted with Timothy at Miletus, as just said. And I think that when the elders of Ephesus were come to Miletus, Timothy joined himself with them, and stood at the head of them: and consequently was one of those, of whom it is said: "And they all wept sore, and fell on Paul's neck, and kissed him: sorrowing most of all for the words which he spake, that they should see his face no more. And they accompanied him to the ship," Acts xx. 37, 38.

Of this Paul takes notice in the most affectionate manner, 2 Tim. i. 4. "Greatly desirous to see thee, being mindful of thy tears, that I may be filled with joy." Doubtless Paul was much affected by the tears of all the rest, but especially Timothy's: and was now "greatly desirous to see him," who had been so deeply struck with the thoughts of never seeing his face any more.

Timothy, then, was at Ephesus when this epistle was sent to him. *And he had been there* from the time that Paul left Miletus, to go to Jerusalem, and *during his imprisonment in Judea.*

The observation that Paul here refers to the tears shed by his friends at his parting with them at Miletus, appears to me very obvious: though it has been hitherto entirely overlooked, so far as I know. And it will directly lead us to the true date of this epistle. It is a most proper beginning of a letter sent by Paul to Timothy at Ephesus, soon after his arrival at Rome from Palestine, at the time we suppose: but it is very unlikely to be taken notice of in an epistle written several years afterwards, and after there had been an interview, as there certainly was, when Paul was at Rome.

I shall now observe divers particulars, confirming the supposition, that St. Paul's second epistle to Timothy was written during the apostle's imprisonment at Rome, and near the beginning of it.

1. The circumstances of the apostle's imprisonment at Rome, when sent thither by Festus, and at the time of writing this epistle, are exactly the same.

Says St. Luke, Acts xxviii. 16. "Paul was suffered to dwell by himself, with a soldier that kept him." And ver. 30. "Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him."

Here are two remarkable particulars. First, that Paul "dwelt by himself, with a soldier that kept him:" that is, after the manner of the Romans, by an iron chain of convenient length, he was fastened to a soldier, who had one end of the chain upon his left hand, and Paul the other end upon his right hand, as was largely shewn [c] formerly. To this St. Paul refers in this his second epistle to Timothy, i. 16. speaking of Onesiphorus: "He oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain." So exactly, Acts xxviii. 20. "Because for the hope of Israel, I am bound with this chain."

[a] S. Timothée, Mem. T. II.

[b] On pourroit dire néanmoins, et je ne m'éloignerois pas de ce sentiment, que S. Paul le laissa à Ephèse, quand s'etant arrêté à Milet, il envoya quérir les prêtres de l'église d'Ephèse. Act. xx. ver. 17. Car nous lisons, que, comme S. Paul partoit pour aller en Asie par Macédoine, Timothée fut un de ceux qui l'accompagnèrent en Asie. ch. xx. 4. Et nous ne trouvons plus Timothée à sa compagnie, ni à Jerusalem, ni pendant sa prison de Césarée. Si cela est, Timothée aura été établi par S. Paul pour gouverner les églises d'Asie en 58. Du Pin Diss. Prelim. l. 2. ch. 2. sect. viii.

[c] See Vol. i. p. 126—129.

Secondly. The other remarkable particular is, that when at Rome, "Paul dwelt in his own hired house, and received all who came in unto him." Such also was his case at writing this epistle, as appears abundantly from ch. iv. 10, and other places. He had with him Demas, Crescens, Titus. The first was gone to Thessalonica, without his approbation: the others were gone, whither he had sent them, as it seems. And Luke was still with him. And at ver. 21, he sends salutations to Timothy from divers persons, and from the church at Rome in general, saying: "Eubulus greeteth thee, and Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren." Which shews that people had free access to the apostle when he wrote this epistle.

1. Obj. However, it has been objected, that [a] when Onesiphorus came to Rome, Paul was close shut up, and Onesiphorus had much difficulty in finding him. Which is different from the imprisonment of which St. Luke has given an account.

To which I answer, that Onesiphorus had no uncommon difficulty in his access to Paul, whose words are, 2 Tim. i. 16, 17, "The Lord give mercy to the house of Onesiphorus. For he oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain. But when he was at Rome, he sought me out very diligently, and came unto me:" that is I think: Onesiphorus has been often with 'me, and refreshed me, with presents, and with his conversation, without being at all ashamed 'of me, though I had a chain upon me.' Which shews, that Onesiphorus might come to visit the apostle, when he pleased: and might give him as much relief as he saw good. 'Yea, says 'the apostle, as soon as he came to Rome, he made inquiries after me, and came to see me 'without delay.'

Here appear not any tokens of Paul's being under a very strict confinement. But here are evidences of his being in such a condition, as that represented by St. Luke, when he had been brought from Judea to Rome. Onesiphorus seems to have come to Rome soon after the apostle's arrival there. In order to find him out, and know where he was, it was needful to make some inquiries. How else should any man find a stranger in a great city? Whether he was quite at liberty, or in one of the prisons of it, some inquiries would be needful. And when Onesiphorus had found the place, where Paul was he came to it without any difficulty.

Witsius [b] speaks exactly to the like purpose; and supposeth, that after some inquiries (such as are needful, when a man comes to a large city, and wants to see a stranger newly arrived) Onesiphorus found Paul with the soldier in his own hired house.

The case I take to be this. Onesiphorus came to Rome upon his own secular business. He knew very well that Paul had been carried thither as a prisoner. But what was become of him he did not know: whether he had been set at liberty, or was still a prisoner, or had been put to death. Upon coming to Rome therefore, not long after Paul had been brought thither, he made anxious inquiries after him. And hearing where Paul was, he readily came to him, notwithstanding his disgraceful circumstances, being chained to a soldier. And so long as he stayed in Rome, he made the apostle frequent visits, and afforded him such refreshment as was in his power.

2 Obj. But it is urged, that St. Paul says, 2 Tim. ii. 9. [c]——"Wherein I suffer, as an evil-doer, even unto bonds."

To which I answer, that the word, here rendered bonds, is the same that is used in other epistles, written during the apostle's imprisonment at Rome, when sent thither by Festus. Col. iv. 18. "Remember my bonds." Μνημονευετε μου των δεσμων. The same word is used at least four times in the epistle to the Philippians, ch. i. 7. 13, 14, 16. and in Philem. ver. 10, and 13. Heb. x. 34. And to the Ephesians he says, ch. iii. 1. "I Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ." ο δεσμιος. And ch. iv. 1. "The prisoner of the Lord." Not to mention any other places. When Paul was so bound, he had reason to say, "he suffered as an evil-doer," or

[a] In secundis vinculis alia statim rerum facies fuit. Tunc enim 'Onesiphorus,' inquit, 'cum Romam venisset, solicite me quæsivit, et invenit.' i. 17. An opus erat, ut Onesiphorus σπουδαιοτερον, et cum tanto studio ac solicitudine quæreret Paulum, et ex tam sedulâ inquisitione inveniret, si Apostolus aut in eâdem domo, aut cum eâdem libertate, et non in arctâ et abditâ custodiâ prædicâsset? Pearson. De Success. primor. Rom. Episcop. Diss. i. cap. 9. n. viii.

[b] Quando Onesiphorus Paulum Romæ quæsitum venit, non videtur invenisse in carcerem conjectum, arctâque custodiâ detentum, sed militi suo alligatum, in diversorio. Sic enim Paulus: Και την αλυσιν μου ουκ επησχυνθη.——Et sane quamvis vincula Pauli nota fuerint in toto Prætorio, non tamen inde consequitur, Pauli domum ita notam omnibus fuisse, ut homini peregre advenienti, in urbe quæ orbis compendium erat, ad captivi Judæi domum inveniendam diligenti inquisitione non fuerit opus. Præsertim si attendamus, facta hæc esse initio vinculorum Pauli, antequam eum celebritatis gradum esset nactus. Wits. ubi supra, sect. 12. num. vi.

[c] Εν ῳ κακοπαθω μεχρι δεσμων, ως κακουργος.

malefactor, "even unto bonds." He was not a malefactor, or notorious offender, nor a criminal: but was innocent in the view of the Roman laws, as well as in point of reason, justice, and equity. But he suffered, "as an evil-doer." Had he not reason to say so when he was sent bound from Judea to Rome? Had he not been prosecuted as a malefactor? Did not the Jewish multitude, who first laid hold of him, intend to kill him? Acts xxi. 31—36. xxiii. 27. xxiv. 6. Did not the multitude, who heard him with patience for a while, at length say: "Away with such a fellow. For it is not fit that he should live?" ch. xxii. 22. Does not Festus say to king Agrippa, and the large assembly at Cæsarea, "Ye see this man, about whom all the multitude of the Jews have dealt with me, both at Jerusalem, and also here, crying, that he ought not to live any longer?" ch. xxv. 24. So that he was prosecuted as a malefactor all the while that he was in Judea. Nor does it appear that there was any likelihood of his escape, but by appealing to the emperor. And was he not after all sent bound to Rome with many obnoxious persons under the command of a centurion? Certainly, I think, these things afforded sufficient ground for Paul to say what he does in this place to Timothy.

But to insinuate from these expressions that Paul was now in some close confinement, his friends debarred access to him, and himself forbid the use of pen, ink, and paper, I humbly conceive, is altogether without foundation. It is inconsistent with the whole tenor of the epistle, and with the apostle's writing, or enditing, and sending such a letter as this to Timothy. Wherein too he desires Timothy to come unto him.

St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome, when sent thither by Festus, was occasioned by his zeal for the liberty of the Gentiles, as is manifest from Acts xxii. 21, 22. Of which he also takes notice, Eph. iii. 1. saying: "I Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ, for you Gentiles." His imprisonment at Rome, at the time of writing this epistle, was owing to the same thing. For he says here, ch. i. 11, 12. "Whereunto I am appointed a preacher, and an apostle, and a teacher of the Gentiles. For the which cause I also suffer these things." This is very observable. And indeed the twelve verses at the beginning of this epistle are a most proper introduction to an epistle sent to Timothy by Paul at the time for which we argue.

Thus the circumstances of Paul's confinement at the time of writing this epistle, compared with the circumstances of that confinement at Rome, of which St. Luke has given a general account, and in which it is allowed that St. Paul wrote epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Philemon, shew it to be one and the same imprisonment, and that this epistle also was written about the same time with them.

St. Luke was with the apostle at Rome when he wrote this epistle, 2 Tim. iv. 11. And we know from the Acts, that he went with Paul from Judea to Rome, when he was sent thither by Festus. He is likewise mentioned in the epistles to the Colossians and Philemon, written during this imprisonment. But it would be presumption to say, that St. Luke was with the apostle at Rome, in another imprisonment, three, or four, or five years after this: especially, when we see that his history of St. Paul in the book of the Acts, concludes with the account of his two years imprisonment at Rome, when sent thither by Festus.

3. Since the apostle's coming to Rome, he had had with him, beside Luke, who accompanied him, Demas, Crescens, Titus, Tychicus, four of his assistants and fellow-labourers. Which might be likely enough to be expected, when Paul was sent from Judea to Rome. But it cannot be said to have been likely at any other season. But at this it was. For Paul's imprisonment in Judea had lasted above two years. And it must have been known to all Gentile Christians throughout the world, and observed by them with astonishment and grief. And his last appearance before Festus and others, at Cæsarea, was a very remarkable thing, and must have soon come to the knowledge of all Christians in Syria, Asia, Greece, and Italy. At that assembly it was determined that Paul should go to Rome. He took shipping at Cæsarea with others. He had a long and dangerous voyage. And after such an imprisonment in Judea, as that related by St. Luke, with all its circumstances, it may be reckoned highly probable, that some good number of the apostle's affectionate friends, especially his fellow-labourers, if not too much engaged, should form a design, and do their utmost, to meet him at Rome. It seems to me very likely, that some such persons should with this view get to Rome, before Paul himself. Accordingly, we have seen four such persons mentioned by Paul in this epistle. It is a striking circumstance, and exceedingly favours our argument for the time of this epistle.

4. Says St. Paul, 2 Tim. iv. 20. "Erastus abode at Corinth:" which is agreeable to the

account of St. Paul's journey to Jerusalem, as related by St. Luke. For Acts xix. 22, Erastus is expressly mentioned as "one of those who ministered to Paul," whom he sent from Ephesus to Macedonia. Nor is Erastus among those who went with Paul from Macedonia, Acts xx. 4. It [a] is therefore very likely that he stayed at Corinth, and did not go with the apostle to Jerusalem. This Timothy knew very well. Nevertheless, it [b] is very properly mentioned together with other particulars, shewing Timothy the reasonableness of his coming to him, and the need which the apostle had of his presence.

We should here recollect what was formerly said of the apostle's situation at Rome, after a long and close confinement in Judea. And then we shall easily account for Paul's mentioning to Timothy divers things which had happened some good while before. In a word, Paul may take the same notice of several things which had happened before parting with Timothy at Miletus, in the same manner that he would have mentioned them, supposing him to have stayed but a few weeks at Jerusalem, and then sailed from Cæsarea to Rome, and soon after his arrival at Rome, had written to Timothy to come to him. For all the time of the apostle's close confinement in Judea had been, sunk and annihilated in his computation.

5. In the same verse. "Trophimus have I left at Miletus sick." Another particular leading to that date of this epistle for which we argue.

We know from Acts xxi. 29, that Trophimus was with Paul at Jerusalem. It may be reckoned probable that he set out with Paul from Cæsarea to go to Rome. St. Luke indeed, Acts xxvii. 2. mentions not expressly any companions of Paul in his voyage, beside himself and Aristarchus. Nevertheless Trophimus likewise may have embarked with him. The reason of not mentioning him may be, that he did not complete the voyage, having fallen sick, and therefore had been left at Miletus. This Timothy might know very well. Nevertheless it is fitly taken notice of by Paul, in a letter written soon after finishing the voyage, and when writing to Timothy to come to him.

But when was Trophimus left at Miletus? Beza [c] was inclined to read here Μελιτη, Melita, Malta, instead of Μιλητῳ, Miletus, which conjecture is approved by [d] Grotius. But if Miletus should be reckoned the true reading, Beza supposeth that Trophimus might be set on shore in the time of that slow sailing, mentioned Acts xxvii. 7. Lightfoot [e] concludes from what is in Acts xxvii. 2. that Paul had a good opportunity to leave Trophimus at Miletus.

This will be farther confirmed, if we admit the interpretation given by Wall, without any view to the use which we are about to make of it. 'Acts xxvii. 2. "Meaning to sail by the 'coasts of Asia." Μελλοντες πλειν τους κατα την Ασιαν τοπους. The ship meant to call at some places in Asia. This is a different phrase from that, ch. xx. 16, παραπλευσαι Ἐφεσον, to sail by Ephesus, 'that is, to leave it, to pass by it, without calling. It is, then, a very easy and natural supposition, that Paul might have an opportunity of setting Trophimus on shore at Miletus.

6. St. Paul desires Timothy to come to him shortly, ch. iv. 9. And unquestionably he did so. We find his name in the salutations at the beginning of the epistles to the Philippians, the Colossians, Philemon, written during this imprisonment, and near its period. Witsius [f] observes,

[a] 'Erastus remansit Corinthi.'] Fuerat in Macedoniam missus a Paulo. Acts xix. 22. Deinde Corinthum redierat, ibique manserat, nec venerat Romam. Grot. in 2 Tim. iv. 20.

[b] Quod Erastum Corinthi mansisse scribit, non tamquam rem novam incognitamque Timotheo renuntiat: refert tamen, uti attinentem ad scopum suum, &c. Wits. de Vit. Pauli sect. xii. n. vi.

[c] Nempe in illâ tardâ navigatione cum præterveheretur litus Asiæ, sicuti narratur. Act. xxvii. 7. Quamquam potius conjicio legendum εν Μελιτη, in Melitâ, quod vocabulum facile fuit in Μιλητω depravare. Bez. in 2 Tim. iv. 20.

[d] Omnino assentior doctissimo Bezæ legenti εν Μελιτη.—— In itinere Hierosolymis Paulus Meliten attigit, non Miletum. Grot. in loc.

[e] 'But when was he left? Not when Paul went toward 'Jerusalem, and sent for the elders of Ephesus to Miletus. 'Acts xx. For Trophimus went, and was with Paul at Jeru-'salem. xxi. 29. But it was when Paul returned from Jeru-'salem, as has been said, though it be not particularly men-'tioned, that he touched there.——Luke says plainly, that 'at Paul's coming away from Judea in his voyage to Rome, 'it was their resolution "to sail by the coasts of Asia." Acts 'xxvii. 2. Which would have been a fairer ground to have 'concluded upon, that Paul was at Miletus in this voyage, 'since that was a part of those Asian coasts, than to change 'Miletus into Melita, upon no ground at all. And certainly 'the very scope of the apostle in that passage will not admit 'of that change. For he is not telling Timothy of Erastus's 'abode at Corinth, or of Trophimus's sick stay at Miletus, as 'things unknown to him, but as things very well known, 'yet mentioned to him, as making to the apostle's purpose.' Lightfoot's Harmony of the N. T. vol. I. p. 324.

[f] Pro certo habent, Timotheum initio priorum Pauli vinculorum Romæ non fuisse. Etenim in Actibus Apostolicis nihil ultra de Timotheo dicitur, quam quod Paulum Hierosolymam proficiscentem in Asiam fuerit comitatus, cap. xx. 4. Exinde nulla Timothei mentio; de itinere Hierosolymitano, nedum de navigatione Romanâ, sede γρυ. Quia vero res ipsius adeo Pauli rebus innexæ fuere, ipseque tam eximiam sustinuit personam, vix videtur præteriri potuisse in tantâ rerum, quæ Paulo acciderunt, varietate, &c. De Vit. Pauli. sect. 12. num. v.

that in the Acts there is no account of Timothy's accompanying Paul to Rome. Timothy therefore not being there at the beginning of the apostle's captivity in that city, he might have occasion to send a letter to him, at the time supposed by us. This particular is well enforced by Witsius at the beginning of his argument upon the date of this epistle.

7. Ver. 11. St. Paul says, "Take Mark, and bring him with thee." And doubtless Timothy did bring Mark to Rome. For he is mentioned with others, Col. iv. 10. and Philem. ver. 24. and comprehended in those general expressions, Philip. iv. 21.

Grotius in [a] his notes upon 2 Tim. iv. 9, 11, says the same of Timothy, Luke, and Mark, that I have done. It is strange that he did not discern the consequence which is so obvious: that this second epistle to Timothy must have been written before the epistles to the Philippians, the Colossians, and Philemon. But that he discerned this consequence, does not appear clearly from his preface to this epistle. Whether he did, or not, he admits our interpretations. And the consequence is unavoidable. It follows also from what he says upon ver. 20. of Trophimus having been left at Melita, in Paul's voyage from Judea to Rome, as before observed, and from some other things said by him in his annotations on this epistle. Which may be taken notice of hereafter.

8. Ver. 13. "The cloak that I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou comest, bring with thee, and the books, especially the parchments."

As St. Paul went to Jerusalem by the way of Troas, we are hereby led to the time of this imprisonment: especially when we consider, that Timothy accompanied the apostle in that Journey as far as Asia. And Paul here seems to write to Timothy, as knowing Carpus, and that these things had been left with him.

If it be objected, that [b] Paul had at that time several friends with him, who might be willing to take care of those things: we [c] readily answer: it is true. Nor need it be supposed that in any other journey Paul was without a sufficient number of friends, to perform for him any needful service of that kind. There might be other reasons for leaving those things behind him.

We need not inquire, what were those reasons, nor what were those things. However I shall observe here what Lightfoot says of the word, rendered cloak in his account of St. Paul's journey from Troas to Jerusalem: 'when [d] he goes now from thence, it is most likely, was the time when 'he left his cloak and parchments with Carpus, 2 Tim. iv. 13. His cloak. For he was now going 'among his own nation in Judea, and there he was to wear his Jewish habit. And he left his 'Roman garb here, till he should come into those Roman quarters again.'

9. The progress of the gospel at the time of writing this epistle, and the other epistles, confessedly written in the time of St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome, when sent thither from Judea, appears to be the same, or very much alike.

To the Philippians he writes, ch. i. 12, 13, "I would ye should understand, brethren, that the things which have happened unto me, have fallen out rather to the furtherance of the gospel: so that my bonds in Christ are manifest in all the palace, and in all other places." See also ver. 14—18. In this second epistle to Timothy, he says, ch. ii. 9.——that "though he suffered unto bonds, the word of God was not bound." And see ch. iv. 16. 17. And at ver. 11. he desires that Mark would come to him: "for," says he, "he is profitable to me for the ministry:" supposing, that he should have employment for him, wherein he might promote the interest of the gospel. Paul could speak more distinctly of his successes, and of the oppositions which he met with at Rome, in the epistles written a short time before his enlargement. But even now he appears to have had in prospect those things, which were afterwards accomplished.

10. At ch. iii. 11. he reminds Timothy of "the persecutions, and afflictions which he had

[a] Σπευδασον ελθειν προς με ταχεως· nempe Romam. Et hoc fecit Timotheus, ut apparet, Coloss. i. 1. Philem. i. Hebr. xiii. Philip. ii. 19. Grot. in 2 Tim. iv. 9. vid. et in ver. 11.

Λουκας εστι μονος μετ' εμου. Nam post iter illud, quod fine Actorum descripsit, mansit in Italiâ cum Paulo. Col. iv. 14. Philem. ver. 24.

Μαρκον αναλαβων αγαγε μετα σεαυτου——Et hoc desiderium Pauli impletum est. Vide Philem. 24. Coloss. iv. 10. Id. in ver. 11.

[b] Quum jubet sibi adferri pænulam, quam Troade apud Carpum reliquerat, et libros.——Ineptum autem est vel cogitare Paulum hæc Troade reliquisse, quum tot secum haberet comites, et collectas Hierosolymam perferendas, et navem ubique conduceret. Ap. Wits. ibid. sect. 12. num. iv.

[c] Respondetur: non magis ineptum esse cogitare, Paulum pænulam suam cum libris quibusdam et membranis Troadæ reliquisse in illo itinere, quod Lucas meminit, quam in alio, quod supponitur, quocumque. Si enim id consulto factum sit, ratio consilii æque nobis in obscuro manet; quippe nullibi tradita. Si per oblivionem aliquam aut negligentiam ejus qui Paulo ministrabat; quo plures erant, majorisque momenti sarcinæ, eo facilior esse videtur unius alicujus, et vilioris, forsan, neglectus, &c. Wits. ib. sect. 12. num. vi..

[d] As before, p. 298.

endured at Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, all well known to Timothy. Which is very proper and seasonable, at our supposed time of writing this epistle: more seasonable than it would have been several years afterwards.

Some, perhaps, may think it reasonable to expect more notice taken of the apostle's imprisonment in Judea, and at Rome. But we suppose that to be the very imprisonment which he was now under, and of which he often speaks in this epistle, saying, that he "suffered trouble, even unto bonds: that he endured all things for the elect's sake:" that "Onesiphorus was not ashamed of his chain:" that he had "made an apology, when all men forsook him." But if this letter had been written several years after his imprisonment in Judea and at Rome, it would have been reasonable to expect some references to it, as a thing past, in his exhortations to Timothy, in speaking of persecutions and afflictions formerly endured by him.

11. Ch. ii. 22. "Flee also youthful lusts." An exhortation to Timothy more suitable now than several years afterwards. Indeed, this whole epistle is an admonition to Timothy, as a Christian and a minister, better suiting the time of St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome, when sent thither from Judea, than any later time.

12. Ch. iv. 16, 17. "At my first answer no man stood with me, but all men forsook me. ——Notwithstanding the Lord stood with me, and strengthened me, that by me the preaching might be fully known, and that all the Gentiles might hear. And I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion."

These words afford a strong argument that this epistle was written when Paul was sent bound from Judea to Rome. For it is much more reasonable to think that Paul would speak of such an apology in an epistle written soon after it was made, than in an epistle written five or six years afterwards. That Paul speaks of an apology made at the time supposed by us, is very probable. And this text was so understood by several ancient writers. Eusebius, Jerom, Chrysostom, and Theodoret. The words of [a] Eusebius I transcribe below in his own language. Jerom's words were transcribed by us [b] formerly, and are fit to be repeated here. They represent the same sentiment with that in Eusebius: from whom, probably, and from some other ancients, he learned it. 'It [c] should be observed, says he, that at the time of his first apology, Nero's 'government not being yet quite degenerated, nor disgraced with the horrible wickedness which 'historians speak of, Paul was set at liberty, that he might preach the gospel in the western 'parts of the world: as himself writes in the second epistle to Timothy, dictated by him in his 'bonds, at the time he suffered.' And what follows.

And Chrysostom, in a homily upon the fourth chapter of this epistle: 'How,' says [d] he, 'shall we understand this first apology? He was at first brought before the emperor, and escaped. 'But when he had converted his cup-bearer, then he was beheaded.'

Theodoret is very express in his comment. 'When [e] upon his appeal, he was sent to Rome 'by Festus, having apologized for himself, he was dismissed as innocent, and went into Spain, 'and other nations.——By the first apology therefore he meaneth that which was then made. '"And I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion." So he calls Nero, as being emperor, and 'a cruel man.'

Indeed this defence, or apology, cannot relate to any other time. For he says: "But the Lord stood with me, and strengthened me: that by me the preaching might be fully known, and all the Gentiles might hear." This could not be said at any supposed second imprisonment, when the apostle was near his end. But must relate to the prospect of success, which he had soon after he was brought from Judea to Rome. At that time these expressions were exceedingly proper,

[a] ——τοτε μεν ουν απολογησαμενον, αυθις επι την τε κηρυγματος διακονιαν λογος εχει ϛειλασθαι τον αποϛολον· δευτερον δε επιδαντα τη αυτη πολει τω κατ' αυτον τελειωθηναι μαρτυριῳ· εν ᾧ δεσμοις εχομενος την προς Τιμοθεον δευτεραν επιϛολην συνταττει, ὁμε σημαινων την τε προτεραν αυτω γενομενην απολογιαν, και την παραποδας τελειωσιν.——Εικος γετοι κατα μεν αρχας ηπιωτερον τε Νερωνος διακειμενε, ῥαον την ὑπερ τε δογματος τε Παυλε καταδεχθηναι απολογιαν· προελθοντος δε εις αθεμιτες τολμας, μετα των αλλων, και τα κατα των αποϛολων εγχειρισθηναι. H. E. l. ii. cap. 22. p. 62. A. et D.

[b] See Vol. ii. p. 556.

[c] Sciendum autem, in primâ satisfactione, necdum Neronis imperio roborato, nec in tanta erumpente scelera, quanta de eo narrant historiæ, Paulum a Nerone dimissum, ut evangelium Christi in Occidentis quoque partibus prædicaret: sicut ipse in secundâ epistolâ ad Timotheum, eo tempore quo et passus est, de vinculis dictans epistolam, &c. De V. I. cap. 5.

[d] Ποιαν δε πρωτην απολογιαν λεγει; Παρεϛη γὰρ τῳ Νερωνι, και διεφυγεν. Επειδη δε τον οινοχοον αυτε κατηχησε, τοτε αυτον απετεμεν. In 2 ep. ad Tim. cap. iv. hom. 10. T. XI. p. 722. B.

[e] Ἡνικα τη εφεσει χρησαμενος εις την Ῥωμην ὑπο τε Φηϛε παρεπεμφθη, απολογησαμενος ὡς αθωος αφειθη.——Πρωτην τοινον απολογιαν την εν εκεινη τη εκδημια γεγενημενην εκαλεσε. κ. λ. In 2 ep. Tim. iv. 16. tom. III. p. 506.

and his expectations were fully answered. As may be collected from Philip. i. 12—20. and ch. iv. 22. Witsius has some observations upon this place, which[a] deserve to be transcribed. So do likewise the observations of another learned writer,[b] they being well suited to illustrate this text.

For farther clearing up this point, I must stay somewhat longer here. I cannot but think it very evident, that Paul was now brought before the emperor, and that he here refers to it. Lightfoot supposeth, 'that[c] in those words, "at my first answer," Paul does not so much refer to what, 'or how many answers he was called to: but intimates, that even at the first pinch and appear-'ance of danger, all that should have been his assistants started from him.' And that may be the meaning. Nevertheless it is not impossible, that Paul might make two apologies, one soon after the other, at the first of which all forsook him: whereas, at the second, there were some, who appeared with him, and spoke in his behalf. But however that may be, I am of opinion, that Paul was brought before Nero himself, and that he here speaks of it. Several[d] moderns have perceived this. But though this opinion had never had the patronage of any great names, I apprehend, it might be deduced with certainty from St. Luke's history in the Acts. He is very concise in what he says of Paul after his arrival at Rome. Nor has he said, that Paul was brought before Nero. But it may be argued, and concluded from what he has said.

When Paul was first brought before Festus at Cæsarea, after he had been left bound by Felix, at the end of two years imprisonment, and Festus proposed, that he should "go up to Jerusalem, and be there judged before him: Paul said, I stand at Cæsar's judgment-seat, where I ought to be judged," Acts xxv. 9, 10. "Then Festus, when he had conferred with his council, answered, Hast thou appealed unto Cæsar? Unto Cæsar thou shalt go," ver. 12. Therefore that was now determined. When Festus first spoke to king Agrippa about Paul's affair, he said to him, "But when Paul had appealed to be reserved to the hearing, or judgment, of Augustus, I commanded him to be kept, till I might send him to Cæsar," ver. 21. And when Festus actually brought Paul before Agrippa, and the rest, he said, "He himself having appealed unto Augustus, I have determined to send him." ver. 25. After Paul had pleaded before Festus, and Agrippa, and that great company at Cæsarea, it is said, ch. xxvi. 31, 32; "And the king rose up, and Bernice, and they that sat with them. And when they had gone aside, they talked between themselves, saying, This man doth nothing worthy of death, or of bonds. Then said Agrippa unto Festus: This man might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed unto Cæsar." After his appeal therefore the sending Paul to Rome was unavoidable. If Agrippa and the rest of that great company did not dare to dismiss him, though they thought him innocent, but judged it needful that he should go to Rome, it may be reckoned probable, that he was actually brought before the emperor. And Festus wrote a letter concerning Paul to the emperor himself, as may be concluded from ch. xxv. 26, 27. And while Paul was in the voyage to Rome, he had a vision. "An angel stood by him, saying: Fear not, Paul, thou must be brought before Cæsar," ch. xxvii. 23, 24. Certainly, therefore, he was brought

[a] Puto hæc ad ea quæ Romæ tunc gesta sunt referenda esse. Ibi enim constitutus tunc fuit Paulus, ut in summo totius mundi loco, unde evangelii ab ipso prædicati sonus, non tamquam buccinæ, sed tamquam tonitru, quaquaversum audiretur. ——Porro ea, quæ Romæ, quæ in Prætorio, quæ ad tribunal Cæsaris dicebantur, vel agebantur, in tantâ confluentium multitudine, celeri famâ, per omnes totius propemodum orbis gentes vulgata fuere. Quibus non parum ponderis ex eo accessit, quod captivus iste, tam mirabilium rerum anuntiator, a popularibus quidem suis accusatus, sed a Cæsare absolutus, vel certe non damnatus esset. Wits. de Vit. Paul. sect. 12. num. xxxii.

[b] Idem jam a Paulo indicatum, 2 Tim. iv. 16, 17. 'In primâ meâ defensione nemo mihi adfuit, sed omnes,' nimirum Christiani, Romæ tum Pauli aggregati, 'me deseruerunt.—— Dominus autem mihi adfuit, et confortavit me, ut per me promulgatio evangelii compleretur, et omnes gentes illud audirent: Etenim liberatus fui ex ore leonis,' quocum jamjam mihi erat depugnandum.——Paulus docet, sese, adjuvante Deo, ab intentatâ sibi cum leone depugnatione fuisse ereptum; sese caussam suam ita dixisse, ut liber et inviolatus fuerit dimissus e Prætorio; Deum hoc pacto promulgationem evangelii promovisse, et in celebritatem deduxisse, ac ad securitatem. Securitas adnuntiationis sita est in voce πληροφορίας, quæ a nave, plenis velis ac liberrime invehente, est desumta. Eum igitur finem liberationis suæ Numen Supremum voluerat esse proprium, ut Paulus in posterum eo liberius doctrinam evangelii evulgaret. Roma erat locus celeberrimus. Quidquid ibi gerebatur, id putabatur agi in luce orbis terrarum. Caussa itaque Pauli inde innotuit ac increbuit passim, ac quicumque de eâ aliquid audiebant, avidi fuerunt redditi doctrinæ quoque ipsius, quam docebat, audiendæ et cognoscendæ. J. Ch. Harenberg. Otia Gandersheim. Observ. 8. sect. 3.

[c] As before, p. 322.

[d] I shall cite an author or two here, though they may not agree with me about the time of Paul's appearance before the emperor.

Acts xxvii. 24. "Thou must be brought before Cæsar." 'By this, and by what Paul says, 2 Tim. iv. 17. it seems, that 'he had a personal hearing before Nero himself.' Wall's Crit. notes upon the N. T. p. 271.

Nous ne saurions douter au moins que S. Paul n'ait comparu devant Néron peu de temps avant sa mort, comme on le voit par sa seconde èpître à Timothée. Tillem. S. Paul. note 40. Mem. T. I. p. 531. Paris.

him. And that is what he intends, when he speaks of his apology. Which is also confirmed by what follows: "And I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion." Whereby must be meant Nero himself.

And now we may be able to understand those expressions: "No man stood with me: but all men forsook me." St. Luke's history of Paul's arrival at Rome will give great light to those words, Acts xxviii. 13—15, "And we came the next day to Puteoli. Where we found brethren, and were desired to tarry with them seven days: and so we went toward Rome. And from thence, when the brethren heard of us, they came to meet us, as far as Appii Forum, and the three taverns: whom when Paul saw, he thanked God, and took courage." The affectionate and respectful visit of so many Christians from Rome was very refreshing and comfortable to him, after all the fatigues of his voyage, and in the disgraceful circumstances of his appearance. But when he was presented to the emperor, "no man stood by him: but all men forsook him." And these are the men, whom he intends: these, and other Christians then at Rome. None of them had courage to appear in his favour, and plead in his behalf, as they might have done. But all drew back, and left him alone. "Notwithstanding the Lord stood with me, and strengthened me."

Let me now represent the progress of this affair, as it appears to me, after having consulted [a] *Lightfoot*, and others.

When the prisoners from Judea were brought to Rome, they were all delivered to the captain of the guard, or prefect of the prætorium. At the same time Julius the centurion, to whose charge they had been committed, and who had all along "courteously treated Paul," [Acts xxvii. 3,] spoke honourably of him to the prefect, or delivered in a written memorial of his voyage, and the several prisoners, whom he had brought with him, inserting, particularly, some things in favour of this prisoner, and also put into his hands the governor's letter to the emperor, concerning Paul. The tenor of which, as may be concluded from the letter of Lysias to Felix, ch. xxiii. 25—30, and from other things afterwards recorded in the Acts, omitting the usual forms, not needful to be mentioned here, was to this purpose: 'My Lord, when I 'came into this province, committed to my charge by thy favour, I found a prisoner, named 'Paul, left bound by my predecessor Felix, after he had been two years in custody. In a short 'time grievous complaints were made against him by the chief men of the nation, desiring me 'to pass sentence of condemnation upon him. Whereupon I appointed them a hearing. And 'being sat on the judgment-seat, I commanded the man to be brought forth. But when the 'accusers stood up, they alleged no proofs of any thing that could render him criminal in the 'eye of our laws. They had only certain questions against him of their own religion, and con-'cerning one Jesus, who had died, and whom Paul affirmed to be alive. At this time the man 'expressed a desire to be heard at thy tribunal. And having conferred with my council, and 'considering, that he is a citizen of Rome, his appeal was allowed to be valid. Whereupon I 'resolved to send him unto thee, as soon as I could. In the mean time, king Agrippa and Ber-'nice came to the place of my residence. Who being Jews by nation and religion, and willing 'to hear the man, I set him before them, that I might be the better informed concerning him 'myself. In their presence, and before me, and many others, Roman officers, and principal men 'of this city, he without reserve declared his doctrine, and his concern to promote it, and 'indeed his whole life from the beginning. After which, when the assembly, (as honourable as 'can be expected to be seen in any of the provinces) were gone aside, they talked between 'themselves.) And they were all agreed, saying: This man doth nothing worthy of death, or of 'bonds: and he might have been set at liberty if he had not appealed to Augustus. To thee 'therefore I now send him. And to thy cognizance his cause is referred.'

When Burrhus, the prefect of the prætorium, brought Paul before the emperor, and delivered the governor's letter, it is not improbable, that he might add some hints in favour of the

[a] 'Julius, the Centurion, that had brought Paul and the 'rest of the prisoners from Judea, had been his friend and 'favourer from his first setting out, and so continued, till his 'settling at Rome.——His accusers, that were come from 'Judea, to lay in the charge against him, [for we can hardly 'suppose but that some were come] would be urgent to get 'their business dispatched, that they might be returning to 'their own homes again; and so would bring him to his trial, 'as soon as they could. And that his trial was early this year, 'appears by his own words in the second epistle to Timothy, 'where he speaketh of his answer, and requireth Timothy to 'come to him before winter.' 2 Tim. iv. 16, 21.

'As he appealed to Nero himself, so Nero himself heard 'his cause, Philip. i. 13. 2 Tim. iv. 16. And here it was 'possible for Paul and Seneca to see each other. At which 'time all that had owned him before, withdrew themselves 'for fear, and dared not to stand by him, or appear with him 'in his danger.' Lightfoot, as before, p. 322.

prisoner, from the character given of him by Julius, either by word, or in his memorial. At this audience must have been present, beside [a] Burrhus, divers other courtiers, of the greatest eminence and distinction, and perhaps Seneca. It may be likewise supposed, that some Jews, delegated by the council at Jerusalem, appeared, to plead against Paul. If there were none, it must have been understood to be a disrespect to the emperor, and a great prejudice to the cause of the accusers. If there were any such here, it would shew the reasonableness of Paul's expectation, that some of the Christians at Rome should have attended likewise.

At this time (unless there was another audience soon after) the emperor pronounced sentence upon Paul, and signed the order of his confinement: such as is related by St. Luke, Acts xxviii. 16, 30, 31. And though Paul was not acquitted, nor set at liberty, it may be esteemed a favourable decision.

It was after this audience of the emperor, and this sentence, that Paul sent for the Jews at Rome to come to him. But when he laid before them his case, and spoke of the proceedings against him in Judea, and of his appeal to Cæsar, they were very humble, and even low spirited, and did not choose to enter into discourse upon the matter.

Paul says, Acts xxviii. 19; "But when the Jews spake against it, I was constrained to appeal to Cæsar: not that I had ought to accuse my nation of." These last words may be understood by some, as if he had said, 'Not that I have any cause of complaint against my 'nation.' Which would be great complaisance indeed, after he had received so much hard usage from the Jews. But the words may be thus rendered: 'Not that I have a design to 'accuse my nation of any thing.' And in that manner they are rendered by [b] Le Clerc, and [c] Lenfant, in their French translations. And it is agreeable to [d] Beza's annotation upon the place, who is another good judge. This sense is very becoming Paul, and was very suitable to his circumstance and situation at that time. It was very proper to pacify the Jews at Rome, who might have been apprehensive of Paul's making use of his interest in the emperor's court against them, after he had been so ill used in Judea. But all he aimed at was the vindication of his own innocence, that he might with greater liberty preach the gospel.

Here we see the ground of the difference between Paul's imprisonment in Judea, and at Rome. The difference is manifest. Whilst in Judea, it does not appear that he had any communication with other churches out of it. He is wholly engaged in his own defence, and does but just secure his life against the violence of the unbelieving Jews, and their council. But when he came to Rome, and his apology was over, he was permitted to live by himself, in his own hired house. There he receives intelligence by messengers of the churches, who come to him from divers parts. He makes converts, and writes letters, and has fellow-labourers, whom he sends abroad, as he pleaseth. We now see the ground of this. As [e] Jerom says, 'the 'apostle being sent to prison by the emperor, he becomes acquainted with the emperor's family, 'and makes the persecutor's house a church.' Referring to Philip. iv. 22. When Paul was in Judea, he was the governor's prisoner, whose good will was restrained by the influence of the people of the country. Now he is the emperor's prisoner, who allows what liberty he pleaseth. And when granted, none dare to controul, or abridge it in any measure. Hence all the advantages of this imprisonment, and the happy conclusion of it. Having so much liberty, and being able to receive all who came to him, he makes many converts and many friends, some in the emperor's own family, and near his person. Says the apostle in this very epistle, ch. iv. 16, 17; "At my first answer no man stood with me.——Notwithstanding the Lord stood with me, and strengthened me, that by me the preaching might be fully known, and all the Gentiles might hear." It is a case much resembling that of our apostle before at Corinth, Acts xviii. 9—11; "Then spake the Lord unto Paul in the night, by a vision: Be not afraid, but speak, and hold not thy peace. For I am with thee, and no man shall set on thee to hurt thee: for I have much people in this city. And he continued there a year and six months, teaching the

[a] Burrhus is computed to have died in the year of Christ 62, and Seneca in the year 65. Vid. Basn. Ann. 62. num. i. et Ann. 65. num. iv.

[b] Mais les Juifs s'y opposant, j'ai été contraint d'en appeler à César, sans que j'aye néanmoins dessein d'accuser ma nation, en quoique ce soit. Cl.

[c] —— sans que j'aye dessein néanmoins d' accuser ma nation, en quoique ce soit. Lenf.

[d] Est autem hoc additum a Paulo, ne putarent Judæi ipsum constituisse criminari gentem suam apud Cæsarem; cum hoc unum potius ageret, ut nullo hostium incommodo causam Christi et innocentiam suam tueretur. Bez.

[e] A Cæsare missus in carcerem, notior familiæ ejus factus, persecutoris domum Christi fecit ecclesiam. In ep. ad Philem. T. IV. p. 445. in.

word of God among them. And though he was brought before Gallio the governor, and accused; he was acquitted, and continued there yet a good while. In like manner here, "the Lord stood by Paul, strengthened him, and delivered him." And he afterwards "dwelt two whole years at Rome, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus, no man forbidding him." Acts xxviii. 30, 31.

Some may say, that during this space several of the apostle's friends and fellow-labourers were apprehended and imprisoned: which seems inconsistent with the supposition of his being committed by the emperor, with an order for allowing him all the liberty which he enjoyed. For Aristarchus is spoken of as his fellow prisoner, Col. iv. 10, and Epaphras, Philem. ver. 23. And Timothy is said to have been set at liberty, Heb. xiii. 23. Who therefore must have been confined.

To which I answer, that these imprisonments of some of Paul's friends and fellow-labourers do not at all weaken our supposition, but confirm it: forasmuch as Paul's liberty was not abridged, but continued the same all along, until he was quite enlarged: which affords reason to think that the method of his confinement was appointed and ordered by an authority above control. And it is easy to conceive how it came to pass that some of Paul's friends were imprisoned: when it is considered that he must have had many enemies, and some of his friends acted imprudently, and there were others, who from envy and ill-will were prompted to behave irregularly, with a view of bringing him and his best friends into danger, by exposing them to general resentment, and especially the resentment of men in power. As we learn from Philip. i. 15—17. And yet it does not appear that any of Paul's fellow-labourers endured a long imprisonment. It is not unlikely that they were taken up and imprisoned by some inferior officers, to gratify the fury of the common people, who did not dare to keep them long in custody, nothing material appearing against them. As Jerom [a] observes, such frequent short imprisonments and speedy releases were common at the first rise of the christian religion, before Nero became an open persecutor, and before the publication of such edicts as affected the lives of the followers of Jesus.

All these considerations cannot but be of great weight to determine the time of this epistle. However, there are some difficulties that ought to be taken notice of.

1. Obj. "For I am now ready to be offered up, and the time of my departure is at hand." *2 Tim. iv. 6.*

These expressions led [b] Eusebius of Cæsarea, and [c] Jerom, who followed him, and [d] Chrysostom, though he did not follow either, to say that this was the last epistle of St. Paul, written only a small space of time before his martyrdom. And many learned moderns have been of the same opinion, as is well known.

But let us attend to Lightfoot. 'There [e] is one passage,' says he, 'in this epistle, which 'has caused some to doubt about the time of its writing. That is what he says ch. iv. 6; "I 'am now ready to be offered up, and the time of my departure is at hand." Which would 'make one think that he was now ready to be martyred and taken away. And it has made 'some believe this was the last epistle that ever he wrote. But when we compare his own 'words again, ver. 17, 18, and Philip. i. 25, and Philem. ver. 22, it maketh past controversy, 'that he speaketh not of his sudden martyrdom, but that he is to be understood in some other 'sense.——And indeed the resolution of the difficulty lies open and conspicuous in the very 'text itself. 3 Paul looked upon Timothy, as the prime and choice man that was to succeed him 'in the work of the gospel, when he himself should be dead and gone: as being a young man, 'not only of singular qualifications for that work, but of whom there had been special prophe-'cies to such a purpose. 1 Tim. i. 18. He exhorts him therefore in this place, to improve all 'his pains and parts to the utmost "to do the work of an evangelist, to make full proof of his 'ministry," ch. iv. 5, for that himself could not last long, being now grown old, and worn out

[a] Quod autem crebro Paulus in carcere fuerit, et de vinculis liberatus sit, ipse in alio loco dicit: 'in carceribus fre-'quenter:' de quibus nonnunquam Domini auxilio, crebro ipsis persecutoribus nihil dignum in eo morte invenientibus, dimittebatur. Necdum enim super nomine Christiano senatûs-consulta præcesserant; necdum Christianum sanguinem Neronis gladius dedicârat. Sed pro novitate prædicationis, sive a Judæis invidentibus, sive ab his qui sua videbant idola destrui, ad furorem populis concitatis, missi in carcerem, rursum impetu et furore deposito, laxabantur——id agente Domino, ut in toto orbe nova prædicatio disseminaretur. In Philem. ver. 22. T. IV. p. 453.

[b] H. E. l. 2. cap. 22.

[c] Quoted Vol. ii. p. 555, 556; from De V. I. cap. v.

[d] Quoted likewise before, Vol. ii. p. 606.

[e] Vol. I. p. 324.

'with travail, and beside all that, in bonds at present, and so in continual danger. Therefore 'must Timothy be fitting himself daily to take his work, when he is gone.'

So Lightfoot, and as seems to me, very properly. To the like purpose Estius upon the same text. Whom [a] I transcribe below.

I likewise place below [b] a part of Baronius's solution of the same difficulty, which appears to me very sufficient.

That Paul had now no certain and prophetic view of suffering martyrdom immediately, is apparent from several things in this epistle: particularly from his desiring Timothy to come to him, and to bring Mark with him, as "profitable to him for the ministry." He supposed therefore, that he should have an opportunity to employ him in the service of the gospel. He likewise must have hoped to receive, and use the things left at Troas, which he desired Timothy to bring to him.

Obj. 2. St. Paul says, ch. iv. 18. "And the Lord shall deliver me from every evil work, and will preserve me unto his heavenly kingdom." By which many have supposed, that the apostle does not express any hope of being now delivered from death, or the present danger, or any other temporal evil, but from sin, and from all unworthy conduct of his own. So say [c] Le Clerc and [d] Whitby. "Paul had been delivered out of the mouth of the lion." But he did not now expect any such deliverance. He only hoped to be preserved from sin, and to be brought to God's heavenly kingdom.

But I do not think that to be St. Paul's meaning. It is inconsistent with what he had just said: that "the Lord had stood by him, and strengthened him, that by him the preaching might be fully known, and that all the Gentiles might hear." Which could not be done presently. But must require some time. To me it clearly appears, that the apostle's words express faith in God, and hope of the divine protection in future difficulties and dangers; or, that God would still deliver him, and uphold him in his service, against all the designs of evil men. And when he had done the work, still remaining for him to do, and fulfilled his testimony to the gospel, he should be "brought safe to God's heavenly kingdom." Accordingly, he was preserved for some good while after this, enjoying, so far as we know, as much freedom in preaching the gospel, as ever he did, till a period was put to his life by martyrdom. As before observed, what the apostle says here at ch. iv. 16—18, much resembles what is said Acts xviii. 9—17. And the apostle's circumstances at Corinth and Rome were much alike.

3. Obj. Once more, it may be said, the state of things shews this epistle to have been written many years after the first epistle to Timothy, and when Paul was near his death. For he says here, ch. i. 15. "This thou knowest, that all they which are in Asia be turned away from me. Of whom are Phygellus and Hermogenes." Which implies that great corruptions now prevailed in Asia, particularly in the church of Ephesus.

To which I answer: that if the Asiatics, here spoken of, were now at Rome, or had been lately there, we are not hereby led to think disadvantageously of the Christians at Ephesus, and in Asia in general. That such are the persons here intended, has been the opinion of many, and is very probable. It was formerly observed, that [e] Chrysostom hereby understood such as

[a] Quare quæ hic ab Apostolo dicuntur non ita sunt accipienda, quasi plane sentiat sese jam jam rapiendum ad martyrium; præsertim cum alia quædam ejusdem epistolæ repugnent huic intellectui.——Sed tantum significant, ipsum, etsi de tempore mortis et passionis incertum, tamen per carceres et tribunalia parari ad victimam.——Quocirca non apparet hæc a Paulo dicta fuisse per revelationem aliquam de instante martyrio sibi factam.——Illud etiam considerandum est, Paulum loqui, ut jam senem, et laboribus confectum, qui proinde non multum vitæ tempus sibi reliquum arbitretur. Ac quoniam non dubitat, se martyrio finiendum, idcirco et de eo tamquam brevi futuro loquitur: 'Ego enim,' inquit, 'jam delibor.'——Sensus et connexio est: Idcirco, cum tam seriâ obtestatione te discipulum meum officii tui admoneo, quod jam senex sim, et incertus quamdiu futurus superstes. Jam enim, tamquam victima Christo destinata, per hos carceres, et gravissimos quos patior adversariorum impetus, immolari incipio. Est. ad 2 Tim. iv. 6.

[b] —— eo enim sensu hæc putant accipienda esse verba, quasi proxime esset Paulus martyrio coronandus, sicque ab eo spiritu prophetico esse pronuntiata.——Sed dicant velim: Nonne idem ipse Paulus in eâdem testatur epistolâ, sibi Dominum apparuisse, dum in summo illo discrimine versaretur, hortatumque esse, ac fore prædixisse, ut per ipsum in omnes Gentes prædicatio impleretur? Quomodo igitur hæc sibi cohærent, ut instans Pauli consummatio esset, idemque ipse, sic a periculo liberandus, in omnes Gentes prædicationem evangelii propagaturus esset? Et reliqua. Ann. 59. n. xiii. xiv.

[c] Non de la mort, mais des mauvaises actions, qu'il auroit fallu que S. Paul fit pour l'éviter. Clerc.

[d] Dr. Whitby's note upon ver. 18, is, 'If he will deliver 'him,' as Chrysostom says, why does he say, "I am offered?" Observe therefore his words. He says not, he will again deliver me "out of the power of the lion:" but only, that "he will preserve me from every evil work, and to his heavenly kingdom." The place of Chrysostom, which I suppose to be here referred to, may be seen, on 2 ad Tim. cap. iv. hom. x. tom. XI. p. 722. Ed. Bened.

[e] Vol. ii. p. 612.

were at Rome. Estius, upon the place, says, this [a] was the general opinion of the Greek writers. And indeed it is in [b] Œcumenius, who expressly says, that they which are in Asia is the same, as they which are of Asia. To the like purpose Theophylact: 'They [c] in Asia are such of 'Asia as were then at Rome.' Dr. Hammond's paraphrase is to this purpose, 'Thou [d] hast 'heard, I believe, that in my affliction I have been deserted by all the Asiatic Christians at 'Rome, excepting only Onesiphorus.' So that this interpretation is confirmed by the connection, it following immediately afterwards, "The Lord give mercy to the house of Onesiphorus. For he oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain. But when he was at Rome, he sought me out very diligently, and found me." Rightly does Hammond say, that Timothy had heard of this. It was likely, that before this letter came to Timothy's hands, he might have heard in general, how the Christians at Rome, particularly those of Asia, had carried it toward his great master, now in bonds. But it seems by the apostle's way of speaking, that he thought he gave Timothy some farther information, especially, when he added, "Of whom are Phygellus and Hermogenes." Beausobre was for the late date of this epistle. Nevertheless he supposeth [e] the apostle to speak of some Asiatics, who had been with him at Rome, but were returned to their own country. Mr. Mosheim [f] speaks largely to this place. He understands hereby some Asiatics, who had left Paul, and were gone home. He thinks they were guilty of unkindness, and are chargeable with inconstancy: but he does not suppose that they forsook the apostle's doctrine, or endeavoured to make innovations.

There is no ground therefore to suppose that Paul here speaks of a general corruption and defection of the Christians in Asia.

I know not of any other objections that deserve consideration. From what has been argued therefore I conclude, that this epistle to Timothy was written at Rome, when Paul was sent thither by Festus in the year 61.

For determining the time of the year we may receive assistance, not only from those who are for this early date, but from those likewise who are for a later date of this epistle.

From Paul's desiring Timothy to come to him, before winter, Tillemont [g] concludes, that this epistle was written near the middle of the year. Witsius thinks it [h] was written in the beginning of the summer. So likewise [i] Baronius.

It seems very probable, that Paul came to Rome about the end of February, or soon after, before April, or at the utmost in the beginning of it. But before the writing of this letter several things had passed. His apology before the emperor was over. Onesiphorus had made the apostle divers visits. Several of the apostle's assistants or fellow-labourers had been with him, since his arrival, and had taken directions from him. Demas was gone to Thessalonica, Crescens to Galatia, Titus to Dalmatia. The epistle to the Ephesians likewise, I suppose to have been written before, and if it had not been sent away, it lay ready, at least, to be carried by Tychicus, together with this to Timothy. If therefore Paul came to Rome in March, this

[a] Porro secundum Græcorum expositionem, non est sermo de iis, qui, Paulo hæc scribente, in Asiâ erant, sed qui ex Asiâ Romam venerant. Est. in loc.

[b] Οἱ εν τῃ Ασια· τετὲςιν οἱ εκ τῆς Ασιας· Œcum. in loc. T. II. p. 261.

[c] Καταλιπον αυτον οἱ παντες εν τῃ Ασια, τετὲςιν οἱ εκ τῆς Ασιας ενδεμβντες τῃ Ῥωμῃ. Theoph. T. II. p. 806.

[d] Audivisti, ut opinor, ab Asiaticis Christianis, qui erant Romæ, excepto solo Onesiphoro, me desertum fuisse, in meâ calamitate. Hammond. in loc. ex versione Cleric.

[e] Il y a de l'apparence, que quelques Asiatiques, qui avoient suivi S. Paul à Rome, l'avoient abandonné, et s'en étoient retournés dans leur païs. Beaus. upon the place.

[f] Discesserant hi sine dubio, et in patriam reverterant, quod, Paulo Romæ in vincula conjecto, vitæ suæ metuebant, desperabantque, fore aliquando, ut is libertati restitutus itinera, quæ meditabatur, persequeretur. In hoc vitii est aliquid: fratrem enim, et multo magis Dei legatum, cui præsidio et solatio esse possis, in vitæ discrimine positum, relinquere, animi levis est, et Christianæ disciplinæ immemoris. Verum nihil habet hæc inconstantia, ex quo intelligi possit, ideo hos homines domum rediisse, ut, quæ ex Paulo perceperant, dogmata oppugnarent, novasque res inter Christianos molirentur. Moshem. De Reb. Christian. ante Constantin. Sec. i. num. lx. in notis.

[g] Il y prie S. Timothée de le venir trouver avant l'hiver, ainsi ce ne pouvoit pas être plus tard que vers le milieu de l'année. S. Paul art. 49. Mem. tom. I.

[h] Observant, jussisse hac epistolâ Paulum, ut festinato ad se accederet, et, si fieri posset, ante hiemem, assumto secum Marco. Venit autem Paulus Romam, mense, ut creditur, Februario. Pone, scriptam hanc epistolam esse ineunte æstate: potuit Timotheus cum Marco ante hiemem Romæ esse; ubi fuit, quando illæ scribebantur epistolæ, quibus præfixum illius nomen est: quemadmodum et Marcus ibi fuit, quo tempore scribebatur illa ad Colossenses, et ad Philemonem. Quidquamne probabilius est, quam omnia ista ex mandato Pauli esse facta? Ubi supra. sect. 12. num. v.

[i] Sed et cum illud admonet, ut ante hiemem se Romam conferat: certe, si quis exacte consideret tempus, et locum ipsum, Timotheumque agentem in Asiâ, ut ejusmodi reddi posset epistola, et ipse Troadem ad sumendam pænulam proficisceretur, ac Romam ante hiemem se conferret: plane inveniet, hoc ipso anno, ineunte æstate, hanc ad Timotheum scriptam epistolam. Baron. ann. 59. num. x.

letter might be sent away in May, or the beginning of June. The direction, ch. iv. 21. "Do thy diligence to come before winter," might proceed from tenderness for Timothy, the apostle himself having lately felt the inconveniences of a winter-voyage; and may also lead us to think there would be need of Timothy's making despatch, after the receipt of this letter, lest he should be overtaken by bad weather.

In dating this epistle at the time I have done, I have followed [a] Lightfoot, [b] Baronius, [c] Estius, [d] Hammond, [e] Witsius. Who have all well asserted this date. Witsius, the last mentioned, has an argument upon the point, which he has all along conducted with great candour, and concluded [f] with much modesty: though to me he seems to have removed every difficulty in a very satisfactory manner. And he speaks of Salmero, as being of the same opinion. And besides, in the course of the argument cites from Cocceius, and Solomon Van Till, (with whose writings I am but little acquainted) divers observations, confirming the same opinion. Cave likewise was of this opinion, when he wrote the Lives of the Apostles, and the first volume of the Lives of the primitive Fathers, in English: expressing himself very clearly, and properly, both in [g] the life of Paul, and [h] the life of Timothy, but when he wrote his Historia Literaria, he speaks in the article of St. Paul, as [i] if he had quite changed his mind: though in the article of St. Peter, as it still stands in the new edition at Oxford, he [k] speaks exactly as he had done before.

If he altered his mind, I suppose it must have been in compliance with Pearson, who of late has been followed in this particular by many; who, if they had carefully read the above named authors, might easily have discerned the superiority of their arguments.

To him [l] likewise I suppose it must be chiefly ascribed, that by the apostle's first answer, or apology, many of late have understood an apology made in a second imprisonment at Rome. Which, as [m] before shewn, is contrary to the general opinion of ancient christian writers: and indeed appears to me a [n] very unlikely meaning. And to him I suppose it to be entirely owing that [o] Paul's lion, whom [p] all Christians in general had hitherto understood to be the emperor

[a] Harmony of the N. T. in his Works, Vol. I. p. 324.

[b] Annal. 59. num. x.

[c] Præf. in 2 ad Timoth.

[d] Præf. in 2 ep. ad Timoth.

[e] De Vitâ et Rebus Pauli Apost. sect. xii. apud Meletem. Leyd. p. 182, &c.

[f] Mea si desideretur *επιχρισις*, fateor equidem aliquamdiu me in rationum conflictu animi ancipitem hæsisse, quæ quibus anteponendæ sint. Omnibus tamen perpensis, non dissimulo, eo me magis propendere, ut scriptionem hujus epistolæ ad priora Pauli apud Romam vincula referendam esse arbitrer. Ib. sect. 12. num. viii.

[g] 'It is not improbable, but that about this time St. Paul 'wrote his second epistle to Timothy. I know that Eusebius, and the ancients, and most moderns after them, will 'have it written a little before his martyrdom, induced 'thereto by that passage in it, that he was "then ready to be 'offered, and the time of his departure was at hand." But, 'surely, it is most reasonable to think that it was written at 'his first being at Rome, and that at his first coming there, 'presently after his trial before Nero. In it he appoints 'Timothy shortly to come to him, who accordingly came, 'and his name is joined together with the apostle's, in the 'front of several epistles, to the Philippians, Colossians, and 'Philemon.' Cave's Life of St. Paul, sect. 7. num. 5. p. 103, 104.

[h] Life of Timothy, num. vii.

[i] Epistolam secundam ad Timotheum scriptam esse Romæ, in primâ Pauli captivitate contendit cl. Hammondus. Sed errat omnino vir eruditissimus. Quisquis enim totius epistolæ contextum, omnesque hujus temporis circumstantias serio perpenderit, quin scripta sit anno 64, paulo ante Apostoli martyrium, dubitare nequit. De S. Paulo. Hist. Lit. tom. I. p. 12.

[k] Durante biennali captivitate, Paulus inde scripsit quatuor vel quinque epistolas, ad Colossenses, Ephesios, Philippenses, et Philemonem, in quibus nullæ notæ, nulla indicia, unde vel divinando quis assequi posset, Romæ Petrum tunc fuisse.—— In posteriori ad Timotheum, quam hoc etiam tempore scriptam esse, maxime est probabile.—— Carcere Romano liberatus, dum adhuc in Italiâ hæreret, scripsit epistolam ad Hebræos. De Petro. H. L p. 9.

[l] Paulus Romæ [A. D. lxvii.] e carcere in discrimen vitæ vocatur ab altero Nerone, et apologiam habet, sive 'defensionem suam,' vel 'sui,' quod in prioribus vinculis factum non est; ubi habuit tantum 'defensionem et confirmationem evangelii,' adversus Judæos scilicet. Annal. Paulin. p. 24.

[m] See before, p. 309—311.

[n] Eusèbe, S. Jérome, S. Chrysostome en quelques endroits, et Théodoret, ont entendu cette première défense de son premier voyage. S. Chrysostome s'en éloigne en d'autres endroits, et l'entend d'une première comparition de S. Paul devant Néron dans son dernier voyage. Mais l'autre sentiment est plus autorisé, et fondé sur le sens le plus naturel du texte. &c. Du Pin. Diss. Prelim. P. II. l. 2. ch. ii. sect. viii. p. 53.

[o] In quâ defensione tantum erat et Pauli et suorum periculum, ut omnes sui eum desererent, et nemo illi adesset, 2 Tim. iv. 16, 17. Sed ereptus est ex ore leonis, nempe Helii Cæsareani. Ann. Paulin. ibid.

[p] I refer to the collections of Grotius upon 2 Tim. iv. 17, whereby it appears to have been common to give such denominations to bad princes, not to their officers. And I shall transcribe here a curious passage, to which he only refers, shewing, that Nero, for his bad temper, was early called a lion. Adde hæc scholiastæ in Juvenalis Sat. v. Seneca sub Claudio, quasi conscius adulteriorum Juliæ, Germanici filiæ, in Corsicam relegatus, post triennium revocatus est. Qui etsi magno desiderio Athenas intenderet, ab Agrippinâ tamen, erudiendo Neroni, in palatium adductus, sævum immanemque natum et sensit cito, et mitigavit, inter familiares solitus dicere; non fore sævo illi leoni, quin, gustato semel hominis sanguine, ingenita redeat sævitia. Lipsius in notis ad Tacit. Ann. l. 12. cap. 9.

Nero, has on a sudden dwindled into [a] Elius, or Helius, the emperor's freed man and favourite.

Upon the whole, it appears to me very probable, that this second epistle to Timothy was written at Rome, when Paul was sent thither by Festus. And I cannot but think, that this ought to be an allowed, and determined point. Accordingly, I now proceed to mention some observations in the way of corollaries.

1. This second epistle to Timothy affords not any argument that Peter was not at Rome, when Paul came thither a second time, and suffered martyrdom.

Upon these words, ch. iv. 16. "At my first answer, no man stood with me, but all forsook me." Beza says: 'Where [b] was Peter then, if he was at Rome? Did he desert Paul in the 'time of his difficulty:' But the good man adds: 'That Paul's general expressions need not to 'be understood absolutely, without any exception.' That is very charitable and benevolent. But indeed, if Peter had then been at Rome, he could not have afforded any assistance to his brother apostle. Nor would Paul have expected it of him. For Peter was himself an obnoxious person. Paul [c] refers only to such, as by their station were likely to be of some use to him, if they had appeared with him, and had exerted themselves in his behalf.

But though Peter's not appearing upon that occasion affords not any argument that he was not then at Rome, the entire silence concerning him throughout this epistle, affords good reason to think he was not then at Rome. For ch. iv. 2, Paul sends salutations from Eubulus, Pudens, Linus, and Claudia. If Peter had been then at Rome, he would have been mentioned likewise. We do justly argue from St. Paul's omitting Peter among his salutations sent to divers of the Roman Christians, ch. xvi. that Peter was not then in that city. It is also rightly argued from the silence concerning Peter in the epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon, that Peter was not at Rome when they were written. To which ought to be added this second epistle to Timothy, as farther confirming the same thing, if written about the same time. But then, if it was written in the year 61, as I suppose, it will not afford any argument against Peter's being at Rome in 64 or 65, and then suffering martyrdom there. About which there ought not to be any doubt. That Peter suffered martyrdom at Rome, is said by the same writers that speak of the martyrdom of Paul there. The [d] martyrdoms of both the apostles have a like degree of credibility. For neither is Paul's martyrdom at Rome founded upon the testimony of any sacred book of the New Testament. If this second epistle to Timothy was written at the time here argued for, we have no proof from scripture that Paul was a second time at Rome. Nevertheless, he must have been there a second time, if he suffered martyrdom there, as ecclesiastical history says. Consequently, the martyrdom of Paul at Rome, has no other, nor better evidence, than the martyrdom of Peter in the same city.

2. We cannot conclude from this second epistle to Timothy, that St. Luke was qualified to write the history of the apostle Paul for the space of several years lower than he has done in the book of the Acts.

Whitby says upon ver. 11, of the fourth chapter of this epistle: 'Hence it appears, that 'Luke must be alive in the 12th or 13th year of Nero, when this epistle was endited.' St. Luke might be then alive. But this epistle, if written in the 7th or 8th of Nero, affords not any proof that Luke lived to the 12th or 13th of Nero, or that he was then with Paul. And it may be reckoned probable, that St. Luke did not accompany the apostle after his release from his imprisonment at Rome.

Again, says Wall upon Acts xxviii. 30, 31. 'St. Luke wrote this book about the year 63. '——It is a wonder that he did not add the history of the rest of his life, whither he went, when 'he was set free, and what he did in the five years afterwards. One might have guessed, that

[a] Nobis sane non probatur conjectura doctissimi Pearson, qui, communis sententiæ pertæsus, Helium Cæsareanum designatum fuisse existimat in Annalibus Paulinis. Neronis potius et furor et dignitas, aptâ eâ metaphorâ significatur; quomodo, defuncto Tiberio, Marsias Agrippæ libertus dixit domino suo, Mortuus est Leo. Basnag. ann. 64. n. vi.

[b] Ubi tum Petrus, si Romæ erat? Num enim quæso Paulum deseruisset? Sed quod in genere dicitur, etsi non temere sic loquitur Paulus, ita tamen accipiendum est, ut aliqui excipi potuerint, sed perpauci. Bez in loc.

[c] Loquitur de iis qui prodesse poterant, et qui gratiâ valebant apud aulicos,——Potest et ita exponi: 'Omnes,' id est, pene omnes. Est. in loc.

[d] Denique si mentitur traditio de loco Petrini martyrii atque sepulcro, quo nobis indicio liquebit Paulum Romæ interfectum fuisse atque conditum? Unum nobis est argumentum fama constans, in quo etiam fundamento colloçatur quæ per animos invasit, de Petri in urbem et adventu et morte, immota exploratagque Veterum sententia. Basnag. ann. 64. num. x.

'Luke died about this time. But it was not so. He was with Paul a little before Paul died; as 'appears from 2 Tim. iv. 11.' But, that St. Luke was alive and with Paul in the year 67, or 68, cannot be inferred from this epistle, if it was written in the year 61.

3. We are now able to vindicate the character of Demas.

Says Wall upon 2 Tim. iv. 10. 'At the former imprisonment, five years ago, Demas was one 'of Paul's fellow-labourers. As we learn from Philem. ver. 24.' But that remark will appear preposterous, if the second epistle to Timothy was written before that to Philemon, as I think it was.

Upon our order of the epistles the case will stand thus. Some time after Paul's coming from Judea to Rome, upon the appearance of some unexpected difficulties, Demas, who had come to Rome to meet Paul was discouraged. He did not apostatize from the christian religion. But out of too great regard for his own safety, he absented himself from the apostle, and went where Paul had rather he should not have gone. This is what St. Paul intends, when writing to Timothy, he here says: "Demas hath forsaken me, having loved this present world, and is departed unto Thessalonica." ch. iv. 10. But it was not very long before he returned. Accordingly, Paul makes honourable mention of him, Col. iv. 14, and Philem. 24, epistles, written near the end of his confinement at Rome.

How disagreeable to think, that a fellow-labourer of Paul, who had attended him in his bonds, near the end of a two year's imprisonment at Rome, should afterwards forsake him! According to our account his fault, whatever it might be, was first, and his repentance last: and so sincere and complete, that Paul readily accepted of it, and joins him with his best friends in the salutations sent to Colosse, and Philemon. And, perhaps, Demas had been very useful at Thessalonica, though the apostle did not send him thither.

Grotius upon 2 Tim. iv. 10, says: 'we [a] conclude from Philem. ver. 24, and Col. iv. 14, 'that Demas repented of his fault.' But that is inconsistent with the late date of the second epistle to Timothy. For if those texts prove Demas's repentance, the second to Timothy must have been written before those two epistles: as [b] Beza perceived, when he allowed the repentance of Demas.

4. Cave's argument [c] for the time of St. Mark's writing his gospel, built upon the supposition, that this second epistle to Timothy, in which that evangelist is mentioned, was written just before St. Paul's martyrdom, is of no value.

5. This second epistle to Timothy, affords not any argument against the supposition, that the epistle to the Hebrews was written by St. Paul in the year 63, about the time of his being released from his confinement at Rome.

Le Clerc in his French edition of the New Testament, in his notes upon Heb. xiii. 23, says: 'Nothing [d] of that kind happened to Timothy, during the life of St. Paul, if it had, he would 'not have failed to take notice of it in his second epistle to him, written a very short time 'before his death. And he would have thence taken occasion to say something to Timothy, by 'way of commendation and encouragement, or otherwise. If then Timothy was not impri-'soned, during Paul's life; the mention of these his bonds, and his release, proves this epistle to 'the Hebrews not to have been written till after Paul's death.' Le Clerc speaks also to the like purpose in his [e] Ecclesiastical History. And some before Le Clerc must have been affected with this difficulty. As may be concluded from Beza's notes upon Heb. xiii. 23.

To which I answer, first, that the original word, rendered by us, "set at liberty," may

[a] Vidē hic etiam bonos interdum metu aut malis exemplis mutari. "'Quare, qui stat, videat ne cadat.' Sed et culpæ hujus pœnituisse Demam colligimus ex loco Philem. 24. et Coloss. iv. 14. Grot. ad 2 Tim. iv.

[b] Videtur ille postea resipiscens ad Paulum revertisse, cum fiat ejus mentio in epistolâ ad Philemonem, quam probabile est post hanc scriptam fuisse, cum in eâ fiat mentio Timothei ipsius in inscriptione, atque etiam Marci, quasi jam cum Paulo versantis. Bez. ad 2 Tim. iv. 10.

[c] Factum id circa annum 65, Petro et Paulo jam morte sublatis. Cum enim illum epistolâ secundâ ad Timotheum, non longe ante martyrium scriptâ, Romam accersiverat Paulus; probabile est, Marcum vel eodem, vel saltem sequenti anno illuc venisse, ibique Evangelium vel primum condidisse, vel prius conditum edidisse. H. L. T. I. p. 24. in Marco.

[d] Il n'étoit rien arrivé de semblable à Timothé, pendant la vie de S. Paul, qui lui écrivit sa 2 épître très peu de tems avant que de mourir, et qui n'auroit pas manqué d'en parler en quelque occasion. &c. Notes sur Heb. xiii. 23.

[e] Mentio fit Timothei in vincula conjecti et dimissi. cap. xiii. 23. Quod non contigerat ante posteriorem ad Timotheum, ubi nulla ejus rei, uti nec in priore, vel minima mentio. Quam tamen Paulus non prætermisisset, si quid simile contigisset, cum ad laudem Timothei, et constantiam in eo augendam, multum faceret. Itaque in vincula, post conscriptas demum ad eum epistolas, aut etiam post mortem Pauli, conjectus fuerit. H. E. A. D. 69. p. 459.

signify [a] "sent abroad on an errand." But upon that I do not now insist, and therefore say, secondly, the epistle to the Hebrews is now generally supposed to have been written by Paul in the year 63, soon after his release from his imprisonment at Rome. And we know, from the epistles to the Philippians, the Colossians, and Philemon, that Timothy was with Paul at that time, when his imprisonment was near the period. It is not at all improbable, that Timothy might be imprisoned, and soon set at liberty again: as divers of Paul's fellow-labourers were. But it is unreasonable to expect, that any notice should be taken of these things, in either of the epistles to Timothy: one of which was written before Paul's first imprisonment, as it is called: and the other soon after the beginning of it.

6. There can be no ground from this epistle to conclude a second imprisonment of Paul at Rome. For it was written in the time of his imprisonment in that city, when he had been sent thither from Judea by Festus.

7. There may be many other things said upon a supposition, that this epistle was written in a second imprisonment of Paul at Rome, in the year 67, or thereabout. All which must now fall to the ground.

It is often said that error is endless. And it is certain, that one error is productive of another. This in particular is so. It has occasioned forced and wrong interpretations of divers texts of this epistle, and many false and groundless suppositions, contrary to the truth of history. I shall take notice of but one more, beside those which have been already mentioned. Tillemont in his history of St. Paul's affairs, in the year 65, some while after he had been set at liberty from his captivity at Rome, says: 'It [b] was, perhaps, at this time, that he suffered at 'Antioch in Pisidia, at Iconium, and Lystra, the afflictions, which he mentions in general, in his 'second epistle to Timothy, ch. iii. 11.' Which to me appears very absurd, and I had almost said, ridiculous.

I shall now mention one observation more, of a different kind.

8. We have no reason upon the whole to regret St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome.

When we read the opinion of that great company which had heard Paul's pleading in Cæsarea. Acts xxvi. 31. "This man doth nothing worthy of death, or of bonds:" and what Agrippa said to Festus, in the next verse. "This man might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed to Cæsar:" we may be disposed to wish that appeal had not been made, thinking, that in that case he might now have been set at liberty. But if we consider things maturely, we shall perceive it to have been necessary. It was, indeed, prudently made, being the only probable means of his escape from the continued persecutions of the enraged Jews.

But beside that, there are very many advantages attending it: which ought to reconcile us to it, and induce us to acknowledge the over-ruling providence of God in it. Without that appeal Paul would not have been mentioned to Agrippa. Nor should we have had that excellent apology for himself and his doctrine, which he made before Agrippa, and Festus. We should not have had the fine history of the apostle's voyage to Rome, in which are so many affecting incidents. And though he came to Rome as a prisoner, he had there a great deal of liberty. "Nor was the word of God bound." As he was able to say in this epistle, written soon after his settlement at Rome. 2 Tim. ii. 9. And in his epistle to the Philippians, ch. i. 12...14. written afterwards, are these remarkable words, "But I would, ye should understand, brethren, that the things which have happened unto me, have fallen out rather to the furtherance of the gospel. So that my bonds in Christ are manifest in all the palace, and in all other places. And many of the brethren waxing confident by my bonds, are much more bold to speak the word without fear." Says St. Luke, "Two whole years Paul dwelt in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him. Preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things, which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, no man forbidding him." Acts xxviii. 30, 31.

Jerom thinks it [c] was a handsome dwelling, in which was a spacious room, where Paul could

[a] Vid. Mill. Prolegom. num. 68, 69.

[b] St. Paul. art. 47. Mem. Ec. T. I.

[c] 'Simul autem et præpara mihi hospitium.' Non puto tam divitem fuisse apostolum, et tantis sarcinis onustum, ut præparato egeret hospitio, et non unâ contentus cellulâ, breves corporis sui spatio ædes amplissimas existimaret.—Si autem hoc non dispensatorie, sed vere quis existimet imperatum, apostolo magis quam Paulo hospitium præparandum est. Venturus ad novam civitatem, prædicaturus crucifixum, et inaudita dogmata delaturus, sciebat ad se plurimos concursuros: et necesse erat, primum, ut domus in celebri esset urbis loco, ad quam facile conveniretur. Deinde ut ab omni importunitate vacua, ut ampla, quæ plurimos caperet audientium; ne proxima spectaculorum locis, ne turpi viciniâ detestabilis: postremo, ut in plano potius sita esset, quam in cœnaculo. Quam ob causam eum existimo etiam Romæ in conducto mansisse

receive a good deal of company, and display his apostolical gifts to advantage. So he beforehand wrote to Philemon, "to prepare him a lodging," ver. 22. Not that he should want many things for his own accommodation. But he wished to have a dwelling in a frequented part of the city of Colosse, and large enough to admit conveniently all who were desirous to be informed concerning his doctrine.

Paul had a great desire to go to Rome, and testify there the gospel of Christ. He thought, it is likely, that he should there have a good opportunity to propose it to Jews and Gentiles, of inquisitive tempers, and distinguished characters. Rom. i. 9, 10.——"Without ceasing making mention of you always in my prayers: making request (if by any means now at length I might have a prosperous journey by the will of God) to come unto you." And ver. 14, 16. "I am debtor both to Greeks and Barbarians, to the wise and unwise. So, as much as in me is, I am ready to preach the gospel to you that are at Rome also, for I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ; for it is the power of God unto salvation,——to the Jew first, and also to the Greek." See likewise ch. xv. 28—32. Well, Paul's desire was fulfilled. He was brought to Rome: and although not in the way, and in the circumstances which himself would have chosen: yet I suppose, that in the end he had good reason to be well satisfied. Indeed, I think, that the time of his abode at Rome, must have been, upon the whole, as comfortable, and honourable, and useful, as any period of the like duration, since his conversion to the faith of Christ. He was bound, and was guarded by a soldier. But it needs not to be supposed, that the chain was always upon his hand. And notwithstanding the disgraceful circumstance of his bonds, and the disadvantage of his outward appearance in some respects, such were the dignity and importance of his behaviour, such the superiority of his discourse above that of all other men, and such the works, which God enabled him to perform, as could not but secure him the regard of all serious and discerning men. And[a] success in his work would alleviate all his sufferings. For which reason we also ought to rejoice in them, and on account of the testimony thereby given to the truth and innocence of the christian doctrine.

In the introduction to the first part of this work, where our concern was with facts occasionally mentioned in the books of the New Testament, I said: 'Here is withal an account of proceedings and sentences of courts of judicature, in cities of the first rank, and most general resort: and of some discourses made before persons, next under the Roman emperor, of the highest rank and distinction:' referring to the history in Acts xxiii, xxiv, xxv, xxvi. But now I should choose to say: 'And of some discourses made before persons of the highest rank and distinction, not excepting the Roman emperor himself.' For from what has been just now argued, it appears to be very probable, that Paul, when brought to Rome, pleaded once, if not twice, before Nero. And though those pleadings may have been very short; yet from thence, and from the treatment which Paul had presently afterwards in the imperial city, ariseth a very forcible argument for the innocence of the christian doctrine, and its teachers.

Every one perceives, that St. Paul's pleadings upon the occasions before referred to, in the presence of the Jewish council at Jerusalem, and before Felix, and Festus, and Agrippa, at Cæsarea, do us great honour. Particularly, in this last mentioned apology, the doctrine which Paul preached as received from heaven, was reported to those great personages, and the honourable company attending them. He lays before them the history of his life, from his youth up, before he was a Christian, and afterwards. He plainly declares his doctrine, and the zeal with which he had spread and propagated it every where, among Jews and Gentiles, and his unwearied diligence in the cause in which he was engaged. And in the end all acknowledge, that he did nothing contrary to the peace of society: and that he might have been set at liberty. But having appealed to the emperor, it was now requisite, that the cause should be referred to his tribunal, and be finally determined there.

Here therefore is another testimony to the innocence of Paul and his doctrine. Festus, the governor of Judea, certainly wrote a letter to the emperor, giving an account of Paul. Of this all may be satisfied, who observe what is said. Acts xxv. 24—27. So Lysias, the tribune, and

biennio. Nec parva, ut reor, erat mansio, a quam Judæorum turbæ quotidie confluebant. Hieron. in Philem. ver. 22. T. IV. p. 453.

[a] Simul autem admirandum de magnanimitate apostoli, et in Christum mente ferventis. Tenetur in carcere, vinculis stringitur, squalore corporis, carorum separatione, pœnalibus tenebris coarctatur; et non sentit injuriam, non dolore cruciatur; nihil novit aliud, nisi de Christi evangelio cogitare. *Hieron. in Philem.* tom. IV. p. 450. m.

commanding officer at Jerusalem, when he sent Paul to Felix at Cæsarea, wrote a letter, containing an account of the prisoner, and the proceedings against him hitherto, ch. xxiii. 25—30. In like manner now acted Festus. Nor can it be imagined, that any governor should presume to falsify, prevaricate, or disguise, in such a letter. It might be very respectful to the emperor. and favourable to the prisoner. But there could be nothing but truth. And there must have been all the truth, that was needful to give a just notion of the cause. And yet Paul is not condemned, but obtains an order for such a custody, as leaves him at liberty to "dwell by himself, in his own hired house," and to receive all who came to him, and to discourse to them of his doctrine. Here he was two years: during which time he had no molestation. And at length he was released. He was all that time in one place. And the place of his abode was well known. He might have been called for at any time. But there were no complaints made against him, or none such as could induce those in power to change the order first given.

When Paul lay bound in the castle of Antonia at Jerusalem, after he had been brought before the Jewish council, and his life was in imminent danger; "the night following, the Lord stood by him, and said, Be of good cheer, Paul: for as thou hast testified of me in Jerusalem, so must thou bear witness also at Rome." Acts xxiii. 11. Which word of our Lord was fully accomplished: as we are assured in the history, which St. Luke has given of the apostle's going to Rome, and dwelling in that city two whole years, and in the epistles, written by himself, during that period: which by the Divine goodness are still preserved to us.

According to the preceding argument, the second epistle to Timothy was sent away from Rome, about the summer of the year 61, probably in May, or June.

Sect. XI.

The Epistle to the Philippians.

There still remain three epistles of St. Paul to be considered by us, which are generally allowed to have been written during the time of his imprisonment at Rome: the epistles to the Philippians, the Colossians, and Philemon. And I shall speak of them in the order in which they have been just named.

The epistle to the Philippians was written in the second year of the apostle's imprisonment. Timothy, who had come to him from Ephesus, according to his desire, 2 Tim. iv. 9—21. is joined with the apostle in the inscription at the beginning of the epistle. It seems to have been written not long before the end of his two years imprisonment. For he had some hopes of a release, ch. i. 24, 25. "Nevertheless to abide in the flesh, is more needful for you. And having this confidence, I know that I shall abide, and continue with you all, for your furtherance, and joy of faith." Yea he expresseth hopes of making the Philippians a visit, ver. 26. "That your rejoicing may be more abundant in Jesus Christ for me, by my coming to you again." And ch. ii. 19. "But I trust in the Lord Jesus, to send Timothy shortly unto you."——and ver. 23, 24. "Him therefore I hope to send presently, so soon as I shall see, how it will go with me. But I trust in the Lord, that I also myself shall come shortly." But though he had hopes of obtaining his liberty, he was not yet certain of it. As appears from those words just cited, "so soon as I shall see how it will go with me:" and from what he says, ch. ii. 17. "Yea, if I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy, and rejoice with you all." See also ch. i. ver. 20. In the mean time, he sends back to them Epaphroditus, who had come to Rome, with a kind present from the Christians at Philippi, and who had been dangerously sick, but was now recovered. And it is likely that by him this epistle was carried. So it follows in ver. 25—30. of the second chapter. "Yet I supposed it necessary, to send to you Epaphroditus, my brother, and companion in labour, but your messenger, and he that ministred to my wants.——I have sent him therefore the more carefully: that when ye see him again, ye may rejoice." Of their kind regard to him. he speaks again, ch. iv. 10—19. In the end of the epistle he sends salutations to the Philippians from "the brethren that were with him," and from "all the saints, chiefly those of Cæsar's household." Who may be supposed to be the apostle's converts, and the persons, who chiefly contributed to his being set at liberty, and had already given him hopes of it, and may likewise have been friendly to him in other respects. And at the beginning of this epistle, ch. i. 13. speaking of the progress of the gospel, he says: "So that my bonds in Christ are manifest in all the palace, and in all other places."

The salutations in this epistle are singular, being different from those at the end of the other epistles, written about the same time. First it is said, "The brethren which are with me greet you:" intending, as I apprehend, Mark and others, the apostle's fellow-labourers, mentioned by name near the end of the epistles to the Colossians and Philemon, but not so mentioned here. Then it is added, "All the saints salute you:" meaning all the Christians at Rome in general, "chiefly, they that are of Cæsar's household." The kind present from the Philippians, it is likely, had recommended them to the notice of all at Rome. That testimony of respect for the apostle was highly pleasing, and very edifying to the Christians in that city. It seems to have been a handsome sum. And it may be reckoned probable, that the collections made for the apostle at Rome, and the contributions brought in from abroad, were all put into one bank, and lodged in the hands of some person or persons of good credit and substance. Possibly, there was now a superfluity. For St. Paul says to these Philippians, "I have all, and abound. I am full." If there was any thing superfluous, beyond what was requisite for his maintenance at Rome, it would be of use for defraying the expenses of the journies, which he had in view. And this may be one reason, why this epistle is inscribed "to all the saints, which are at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons." For there must have been such officers in many of the churches to which the apostle sent letters, though they are not mentioned. But the bishops and deacons at Philippi had encouraged the contributions made for the apostle, and had assisted in conveying them to him. And therefore they could not be omitted.

St. Paul came to Rome, as I suppose, in the spring of the year 61. "There he dwelled two whole years in his own hired house." Acts xxviii. 30. Consequently, his captivity ended in the spring of the year 63.

Hereby I am led to think, that this epistle to the Philippians was written in the year 62. It was carried by Epaphroditus. Some time after he was gone, I suppose, (as [a] does Mill likewise) that St. Paul sent Timothy to Philippi, agreeably to his design, mentioned ch. ii. 19—23. And when he wrote the epistle to the Hebrews, in the spring of the year 63, he was in expectation of Timothy's return to him. Heb. xiii. 23. According to this computation, the epistle to the Philippians was written, and sent away, in the year 62, and some while before the end of it.

Sect. XII.

The Epistle to the Colossians.

The epistles to the Colossians, and Philemon, were sent away together. Chrysostom, as [b] formerly observed, thought that the epistle to Philemon was first written. That he concluded from Col. iv. 7—9. However, I shall first speak of the epistle to the Colossians, according to the order in which the epistles lie in our volume of the New Testament.

The epistle to the Colossians was carried by Tychicus and Onesimus, as we perceive from ch. iv. 7—9. "All my estate shall Tychicus declare unto you.——Whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, that he might know your estate, and comfort your hearts: with Onesimus, a faithful and beloved brother, who is one of you. They shall make known unto you all things (which are done) here."

These two letters, as before said, were sent away at the same time. But it is likely, that the letter to Philemon was first delivered. For till Onesimus had been received by his master, he could not be a fit person, to join in delivering a letter to the church of Colosse.

Timothy joins with the apostle at the beginning in the salutation "to the saints and faithful brethren in Christ, which are at Colosse." Near the end of the epistle are salutations from Aristarchus, said by the apostle to be his "fellow prisoner," from Mark. "Jesus called Justus, Epaphras, Luke the beloved physician, and Demas."

It might have been expected, that this letter should be carried by Epaphras, who had come to the apostle at Rome from Colosse, ch. i. 7, 8. But he was now the apostle's "fellow prisoner," as is said, Philem. ver. 23. However he and Aristarchus may have been set at liberty about the same time with St. Paul. Such things were frequent in the early days of the gospel, and before

[a] De visendis enim Philippensibus, ubi primum e carcere evasit, omnino cogitat.——Et quidem paullo post missas hasce literas libertatem adeptus, Timotheum in Macedoniam misit, uti liquet ex Hebr. xiii. 23. &c. Mill. Prol. num. 68.

[b] See Vol. ii. p. 606.

Nero became a persecutor, according to an observation of Jerom in his commentary upon the epistle to Philemon, ver. 22. cited by us[a] not long ago.

As Timothy joins with the apostle in the salutation at the beginning of this epistle, he was still at Rome, and not yet sent away to Philippi. I therefore conclude, that this epistle was written about the same time with that to the Philippians, in the year 62, and some while before the end of it.

Sect. XIII.

The Epistle to Philemon.

Philemon was a citizen of Colosse, in Phrygia. Paul[b] writes this epistle to him in behalf of Onesimus, a slave, who had robbed his master, and run away. Him Paul had converted to the Christian faith at Rome, during his bonds, which are several times mentioned in this epistle.

Timothy is joined with Paul in the salutations at the beginning of the epistle. At ver. 23 and 24, the apostle sends salutations from Epaphras, then his "fellow-prisoner:" from Mark, whom Timothy had brought with him to Rome, according to Paul's desire, 2 Tim. iv. 11: from Luke and Aristarchus, who had accompanied the apostle in his voyage from Judea to Rome, and had continued with him ever since: and from Demas, who had departed from the apostle for a while, but was now returned. Compare 2 Tim. iv. 10.

From ver. 19, it is argued by[c] Jerom, as well as by some learned commentators of late times, that the whole of this epistle was sent in the apostle's own hand writing.

St. Paul had now good hopes of obtaining his liberty. For he says, at ver. 22; "But withal prepare me also a lodging. For I trust, that through your prayers I shall be given unto you." Nevertheless, as Timothy joins with the apostle in the salutations at the beginning of the epistle, I think it was not yet fully determined. For Paul says to the Philippians, ii. 23, that "he hoped to send him to them presently, so soon as he should see how it would go with him." As Timothy was still at Rome, and not sent away to Philippi, it may be argued, that the apostle did not yet certainly know the success of the attempts made use of by his friends to procure his liberty. I therefore conclude, that this epistle was written about the same time with that to the Philippians, in the year 62, and some while before the end of it.

These three epistles to the Philippians, the Colossians, and Philemon, are also placed by Mill[d] in the year 62.

I will now add a few observations concerning the epistle to Philemon.

Philemon's station is not certainly known. Grotius thought he[e] dwelt at Ephesus, and was one of the elders of that church. Beausobre, in his notes upon the first verse of this epistle, speaks of Philemon, as[f] one of the pastors of the church of Colosse.

To me it appears evident, that Philemon was an inhabitant of Colosse. For his servant, Onesimus, is recommended by St. Paul to the church in that city, and said to be "one of them," ch. iv. 9. And the Christians at Colosse are required by the apostle to "say to Archippus, take heed to the ministry, which thou hast received," ver. 17. Which Archippus is saluted in the epistle to Philemon, ver. 2.

Theodoret expressly says, that[g] Philemon was a citizen of Colosse, and that the house in which he dwelt, was still remaining there. Theophylact[h] calls him a Phrygian. Jerom likewise says, he[i] was of Colosse. But he bestows so many words to make it out, that we may be led to think there were some in his time who disputed it.

[a] See before, p. 313.

[b] Totum autem, pro quo rogat, illud est: Onesimus, servus Philemonis, fugam furto cumulans, quædam rei domesticæ compilârat. Hic pergens in Italiam, ne in proximo facilius posset apprehendi, pecuniam domini per luxuriam prodegerat. &c. Hieron. in Philem. T. IV. p. 449. Vid. et Theodoreti argum. in ep. ad Philem. T. III. p. 516.

[c] Quod dicit, tale est. Quod Onesimus furto rapuit, ego me spondeo redditurum. Cujus sponsionis epistola hæc et manus testis est propria; quam non solito more dictavi, sed meâ manu ipse conscripsi. Hier. ib. p. 452.

[d] Vid. Prolegom. num. 68—70. et 80—82.

[e] Philemoni dilecto.] Videtur habitâsse Ephesi, ubi Onesimus postea episcopatu functus est, ut et Ignatii literæ, et alii scriptores tradunt.——'Et adjutori meo.'] id est uni Presbyterorum illorum, qui Ephesi plures erant. Act. xx. 17. Grot. in Philem. ver. 1.

[f] Il paroît par là, que Philémon étoit un des Pasteurs de l'église de Colosses. Beaus.

[g] Πολιν δε ειχε ταις Κολοσσας. Και ἡ οικια δε αυΐε μεχρι τϑ παροντος μεμενηκε. Theod. arg. ep. ad Philem. T. III. p. 516.

[h] Theoph. ep. ad Philem. T. II. p. 861.

[i] Si autem Philemon, ad quem hæc epistola scribitur, Onesimi dominus est——et ad Colossenses refertur, quod ex iis sit, ratio nos ipsa et ordo deducit, quod et Philemon Colossensis sit, et eo tempore communem ad omnem ecclesiam Onesimus epistolam tulerit, quo privatas et sui commendatrices ad dominum literas sumserat. Est et aliud indicium,

Philemon, therefore, was a Colossian. But whether he was an elder there, or only a private christian, in good circumstances, is not so certain. The inscription is,—— "unto Philemon, our dearly beloved, and fellow-labourer." Which last expression is ambiguous. It may imply, that Philemon was an elder in the church of Colosse. Or no more may be intended thereby, than in general, that Philemon was some way useful in helping forward the gospel. In the Apostolical Constitution [a] Philemon is said to have been ordained bishop of Colosse by the apostles. But their testimony is of very little weight. I do not perceive Jerom to say expressly, that [b] Philemon was bishop, or elder at Colosse. Perhaps he was not positive about it in his own mind. The author of the Commentary upon thirteen of St. Paul's epistles, by some reckoned to be Hilary, deacon of Rome, says, that [c] Philemon had no ecclesiastical dignity, but was one of the laity. And Œcumenius, in his prologue to the second epistle of St. John, formerly [d] cited, appears also to have thought Philemon to be a man in private station.

Perhaps some have been the rather unwilling to allow, that Philemon was a bishop, or elder, because he had a wife, whose name was Apphia, and because he was a man of substance, who had one slave at least, if not more. Nevertheless we have just observed two learned men, of very good judgment, Grotius and Beausobre, who were not much swayed by those considerations. One of whom thought Philemon to have been an elder in the church of Ephesus: the other, one of the pastors of the church of Colosse. To them I can now add [e] Dr. Doddridge.

However, as the thing is of no great importance, so I must acknowledge, that it is not very easy to be decided. St. Paul's expression, "fellow-labourer," as before observed, is ambiguous. His manner of address, which is very earnest, farther induces me to hesitate. If Philemon had been an elder, he must have known his duty: and could not have needed so pressing an exhortation to receive a penitent, and him one of his family.

Onesimus, unquestionably, was received by the church of Colosse, as a good Christian, upon the apostle's recommendation. It is as reasonable to think, that Philemon was reconciled to him: and, probably, gave him his freedom. In the Apostolical Constitutions [f] he is said to have been bishop of Berea in Macedonia. When Ignatius wrote his epistle to the Ephesians, about the year 107, their bishop's name was Onesimus. And Grotius [g] thought him to be the same, for whom Paul interceded with Philemon. But that [h] is not certain.

Sect. XIV.

The Epistle to the Hebrews.

I shall inquire, 1. To whom it was written. 2. In what language. 3. By whom. 4. The time and place of writing it.

I. In the first place let us consider to whom this epistle was written, A. D. 63.

Sir Isaac Newton thought, 'that [i] this epistle was written to Jewish believers, who left 'Jerusalem about the time that the war broke out, and went into Asia. According to this account, the epistle could not be written till some while after the breaking out of the war in Judea, in the year 66. But it will be difficult to shew, that Paul, whom Sir Isaac allows to be the writer, lived so long. Not now to mention any thing else.

Dr. Wall was inclined to the same opinion, or somewhat not very different. 'I [k] agree, 'says he, that the epistle was written to Hebrews, that is to the Hebrew Christians of some

quod in hac eâdem epistolâ et Archippus nominatur, cui hic eum Philemone scribitur: 'Dicite,' inquit 'Archippo: Vide 'ministerium, quod accepisti a Domino, ut illud impleas.'—— Ex quo puto, aut Episcopum fuisse Colossensis ecclesiæ, cui admonetur studiose et diligenter præesse, ut evangelii prædicatorem. Aut si ita non est, illud mihi impræsentiarum sufficit, quod et Philemon, et Archippus, et Onesimus ipse, qui literas perferebat, fuerint Colossenses, &c. Comm. in Philem. T. IV. p. 445.

[a] Const. Ap. l. 7. cap. 46.

[b] Scribunt igitur Paulus et Timotheus Philemoni carissimo et co-operatori; qui ideo carissimus dictus est, quod in eodem Christi opere versetur. In ep. ad Philem. p. 446.

[c] Philemon nullâ erat ecclesiasticæ ordinationis præditus dignitate, sed vir laudabilis, unus ex plebe, &c. Proleg. in ep. ad Philem.

[d] See before, p. 213.

[e] See his preface to Philemon. p. 585, and his Paraphrase of the first verse, p. 589, of the Family Expositor, Vol. V.

[f] Lib. VII. cap. 46.

[g] See before, note [c] p. 323.

[h] Vid. Basnag. Ann. 60. num. xxvii.

[i] 'The epistle to the Hebrews, since it mentions Timothy, 'as related to the Hebrews, must be written to them, after 'their flight into Asia: where Timothy was bishop, and by 'consequence after the war was begun.' Newton's Observations upon the Apoc. of St. John, ch. i. p. 244.

[k] Critical Notes upon the N. T. p. 317, 318.

'place. But for the place or country, I think, they were rather the Hebrew Christians of 'Asia (Ephesus, Miletus, and thereabout) Macedonia, Greece, &c. where St. Paul had spent 'most of his time, than that they were those of Jerusalem, &c.'

The late Mr. Wetstein conjectured, that [a] the epistle was written by Paul to the Jewish believers at Rome, soon after he had been released from confinement in that city. Which conjecture, I believe, will be followed by very few. And as it has no ancient authority, and is destitute of all appearance of probability, I suppose it need not be confuted.

Lightfoot thought, 'That [b] this epistle was sent by Paul to the believing Jews of Judea, a 'people, says he, that had been much engaged to him, for his care of their poor, getting collec-'tions for them all along in his travels.' He adds: 'It is not to be doubted, indeed, that he 'intendeth the discourse and matter of this epistle to the Jews throughout their dispersion.— 'Yet does he endorse it, and send it chiefly to the Hebrews, or the Jews of Judea, the principal 'part of the circumcision, as the properest centre to which to direct it, and from whence it 'might be best diffused in time to the whole circumference of the dispersion.'

Whitby, in his preface to the epistle to the Hebrews, is of the same opinion, and argues much after the same manner with Lightfoot.

So likewise [c] Mill, [d] Pearson, [e] Lewis Capellus, and Beza in his preface to this epistle, and the editors of the French N. T. at Berlin in their general preface to St. Paul's epistles, and in their preface to this epistle in particular. Of this Mr. Hallet had no doubt, who in his Synopsis of the epistle says: 'This epistle was particularly designed for the Hebrew Christians, that 'dwelt in one certain place, and was sent thither, as appears from the apostle's saying, ch. xiii. '19, 23. "I beseech you the rather to do this, that I may be restored to you the sooner.——I 'will see you." And what particular place can this be supposed to be, but Judea? There the 'Christians were continually persecuted by the unbelieving Jews, as we read in the Acts of the 'apostles, and as St. Paul takes notice 1 Thess. ii. 14. Hebr. x. 32—36. ch. xii. 4, 5. By these 'persecutions the Hebrew Christians were tempted to apostatise from Christianity, and to think, 'there was strength in the arguments urged by the persecutors in favour of Judaism. The 'apostle therefore sets himself to guard against both these dangers.' And what follows.

This appears to me to be the most probable opinion.

For 1. It is the opinion of the ancient christian writers, who received this epistle.

It may be taken for granted, that this was the opinion of Clement [f] of Alexandria, and [g] Jerom, and [h] Euthalius, who supposed this epistle to have been first written in Hebrew, and afterwards translated into Greek. It may be allowed to have been also the opinion of many others, who quote this epistle, as written to Hebrews, when they say nothing to the contrary. Nor do I recollect any ancients, who say it was written to Jews living out of Judea.

Chrysostom says, that [i] the epistle was sent to the believing Jews of Palestine. And supposeth, that the apostle afterwards made them a visit. Theodoret [k] in his preface to the epistle allows it to be sent to the same Jews. And Theophylact [l] in his argument of the epistle expressly says, as Chrysostom, that it was sent to the Jews of Palestine. So that this [m] was the general opinion of the ancients.

2. There are in the epistle many things especially suitable to the believers in Judea. Which must lead us to think it was written to them. I shall select divers such passages.

1.) Hebr. i. 2.——"Has in these last days spoken unto us by his Son."

[a] Si conjecturæ locus est, existimaverim potius ad Judæos qui Romæ degebant, et Christo nomen dederant, scriptam fuisse: quo admisso, facile intelligitur, quî factum, tum ut Paulus, qui Româ quidem, sed non Italiâ, excedere jussus erat, brevi se rediturum speraret, tum ut Itali Romanos salutarent. Wetsten. N. T. tom. II. p. 386, 387.

[b] Harmony of the N. T. Vol. I. p. 340.

[c] Per Hebræos autem istos potissimum fideles Hierosolymitanos intelligit, apud quos ante duos annos versatus fuerat. Hinc illud, ἵνα αποκατασταθω ὑμιν. cap. xiii. 19. Mill. Proleg. num. 83.

[d] Annal. Paulin. p. 20, 21.

[e] Ex quibus conjicere licet, hanc epistolam a Paulo sub finem priorum vinculorum Româ scriptum fuisse ad Hierosolymitanos Judæos, qui in Christum crediderant. L. Capel. Hist. Ap. p. 80.

[f] Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 6. cap. 14.

[g] Scripserat, ut Hebræus Hebræis, Hebraïce, id est, suo eloquio disertissime. De V. I. cap. v.

[h] Argum. ep. ad Hebr. ap. zac. p. 670.

[i] Πȣ δε ȣσιν επιςελλει; Εμοι δοκει εν Ἱεροσολυμοις και Παλαιςινῃ.——Δυο μεν ȣν ετη εποιησεν εν Ῥωμῃ δεδεμενος· ειτα αφειθη, ειτα εις τας Σπανιας ηλθεν· ειτα εις Ιȣδαιαν εϐη, ὁτε και Ιȣδαιȣς ειδε. Και τοτε παλιν ηλθεν εις Ῥωμην, ὁτε και ὑπο Νερωνος ανῃρεθη. Pr. in ep. ad Hebr. T. XII. p. 2.

[k] Vid. Theodoret argum. ep. ad Hebr.

[l] Τοις εν Παλαιςινῃ δε και Ἱεροσολυμοις επιςελλει. Theophyl. arg. ep. ad Hebr. p. 872.

[m] Voyez la préf. de Beausobre sur l'epître aux Hébr. num. xxxviii.

2.) Ch. iv. 2. "For unto us was the gospel preached, as well as to them."

3.) Ch. ii. 1—4. "Therefore we ought to give the more earnest heed to the things that we have heard——how then shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation, which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him: God also bearing them witness with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost."

Does not that exhortation, and the reason, with which it is supported, peculiarly suit the believers of Judea, where Christ himself first taught, and then his disciples after him, confirming their testimony with very numerous and conspicuous miracles?

4.) The people, to whom this epistle is sent, were well acquainted with our Saviour's sufferings, as they of Judea must have been. This appears in ch. i. 3. ii. 9, 18. v. 7, 8. ix. 14, 28. x. 11. xii. 2, 3. xiii. 12.

5.) Ch. v. 12. "For when ye ought to be teachers of others," and what follows, is most properly understood of Christians in Jerusalem, and Judea, to whom the gospel was first preached.

6.) What is said, ch. vi. 4—6. and x. 26—29. is most properly applicable to apostates in Judea.

7.) Ch. x. 32—34. "But call to remembrance the former days, in which, after ye were illuminated, ye endured a great fight of afflictions"——to the end of ver. 34. This leads us to the church of Jerusalem, which had suffered much, long before the writing this epistle, even very soon after they had received the knowledge of the truth. Comp. Acts viii. 1. ix. 1, 2. ix. 19. and 1 Thess. ii. 14. Grotius [a] supposeth as much.

8.) Those exhortations ch. xiii. 13, 14, must have been very suitable to the case of the Jews of Jerusalem, at the supposed time of writing this epistle, a few years before the war in that country broke out.

9.) The regard shewn in this epistle to the rulers of the church or churches, to which it is sent, is very remarkable. They are mentioned twice or thrice: first in ch. xiii. 7. "Remember your rulers, who have spoken unto you the word of God: whose faith imitate, considering the end of their conversation." These were dead, as [b] Grotius observes. And Theodoret's note is to this purpose: 'He [c] intends the saints that were dead, Stephen the proto-martyr, James the 'brother of John, and James called the Just. And there were many others, who were taken 'off by the Jewish rage. Consider these,' says he, 'and observing their example, imitate their 'faith.' Then again, at ver. 17. "Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves. For they watch for your souls."——And once more, ver. 24. "Salute all them that have the rule over you, and all the saints." Upon which Theodoret says: 'This [d] way of speaking intimates, 'that their rulers did not need such instruction. For which reason he did not write to them, 'but to their disciples.' That is a fine observation. And Whitby upon that verse, says: 'Hence, it 'seems evident, that this epistle was not sent to the bishops or rulers of the church, but to the whole 'church or the laity.' And it may deserve to be considered, whether this repeated notice of the rulers among them does not afford ground to believe, that some of the apostles were still in Judea? Whether there be sufficient reason to believe that, or not, I think these notices very proper and suitable to the state of the Jewish believers in Judea. For I am persuaded, that not only James, and all the other apostles, had exactly the same doctrine with Paul: but that all the elders likewise and all the understanding men among the Jewish believers, embraced the same doctrine. They were, as I apprehend, the multitude only, πληθος, plebs, or the men of lower rank among them, who were attached to the peculiarities of the Mosaic law, and the customs of their ancestors. This may be argued from what James and the elders at Jerusalem say to Paul. Acts xxi. 20—22. "Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are that believe. And they are all zealous of the law.——What is it therefore? The multitude must needs come together."——It is hence evident, that the zeal for the law, which prevailed in the minds of

[a] Post Stephani mortem vehementer vexati fuere illi in Judæâ Christiani, ut videre est Act. xi. 19. 1 Thess. ii. 14. Grot. ad Heb. x. 34.

[b] Loquitur autem de iis, qui jam obierant, ut ostendunt sequentia. 'Qui vobis locuti sunt verbum Dei:' nempe in diversis oppidis; forte etiam diversis temporibus, cum mortuis alii successerint. Id. ad Hebr. xiii. 7.

[c] In ep. ad Hebr. cap. xiii. tom. III. p. 459. D.

[d] Αινιττεται ὁ λογος, ὡς οἱ προστατευοντες αυτων τοιαυτης διδασκαλιας ουκ εχρηζαν· οὐ δη χαριν ουκ εκεινοις επεστειλεν, αλλα τοις μαθηταις. Ibid. p. 462. D.

many, was not approved by James, or the elders. That being the case, these recommendations of a regard for their rulers, whether apostles, or elders, were very proper in an epistle sent to the believers in Judea.

For these reasons I think that this epistle was sent to the Jewish believers at Jerusalem, and in Judea.

But there are objections, which must be considered.

1. Obj. Ch. vi. 10. "God is not unrighteous, to forget your work and labour of love,—— in that ye have ministred to the saints, and do minister." Upon which Dr. Wall [a] remarks: 'Here again we are put upon thinking, to what church, or what Christians this is said. For as 'to those of Jerusalem, we read much in Paul's former letters, of their poverty, and of their 'being ministred to by the Gentile Christians of Galatia, Macedonia, Corinth: and in the Acts, 'by the Antiochians: but no where of their ministring to other saints. If it is of them that St. 'Paul speaks this, it must be meant of their ministring to their own poor. For that they were 'famous at first, when the rich men sold their lands, and brought the money to the apostles, and 'they had all things in common, and none lacked. But in the time since that, they were very 'poor, and were relieved by other churches.' The late Mr. Wetstein, whose [b] words I place below, argued much after the same manner with Dr. Wall. This objection, perhaps, might be strengthened from Heb. xiii. 2. "Be not forgetful to entertain strangers." And from ver. 16. "To do good, and to communicate, forget not."

Answ. But the poverty of the Jews in Judea, and the contributions of the Gentile churches for their relief, are no reasons, why such admonitions as these should not be sent to them. They are properly directed to all Christians, that they may be induced to exert themselves to the utmost. The Gentile churches, among whom St. Paul made collections for the saints in Judea, were not rich. As he says, 1 Cor. i. 26. "For ye know your calling, brethren——not many mighty, not many noble, are called."——And of the churches in Macedonia, he says, 2 Cor. viii. 2.——"How that in a great trial of affliction, the abundance of their joy, and their deep poverty, had abounded unto the riches of their liberality." In like manner there might be instances of liberality to the distressed, among the believers in Judea. There was a fine example recorded, Acts ix. 36—39. Nor was there ever any city or country in the world, to whom that exhortation, "be not forgetful to entertain strangers," or, "be not unmindful of hospitality," της φιλοξενιας μη επιλανθανεσθε, could be more properly given, than Jerusalem and Judea. For the people there must have been much accustomed to it at their festivals, when there was a great resort thither from all countries. And the writer of an epistle to the Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem and Judea would naturally think of such an admonition; being desirous, that they should not fall short of others in that respect. And we may here not unfitly recollect the history of St. Paul's going to Jerusalem, and how he and his fellow-travellers were entertained at Cæsarea, in the house of Philip the evangelist, and at Jerusalem, in the house of Mnason, an old disciple. As related Acts xxi. 8—16.

2. Obj. Upon ch. xiii. 18, 19, the same [c] Dr. Wall says, 'One would think, that Paul should 'have prayed and purposed to go any whither, rather than to Jerusalem, where he had been so 'used: and where he fell into that five years imprisonment, from which he was but just now 'delivered.' To the like purpose also [d] Mr. Wetstein.

But there is not any improbability, that Paul might now desire to see his countrymen in Judea; if he might go thither with safety, as I think he might. Almost three years had now passed since he left Judea; and his trial, or apology, had been over two years. And he was now set at liberty by the emperor himself. No man, not very presumptuous, would admit a thought of disturbing him. However, I suppose, that the apostle would behave discreetly: so as to give no needless provocation to any, and that he would stay but a short time in Judea, and then go to Ephesus. There have been men of good sense, who have supposed, that Paul went to Jerusalem about this time, particularly Chrysostom [e] among the ancients, and [f] divers moderns, one of whom is [g] Pearson.

[a] Critical Notes upon the N. T. p. 306.

[b] Secundo, non possunt intelligi, qui Hierosolymis degebant. Hi enim pauperiores erant, et opus habebant, ut eorum inopia ab aliis ecclesiis sublevaretur.——Iis vero, ad quos hæc epistola scripta est, commendatur beneficentia, xiii. 16. vi. 10. Erant ergo tales, non qui stipem accipere, sed qui dare debebant, solebantque. Wetst. ubi supr. p. 308. fin.

[c] As before, p. 316.

[d] Ubi supra. p. 386.

[e] See before, p. 325.

[f] Lud. Capell. Hist. Apost. p. 39. Lenfant et Beausobre, Préf. générale sur les épîtres de St. Paul. num. lv.

[g] Paulus e Cretâ cum Timotheo in Judæam navigat. Heb. xiii. 23. Annal. Paulin. p. 21. A. Chr. 64.

3. Obj. 'St. [a] Peter's epistles were written to the Hebrew Christians, scattered in Asia, and 'Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Bithynia. St. Paul must have written an epistle to those 'Hebrew Christians, to whom St. Peter writes his two epistles. For St. Peter, 2 epist. iii. 15, 'cites to them what "Paul had written unto them." No epistle of Paul was written to 'Hebrews, particularly, but this. So that these must be the Hebrews of the above named 'countries.'

To which I answer, that St. Peter's epistles were not sent to Jews, but to Gentiles, or to all Christians in general, in the places above-mentioned, as will be clearly shewn hereafter. When St. Peter says, "as Paul has written unto you," he may intend Paul's epistle to the Galatians, and [b] some other epistles written to Gentiles. If he refers at all to this epistle to the Hebrews, it is comprehended under that expression, ver. 16, "as also in all his epistles."

4. Obj. This epistle to the Hebrews seems to have been written in Greek. But if it had been sent to the Jewish believers in Judea, it would have been written in Hebrew.

To which I answer, that allowing the epistle to have been written in Greek, it might be sent to the believers in Judea. If St. Paul wrote to the Jewish believers in Palestine, he intended the epistle for general use, for all Christians, whether of Jewish or Gentile original. Many [c] of the Jews in Judea understood Greek. Few of the Jews out of Judea understood Hebrew. The Greek language was almost universal, and therefore generally used. All St. Paul's epistles are in Greek, even that to the Romans. And are not both St. Peter's epistles in Greek? and St. John's, and St. Jude's? Yea, did not St. James likewise write in Greek, who is supposed to have resided at Jerusalem, from the time of our Lord's ascension, to the time of his own death? His epistle is inscribed "to the twelve tribes scattered abroad." But I presume, that they of the twelve tribes, who dwelt in Judea, are not excluded by him, but intended. Nor could he be unwilling, that his epistle should be read and understood by those, who were his special charge. The epistle written by Barnabas, a Levite, or ascribed to him, was written in Greek. Not now to mention any other Jewish writers, who have used the Greek language.

II. Thus we are unawares brought to the inquiry, in what language this epistle was written. For there have been doubts about it among both ancients and moderns. So that we are obliged to take some particular notice of this point. But I should have deferred the consideration of it, till we had observed the writer of the epistle, if the just mentioned objection had not brought this inquiry in our way in this place.

And it may be recollected, that [d] I formerly alleged divers learned and judicious moderns, who have been of opinion, that Greek, and not Hebrew, was the original language of this epistle. To them I now add several others: [e] James Capellus, [f] S. Basnage, [g] Mill in his prolegomena to the New Testament, and [h] the late Mr. Wetstein, and also Spanheim [i] in his Dissertation concerning the author of this epistle, which well deserves to be consulted. One argument for this, both of [k] Spanheim, and [l] Wetstein, is taken from the Greek paronomasias in the epistle, or the

[a] Wall, as before, p. 318, 319.

[b] Videtur respicere Petrus ad Rom. ii. 4. ubi de Dei 'longanimitate' similia habet his quæ docet hic Petrus: dicereque ad Asiaticos scriptam epistolam, quæ ad Romanos data, eo quod epistolæ Pauli, quamquam ad singulas ecclesias, et homines singulos, missæ, omnium Christianorum illius ævi communes jure haberentur. Cleric. H. E. A. 69. p. 459.

[c] Ils n'ont point eu d'autre raison de croire, que S. Paul avoit écrit en Hébreu, que celle qu'il écrivoit à des Hébreux. Or cette raison, toute vraisemblable qu'elle paroît, n'est point convaincante, parcequ'il est certain, que la langue Grecque étoit entenduë dans la Judée, quoiqu'elle ne fût pas la langue vulgaire. Tous les auteurs du nouveau Testament ont écrit en Grec, bien qu'ils écrivissent pour tous les fidèles, soit Hébreux, soit Gentils. Beaus. Préf. sur l'épitre aux Hébreux. num. xv.

[d] See Vol. ii. p. 391.

[e] Jacob. Capell. observat. in ep. ad Hebr. sect. ii. et iii.

[f] Ann. 61. num. vi.

[g] Et sane magis adhuc futilis est eorum sententia, qui hanc epistolam Paulo quidem Hebraïce scriptam volunt, ab alio autem aliquo traductam fuisse in sermonem Græcum. Nihil enim clarius atque evidentius, quam eam linguâ Græcâ primitus conceptam fuisse, &c. Prolegom. num. 95—98.

[h] Ad hæc observamus, 1. epistolam ad Hebræos, quæ nunc Græce exstat, non esse interpretis, sed ipsius auctoris. Qui putant ad Hebræos non aliter quam Hebraïce scribi debuisse, manifesto falluntur. Omnes enim novi fœderis libri, etiam Matthæi, ut ad ipsum vidimus, linguâ Græcâ scripti sunt. Hanc linguam plerique Judæi nôrant. Wetstein. T. Gr. T. II. p. 385.

[i] Spanh. De Auctore epist. ad Hebr. Part. III. cap. ii. tom. II. p. 245—252.

[k] Nono, decretorium fere argumentum est a Græcorum idiotismis, hac in epistolâ passim conspicuis. Pauca hæc de multis. Auctor. cap. v. versu 8. elegantem adhibet παρωνομασιαν, Scil. Ἔμαθεν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθε, qualem Hebraïsmus non ferebat. Græci contra mire sibi in talibus placent, &c. Spanh. ubi supr. n. xii. p. 249.

[l] Porro manifestæ reperiuntur paronomasiæ, et ὁμοιοτελευτά, quæ si in aliam linguam convertantur, pereunt. Hebr. v. 8. et ver. 14. καλουτε και κακε. vii. 3. απατωρ, αμητωρ. xi. 37. επριστηθησαν, επειρασθησαν. ix. 10. βρωμασι και πομασι. xiii. 14. μενουσαν και μελλουσαν. Talia auctor potius sectatur quam interpres. Wetst. ib. p. 385.

frequent concurrence of Greek words of like sound. Which seems to be an argument not easy to be answered.

Some ancient Christian writers were of opinion, that the epistle to the Hebrews was written in the Hebrew language, and [a] translated into Greek by Luke, or Clement of Rome. Jerom [b] in particular, seems to have supposed, that this epistle was written in Hebrew. And Origen also is sometimes reckoned among those, who were of this opinion. But I think I have shewn it to be probable that [c] he thought it was written in Greek. It seems likewise, that they must have been of the same opinion, who considered the elegance of the Greek language of this epistle as an objection against its having been written by St. Paul. For if the Greek epistle had been supposed to be a translation, the superior elegance of the style of this epistle above that of the other epistles of Paul could have afforded no objection against his being the author of it.

Indeed the ancients, as Beausobre said [d] formerly, had no other reason to believe that St. Paul wrote in Hebrew, but that he wrote to the Hebrews. So likewise says [e] Capellus. The title deceived them. And because it was written to Hebrews, they concluded it was written in Hebrew. For none of the ancients appear to have seen a copy of this epistle in that language.

III. I now proceed to the third inquiry, who is the writer of this epistle. And many things offer in favour of the apostle Paul.

1. It is ascribed to him by many of the ancients.

Here I think myself obliged briefly to recollect the testimonies of ancient authors, which have been produced at large in the preceding volumes. And I shall rank them under two heads: first the testimonies of writers who used the Greek tongue, then the testimonies of those who lived in that part of the Roman empire, where the Latin was the vulgar language.

There are some passages [f] in the epistles of Ignatius, about the year 107, which may be thought by some to contain allusions to the epistle to the Hebrews. This epistle seems to be referred to by [g] Polycarp bishop of Smyrna, in his epistle written to the Philippians in the year 108, and [h] in the relation of his martyrdom, written about the middle of the second century. This epistle is often quoted as Paul's by [i] Clement of Alexandria, about the year 194. It is received, and quoted as Paul's by [k] Origen, about 230. It was also received as the apostle's by [l] Dionysius bishop of Alexandria in 247. It is plainly referred to by [m] Theognostus of Alexandria, about 282. It appears to have been received by [n] Methodius, about 292, by [o] Pamphilus, about 294, and by [p] Archelaus, bishop in Mesopotamia, at the beginning of the fourth century, by [q] the Manichees in the fourth, and [r] by the Paulicians, in the seventh century. It was received, and ascribed to Paul by [s] Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, in the year 313, and by [t] the Arians in the fourth century. Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, about 315, says, 'There [u] 'are fourteen epistles of Paul, manifest and well known: but yet there are some, who reject 'that to the Hebrews, alleging in behalf of their opinion, that it was not received by the 'church of Rome, as a writing of Paul.' It is often quoted by Eusebius [x] himself, as Paul's, and sacred scripture. This epistle was received by [y] Athanasius, without any hesitation. In his enumeration of St. Paul's fourteen epistles, this is placed next after the two to the Thessalonians, and before the epistles to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon. The same order is observed [z] in the Synopsis of scripture ascribed to him. This epistle is received as Paul's by [aa] Adamantius, author of a dialogue against the Marcionites in 330, and by [bb] Cyril of Jerusalem, in 348, by [cc] the council of Laodicea, in 363. Where St. Paul's epistles are enumerated in the same order, as in Athanasius, just taken notice of. This epistle is also received as Paul's by [dd] Epiphanius, about 368, by [ee] the Apostolical Constitutions, about the end of the fourth century, by [ff] Basil, about

[a] See Vol. i. p. 291, 394, 399. and Vol. ii. p. 381, 382.
[b] Vol. ii. p. 556.
[c] See Vol. i. p. 538. and Vol. ii. p. 391.
[d] Vol. ii. p. 391. See likewise here p. 328. note [c].
[e] Qui volunt hanc epistolam Hebraïce scriptam, hos decepit titulus. Cum enim ad Hebræos scribebatur, Hebraïce quoque scribi debuisse sunt opinati. Sed meminisse debuerant, etiam Hierosolymis magnum fuisse linguæ Græcæ usum. Cis Hierosolymam paucissimi Judæi aliter quam Græce loquebantur. Jacob. Capel. Observat. in Nov. Testam. p. 109.
[f] See Vol. i. p. 321.
[g] P. 331.
[h] P. 333.
[i] P. 394. 401.
[k] P. 532, 535, 536.
[l] P. 633—649.
[m] Vol. ii. p. 83.
[n] P. 105, 106.
[o] P. 121.
[p] P. 139.
[q] P. 215.
[r] P. 239.
[s] P. 302.
[t] P. 310.
[u] P. 370. 372.
[x] P. 381, 382.
[y] P. 400, 401.
[z] P. 404.
[aa] P. 406.
[bb] P. 409, 410.
[cc] P. 415.
[dd] P. 417, 418.
[ee] P. 438.
[ff] P. 466.

370, by [a] Gregory Nazianzen, in 370, by Amphilochius [b] also. But he says it was not received by all as Paul's. It was received by [c] Gregory Nyssen, about 371, by [d] Didymus of Alexandria, about the same time, by [e] Ephrem the Syrian, in 370, and by [f] the churches of Syria, by [g] Diodorus of Tarsus, in 378, by [h] Hierax, a learned Egyptian, about the year 302, by [i] Serapion, bishop of Thmuis in Egypt, about 347, by [k] Titus, bishop of Bostra, in Arabia, about 362, by [l] Theodore bishop of Mopsuestia, in Cilicia, about the year 394, by [m] Chrysostom, at the year 398, by [n] Severian, bishop of Gabala, in Syria, 401, by [o] Victor, of Antioch, about 401, by [p] Palladius, author of a life of Chrysostom, about 408, by [q] Isidore of Pelusium, about 412, by [r] Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, in 412, by [s] Theodoret, at 423, by [t] Eutherius, bishop of Tyana, in Cappadocia, in 431, by [u] Socrates, the Ecclesiastical Historian, about 440, by [x] Euthalius, in Egypt, about 458, and, probably, by [y] Dionysius, falsely called the Areopagite; by [z] the author of the Quæstiones et Responsiones, commonly ascribed to Justin Martyr, but rather written in the fifth century. It is in [aa] the Alexandrian manuscript, about the year 500, and [bb] in the Stichometry of Nicephorus, about 806, is received as Paul's by [cc] Cosmas of Alexandria, about 535, by [dd] Leontius, of Constantinople, about 610, by [ee] John Damascen in 730, by [ff] Photius, about 858, by [gg] Œcumenius, about the year 950, and by [hh] Theophylact in 1070. I shall not go any lower.

I shall now rehearse such authors as lived in that part of the Roman empire, where the Latin was the vulgar tongue.

Here in the first place offers Clement in his epistle to the Corinthians, written about the year 96, or, as some others say, about the year 70. For though he wrote in Greek, we rank him among Latin authors, because he was bishop of Rome. In his epistle [ii] are divers passages, generally supposed to contain allusions, or references to the epistle to the Hebrews. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, about 178, as we are assured by Eusebius, alleged [kk] some passages out of this epistle, in a work now lost. Nevertheless, it does not appear, that he received it as St. Paul's. By Tertullian, presbyter of Carthage, about the year 200, this [ll] epistle is ascribed to Barnabas. Caius, about 212, supposed to have been presbyter in the church of Rome, reckoning [mm] up the epistles of St. Paul, mentioned thirteen only, omitting that to the Hebrews. Here I place Hippolytus, who flourished about 220. But it is not certainly known where he was bishop, whether at Porto in Italy, or at some place in the east. We have seen evidences, that [nn] he did not receive the epistle to the Hebrews as St. Paul's. And perhaps, that may afford an argument, that though he wrote in Greek, he lived where the Latin tongue prevailed. This epistle is [oo] not quoted by Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, about 248, and afterwards. Nor does it appear to have been received by [pp] Novatus, otherwise called Novatian, presbyter of Rome, about 251. Nevertheless it was in after times received [qq] by his followers. It may be thought by some, that this epistle is referred to by [rr] Arnobius, about 306, and [ss] Lactantius about the same time. It is plainly quoted by [tt] another Arnobius in the fifth century. It was received as Paul's by [uu] Hilary, of Poictiers, about 354, and [xx] by Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari, in Sardinia, about the same time, and by [yy] his followers. It was also received as Paul's by [zz] C. M. Victorinus. Whether [aaa] it was received by Optatus, of Milevi, in Africa, about 370, is doubtful. It was received as Paul's by [bbb] Ambrose, bishop of Milan, about 374, by [ccc] the Priscillianists, about 378. About the year 380, was published a commentary upon thirteen epistles of Paul only, [ddd] ascribed to Hilary, deacon of Rome. It was received as Paul's by [eee] Philaster, bishop of Brescia in Italy, about 380. But he takes notice that it was not then received by all. His successor Gaudentius, about 387, quotes this [fff] epistle as Paul's. It is also readily received as Paul's by [ggg] Jerom, about 392.

[a] Vol. ii. p. 470. [b] P. 473. [c] P. 475.
[d] P. 478. [e] P. 482.
[f] P. 488. [g] P. 518.
[h] Vol. ii. p. 155. [i] P. 146.
[k] P. 147. 215. [l] P. 527.
[m] P. 601. 606. [n] P. 620.
[o] P. 628. [p] This Vol. p. 5. [q] P. 7.
[r] P. 9. [s] P. 10, 11. [t] P. 19.
[u] P. 93. [x] P. 39. [y] P. 41.
[z] Vol. i. p. 343. [aa] This Vol. p. 45.
[bb] P. 48. [cc] P. 52. [dd] P. 77.
[ee] P. 80. [ff] P. 82.
[gg] P. 84. [hh] P. 85.

[ii] Those passages are alleged, with remarks, Vol. i. p. 299—301. and see p. 302.
[kk] Ibid. p. 369, 370. and 372.
[ll] P. 426—428. [mm] P. 483, 484.
[nn] P. 497. 502.
[oo] See Vol. ii. p. 23, 24. & 30.
[pp] P. 63, 64. [qq] P. 63. 66.
[rr] P. 256. [ss] P. 287.
[tt] P. 256. [uu] P. 413. [xx] P. 450.
[yy] P. 451. [zz] P. 454.
[aaa] P. 492. [bbb] P. 495.
[ccc] P. 512. [ddd] P. 520.
[eee] P. 522, 523. [fff] P. 524.
[ggg] P. 548. 556. 558.

And he says, it was generally received by the Greeks, and the Christians in the east, but not by all the Latins. It was received as Paul's by [a] Rufinus in 397. It is also in [b] the catalogue of the third council of Carthage in 397. It is frequently quoted by [c] Augustin as St. Paul's. In one place, [d] he says, 'It is of doubtful authority with some. But he was inclined to follow 'the opinion of the churches in the east, who received it among the canonical scriptures.' It was received as Paul's by [e] Chromatius, bishop of Aquileia in Italy, about 401, by [f] Innocent, bishop of Rome, about 402, by [g] Paulinus, bishop of Nola, in Italy, about 403. Pelagius [h] about 405, wrote a commentary upon thirteen epistles of St. Paul, omitting that to the Hebrews. Nevertheless it was received by [i] his followers. It was received by [k] Cassian, about 424, by [l] Prosper of Aquitain, about 434, and by [m] the authors of the works ascribed to him: by [n] Eucherius, bishop of Lyons, in 434, by [o] Sedulius, about 818, by [p] Leo, bishop of Rome, in 440, by [q] Salvian, presbyter of Marseilles, about 440, by [r] Gelasius, bishop of Rome, about 496, by [s] Facundus, an African bishop, about 540, by [t] Junilius, an African bishop, about 556, by [u] Cassiodorius in 556, by [x] the author of the imperfect Work upon St. Matthew, about 560, by [y] Gregory, bishop of Rome about 590, by [z] Isidore of Seville, about 596, and by [aa] Bede, about 701, or the beginning of the eighth century.

It may be now needful to make a few remarks.

It is evident that this epistle was generally received in ancient times, by those Christians, who used the Greek language, and lived in the eastern part of the Roman empire. I forbear to insist here on the seeming references in Ignatius and Polycarp. But Clement of Alexandria, before the end of the second century, received this epistle as Paul's, and quotes it as such frequently, without any doubt or hesitation. And had a tradition from some before him, concerning the reason why the apostle did not prefix his name to this, as he did to the other epistles.

Concerning the Latin writers, it is obvious to remark, that this epistle is not expressly quoted, as Paul's, by any of them in the first three centuries. However, it was known to Irenæus, and Tertullian, as we have seen, and possibly to others also. It is generally supposed, that there are divers allusions and references to this epistle, in the epistle of Clement of Rome, written to the Corinthians. However, I formerly mentioned [bb] two learned men, who did not think that a clear point. I have since met with another of the same mind, whose words I place [cc] below. And I must likewise refer to a consideration, formerly [dd] proposed: that the little notice taken of this epistle by Latin writers in the second and third centuries; and Eusebius [ee] and Jerom [ff] assuring us, that by many of the Romans in their time this epistle was not received; seem to weaken the supposition, that Clement had often alluded to this epistle. For if the church of Rome, in his time, had owned it for an epistle of Paul, it is not easy to conceive, how any Latin Christians afterwards should have rejected it, or doubted of its authority.

However, it is manifest, that it was received as an epistle of St. Paul by many Latin writers in the fourth, fifth, and following centuries.

The reasons of doubting about the genuineness of this epistle, probably, were the want of a name at the beginning, and the difference of argument, or subject matter, and of style, from the commonly received epistles of the apostle, as is intimated by [gg] Jerom. Whether they are sufficient reasons for rejecting this epistle, will be considered in the course of our argument.

2. There is nothing in the epistle itself, that renders it impossible or unlikely to be his.

For the epistle appears to have been written before the destruction of Jerusalem; as was of old observed by [hh] Chrysostom, and [ii] Theodoret, and has been argued also by many moderns.[kk]

[a] Vol. ii. p. 573. [b] P. 575.
[c] P. 579. 585—587. [d] P. 586.
[e] P. 625. [f] P. 628. [g] P. 629.
[h] P. 630. [i] P. 631. [k] This Vol. p. 17.
[l] P. 21. [m] P. 22.
[n] P. 29. [o] P. 32, 33.
[p] P. 34. [q] P. 36. [r] P. 42.
[s] P. 56. [t] P. 58.
[u] P. 60, 61. [x] P. 66.
[y] P. 70. [z] P. 74.
[aa] P. 78. [bb] See Vol. i. p. 300.

[cc] Sed quis dubitaret, quin ex epistolâ ad Hebræos multa habeat, cum Eusebius illud diserte annotet——? Nec tamen illud tam exploratum est. Phrasium et sententiarum æqualitas, ex quâ illud unice derivandum est (nam nusquam a Clemente citatur) non est adeo perfecta et frequens, non adeo singularis, ut ex Ep. ad Hebræos eas repetitas esse, inde evincatur. Herman. Venem. Diss. ii. de Tit. ep. ad Ephes. num. viii. p. 343.

[dd] See Vol. i. p. 302.

[ee] Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. 3. c. 3. p. 72. B. C. and in this work, Vol. ii. p. 370.

[ff] See Vol. ii. p. 558. [gg] P. 556.

[hh] Vid. Chrysost. Pr. in Ep. ad Heb. T. XII. p. 4. C. D.

[ii] Theod. in Heb. xiii. 9, 10.

[kk] Quærentibus, quo tempore, et unde scripta sit epistola ad Hebræos, nihil est quod respondeamus. nisi scriptam fuisse, cum Judæi adhuc gloriarentur templo Jerosolymitano, et sacerdotio Mosaïco: de quibus ubique loquitur scriptor, ut etiamnum stantibus. Cleric. Hist. Ec. An. 69. p. 461.

That the temple was still standing, and sacrifices there offered, may be inferred from ch. viii. 4. "For if he were on earth, he should not be a priest: seeing there are priests, that offer according to the law:" and from ch. xiii. 10. "We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat, which serve the tabernacle." Moreover, if [a] the temple had been destroyed, and the worship there abolished, the writer would not have failed to take some notice of it, in support of his argument, and for abating the too great attachment of many to the rites of the Mosaic institution. To this purpose speaks Spanheim in a passage which I have transcribed below. And in like manner another learned commentator, to [b] whom I refer. It is also probable, [c] that those words ch. iii. 13. "While it is called to day," refer to the patience which God yet continued to exercise toward the Jewish nation. He seems to have had in view the approaching desolation of Jerusalem, which would put an end to that "to day," and finish the time which God gave to the Jews, as a nation, to "hear his voice." And Lightfoot [d] argues from ch. xii. 4. "Ye have not yet resisted unto blood:" that the epistle was written before the war in Judea was begun.

Indeed those words have been the ground of an objection against this epistle having been sent to the believing Jews in Judea, because there had been already several martyrdoms in that country. That difficulty I would now remove. And I have received from a learned friend the following observation, which may be of use. 'It seems to me,' says he, 'that the [e] apostle 'here, as well as in the preceding context, alludes to the Grecian games or exercises: and he 'signifies, that they, to whom he writes, had not been called out to the most dangerous combats, 'and had not run the immediate hazard of their lives. Which, I suppose, might be said of 'them, as a body, or church.' And I shall transfer hither Mr. Beausobre's note upon this place. 'There had been martyrs in Judea, as Stephen, and the two James's. But for the most 'part the Jews did not put the Christians to death, for want of power. They were imprisoned 'and scourged. See Acts v. 40, and here ch. xiii. 3. And they endured reproaches, and the 'loss of their substance, ch. x. 32—34. These were the sufferings, which they had met with. 'The apostle therefore here indirectly reproves the Hebrews, that though God treated them 'with more indulgence than he had done his people in former times, and even than his own son, 'they nevertheless wavered in their profession of the gospel. See ver. 12.'

3. There are divers exhortations in this epistle, much resembling some in the acknowledged epistles of St. Paul.

1.) Heb. xii. 3.——"Lest [f] ye be wearied, and faint in your mind." Gal. vi. 9. "And [g] let us not be weary in well-doing, for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not." And see 2 Thess. iii. 13. and Eph. iii. 13.

2.) Heb. xii. 14. "Follow [h] peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord." An exhortation very suitable to Paul, and to the Jewish believers in Judea: admonishing them not to impose the rituals of the law upon others, that is, the Gentile believers, and to maintain friendship with them, though they did not embrace the law. It has also a resemblance with Rom. xii. 18. But the words of the original are different.

3.) Heb. xiii. 1. "Let brotherly love continue:" and what follows to the end of ver. 3. Then at ver. 4. "Marriage is honourable. But fornicators and adulterers God will judge." Here is an agreement with Eph. v. 2, 3. "And walk in love, as Christ also has loved us.—— But fornication, and all uncleanness, and covetousness, let it not be once named among you." ——Ver. 4. "For this ye know, that no fornicator, nor unclean person, nor covetous man,—— has any inheritance in the kingdom of God."

4.) Ch. xiii. 16. "But [i] to do good, and to communicate, forget not. For with such sacrifices God is well pleased." That exhortation is very suitable to Paul's doctrine, and has an agreement with what he says elsewhere: as Philip. iv. 18.——"An odour of a sweet smell, a

[a] Quia nata hæc epistola, stante templo et Levitico sacerdotio——Heb. viii. 4. Neque alias necesse fuit declamare in sacrificiorum usum, et praxin sacerdotii, penitus eo templi et urbis et reipublicæ eversione sublato. Neque maxime omnium prægnans argumentum Judæis confundendis, et coërcendis pseudo-apostolis, ab ipsâ jacturâ cultûs, et Hierosolymitanæ sedis restitutionis spe nullâ amplius affulgente prætermisisset. Spanhem. ubi supra, P. II. cap. vi. p. 3. T. I. p. 229.

[b] See Beausobre's preface to the epistle to the Hebrews, num. iii. [c] The same.

[d] Harm. of the N. T. Vol. i. p. 339.

[e] ——προς την ἁμαρτιαν ανταγωνιζομενοι.

[f] ——ἱνα μη καμητε, ταις ψυχαις εκλυομενοι.

[g] Το δε καλον ποιεντες μη εκκακωμεν· Καιρῳ γαρ ἰδιῳ θερισομεν, μη εκλυομενοι.

[h] Ειρηνην διωκετε μετα παντων, και τον ἁγιασμον.

[i] Της δε ευποιιας και κοινωνιας μη επιλανθανεσθε.

sacrifice, acceptable, well pleasing to God." Moreover, as is observed [a] by Grotius upon this text, the word communicate, or communion, is found in a like sense in the Acts, and in other epistles of St. Paul. See Acts ii. 42. Rom. xv. 26. 2 Cor. viii. 4. ch. ix. 13.

4. In the next place I observe some instances of agreement in the style, or phrases, of the epistle to the Hebrews, and the acknowledged epistles of St. Paul.

1.) Heb. ii. 4. "God [b] also bearing them witness with signs, and wonders, and divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost."

"Signs and wonders," together, seldom occur in other books of the New Testament. But they are found several times in the Acts, and St. Paul's epistles. The phrase is in Matt. xxiv. 24. and Mark xiii. 22, and once likewise in St. John's gospel, ch. iv. 48. But it is several times in the Acts, ch. ii. 19. iv. 30. v. 12. vi. 8. viii. 13. xiv. 3. xv. 12. The most remarkable are these, where there are three different words. Acts ii. 22.——"A man approved of God among you by [c] miracles, and wonders, and signs," Rom. xv. 19.——"Through [d] mighty signs and wonders, by the power of the Spirit of God." 2 Cor. xii. 12.——"[e] In signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds." 2 Thess. ii. 9. "[f] With all power, and signs, and lying wonders."

2.) Ch. ii. 14.——"That through death he might destroy him that had the power of death." The word καταργεω, or καταργεομαι, is, I think, no where used in the New Testament, except in Luke xiii. 7, and St. Paul's epistles, where it is several times: and is sometimes used in a sense resembling this place, particularly 2 Tim. i. 10. "Who has abolished death:" καταργησαντος μεν θανατον. And 1 Cor. xv. 26. Compare Dr. Doddridge's Family Expositor, vol. IV. upon 1 Cor. xv. 24.

3.) Ch. iii. 1.——"Holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling:" Philip. iii. 14.——"The prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus." 2 Tim. i. 9.——"Who has called us with an holy calling."

4.) Ch. v. 12.—"And are become such as have need of milk, and not of strong meat." 1 Cor. iii. 2. "I have fed you with milk, and not with meat." However, in the original, there is no great agreement in the words, except that in both places "milk" is used for the first rudiments of the Christian doctrine.

5.) Ch. viii. 1.—"Who is set on the right hand of the throne of the majesty on high." Eph. i. 21.—"And set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places."

6.) Ch. viii. 6. ix. 15. and xii. 24. Jesus Christ is styled "mediator." So likewise in Gal. iii. 19, 20. 1 Tim. ii. 5, and in no other books of the New Testament.

7.) Ch. viii. 5. "Who serve unto the example and shadow of heavenly things."—και σκια—των επουρανιων. x. 1. "For the law having a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things." Σκιαν εχων—των μελλοντων αγαθων, ουκ αυτην την εικονα των πραγματων. Col. ii. 17. "Which are a shadow of things to come. But the body is of Christ." Α εστι σκια των μελλοντων· το δε σωμα του Χριστου.

8.) Ch. x. 33. "Whilst ye were made a gazing-stock," or spectacle, "both by reproaches and afflictions." ονειδισμοις τε και θλιψεσι θεατριζομενοι. 1 Cor. iv. 9. "For we are made a spectacle unto the world"——οτι θεατρον εγενηθημεν τω κοσμω.

9.) St. Paul, in [g] his acknowledged epistles, often alludes to the exercises and games, which were then very reputable and frequent in Greece, and other parts of the Roman empire. There are divers such allusions in this epistle, which have also great elegance. So ch. vi. 18. "Who have fled for refuge to [h] lay hold of the hope set before us," or the reward of eternal life, proposed to animate and encourage us. And ch. xii. 1. "Wherefore seeing we also [i] are com-

[a] Κοινωνιας vox refertur ad pecunias, et ea, quæ pecuniis comparantur. Vide Act. ii. 42. Rom. xv. 26. 2 Cor. viii. 4. ix. 13. Grot. in Heb. xiii. 16.

[b] Συνεπιμαρτυροντος του θεου σημειοις τε και τερασι, και ποικιλαις δυναμεσι, και πνευματος αγιου μερισμοις.

[c] —— δυναμεσι, και τερασι, και σημειοις.

[d] ——εν δυναμει σημειων και τερατων, εν δυναμει πνευματος θεου.

[e] ——εν σημειοις, και τερασι, και δυναμεσι.

[f] ——εν πασῃ δυναμει, και σημειοις, και τερασι ψευδους.

[g] See 1 Cor. ix. 24—26. 1 Tim. vi. 12. 2 Tim. ii. 5. and ch. iv. 7, 8.

[h] Κρατησαι της προκειμενης ελπιδος: 'ad obtinendam spem propositam,' sc. vitam æternam. Elegantissima metaphora est vocis προκειμενης, e veterum certaminum ratione ducta. Proprie enim προκεισθαι dicuntur τα αθλα, sc. præmia certaminis, quæ publice proponuntur in propatulo, ut eorum adspectus, certaque eorum adipiscendorum spes certaturos alacriores redderet ad certamen ineundum, victoriamque reportandam; ut interpretabamur supra ad 2 Tim. iv. 8. το αποκεισθαι, quod eamdem significationem obtinet. J. Tob. Krebsii Observat. in N. T. e Josepho. p. 377.

Ego vero puto φευγειν accipi pro συντονως τρεχειν, et sumptam translationem a gymnicis ludis; quo spectant etiam vocabula κοατησαι, καταπετασματος, et προδρομος. Bez. in loc.

[i] See Mr. Hallett upon the place, note * p. 336.

passed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let [a] us lay aside every weight, and the sin which does so easily beset us, and [b] let us run with patience, the race that is set before us. Ver. 2. Looking unto Jesus, who [c] for the joy that was set before him endured the cross." And ver. 3. "Lest [d] ye be wearied, and faint in your minds." And ver. 12. "Wherefore [e] lift up the hands that hang down, and the feeble knees."

All these texts seem to contain allusions to the celebrated exercises and games of those times. And under each of them I have referred to, or transcribed the notes of some learned critics and commentators, tending to illustrate them. And to these may be added, if I mistake not the place before [f] taken notice of, ch. xii. 4. "Ye have not yet resisted unto blood, striving [g] against sin."

10.) Ch. xiii. 9. "Be not carried about with divers and strange doctrines." *Διδαχαις ποικιλαις και ξεναις μη περιφερεσθε.* Eph. iv. 14. "That we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine"——*κλυδωνιζομενοι, και περιφερομενοι παντι ανεμῳ της διδασκαλιας.*

11.) Ch. xiii. 10. "We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat." 1 Cor. ix. 13. "And they that wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar." And ch. x. 11. "Are not they which eat of the sacrifices, partakers of the altar."

12.) Ch. xiii. 20, 21. "Now the God of peace——make you perfect." Which is a title of the Deity, no where found in the New Testament, but in St. Paul's epistles. And in them it is several times, and near the conclusion, as here. So Rom. xv. 33. "Now the God of peace be with you all." See likewise ch. xvi. 20. and Philip. iv. 9. And 1 Thess. v. 23. And "the very God of peace sanctify you wholly." And 2 Cor. xiii. 11. "And the God of love and peace shall be with you."

5. The conclusion of this epistle has a remarkable agreement with the conclusions of St. Paul's epistles in several respects.

1.) He here desires the Christians, to whom he is writing, to pray for him. ch. xiii. 18. "Pray for us." So Rom. xv. 30. Eph. vi. 18, 19. Col. iv. 3. 1 Thess. v. 25. 2 Thess. iii. 1.

2.) It is added in the same ver. 18. "For we trust, we have a good conscience, in all things willing to live honestly." Which may well come from Paul, some of the Jewish believers not being well affected to him, or being even offended with him. So says Theodoret upon this place, and Chrysostom [i] to the like purpose, very largely. To which might be added, ver. 32. "And I beseech you, brethren, to suffer the word of exhortation." It is also observable, that St. Paul makes a like profession of his sincerity, in pleading against the Jews, before Felix, Acts xxiv. 16.

3.) Having desired the prayers of these Christians for himself, he prays for them, ch. xiii. 20, 21. "Now the God of peace——make you perfect——through Jesus Christ: to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen." So Rom. xv. 30—32, having asked their prayers for him, he adds ver. 33. "Now the God of peace be with you all. Amen." Compare Eph. vi. 19—23, and 1 Thess. v. 23. 2 Thess. iii. 16.

4.) Ch. xiii. 24. "Salute all them that have the rule over you, and all the saints. They of

[a] Ογκον αποθεμενοι παντα· 'deponentes omne pondus.' Tota hæc oratio translatitia est; quasi nobis in stadio non sine magnis difficultatibus currendum: quâ translatione sæpe utitur Paulus. In primis igitur monet, ut *ογκον* abjiciamus, quo vocabulo crassa omnis et tarda moles significatur. Bez. in loc.

A stadio sumta similitudo. Ibi qui cursuri sunt, omnia quæ oneri esse possunt, deponunt, &c. Grot. in loc. And see Hallett as before, note [a] p. 336.

[b] Τρεχωμεν τον προκειμενον ἡμιν τον αγωνα. Loquendi ratio est agonistica, et petita a cursoribus, qui stadium absolvunt. De voce προκειμαι satis multa afferebamus supra, Cap. vi. 18. ——Sensus autem Apostoli est: 'Curramus in stadio, nobis proposito ad currendum:' voce *αγων* pro loco, sc. stadio, sumta. Krebs. ubi supra. p. 390.

[c] Ὁς αντι της προκειμενης χαρας. κ. λ. Vid. Krebs. ib. p. 390.

[d] Ἱνα μη καμητε, ταις ψυχαις ὑμων εκλυομενοι.——Hæc duo verba a palæstrâ et ab athletis desumpta sunt, qui proprie dicuntur *καμνειν*, et *ψυχαις εκλυεσθαι*, cum corporis viribus debilitati et fracti, omnique spe vincendi abjectâ, victas manus dant adversario.——Neque dubium est, quin Apostolus eo respexerit. Id. ib.

[e] Διο τας παρειμενας χειρας και τα παραλελυμενα γονατα ανορθωσατε. Quemadmodum Paulus sæpissime delectatur loquendi formulis ex re palæstricâ petitis; ita dubium non est, quin hic quoque respexisse eo videatur. Athletis enim et luctatoribus tribuuntur *παρειμεναι χειρες* et *παραλελυμενα γονατα*, cum luctando ita defatigati, viribusque fracti sunt, ut neque manus neque pedes officio suo fungi possint, itaque adeo victos se esse fateri cogantur. Id. ib. p. 392.

[f] See here, p. 300.

[g] Προς την ἁμαρτιαν ανταγωνιζομενοι.

[h] Διαβεβληντο αυτοις, ὡς τ' αναντια τῳ νομῳ κηρυττων. Διδασκει τοινυν αυτους, ὡς ουκ αλλα τα χαριν τουτο ποιει, αλλα τῳ θειῳ λογῳ πειθομενος. Δια τουτο και την συνειδησιν εις μαρτυριαν εκαλεσε. Theod. in Hebr. xiii. 18. T. III. p. 461.

[i] In Heb. xiii. hom. 34. tom. XII. p. 313, 314.

Italy salute you." The like salutations are in divers of St. Paul's epistles, Rom. xvi. 1 Cor. xvi. 19—21. 2 Cor. xiii. 13. Philip. iv. 21, 22. Not to refer to any more.

5.) The valedictory benediction at the end, is that which Paul had made the token of the genuineness of his epistles, 2 Thess. iii. 18. So here, ch. xiii. 25. "Grace [a] be with you all. Amen." Indeed, sometimes it is "the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you." But at other times it is more contracted. So Col. iv. 18. "Grace be with you." 1 Tim. vi. 21. "Grace be with thee." See likewise Eph. vi. 24. 2 Tim. iv. 22. Tit. iii. 15. The same observation is in [b] Theodoret.

6. The circumstances of the epistle lead us to the apostle Paul.

1.) Ch. xiii. 24. "They of Italy salute you." The writer therefore was then in Italy, whither we know Paul was sent a prisoner, and where he resided two years, Acts xxviii. where also he wrote several epistles, still remaining.

2.) Ver. 19. He desires them "the rather to pray for him, that he might be restored to them the sooner." Paul had been brought from Judea to Rome. And he was willing to go thither again, where he had been several times. And though the original words are not the same, there is an agreement between this and Philem. ver. 22. "I trust, that through your prayers, I shall be given to you." This particular is one of the arguments of Euthalius, that [c] this epistle is Paul's, and written to the Jews of Palestine.

3.) Ver. 23. "Know ye, that our brother Timothy is set at liberty. With whom, if he come shortly, I will see you." Timothy was with Paul, during his imprisonment at Rome: as is allowed by all. For he is expressly mentioned at the beginning of the epistles to the Philippians, Colossians, Philemon, written when he was in bonds. He is mentioned again, Philip. ii. 19. When the apostle writes to Timothy, he calls him "his son," or "dearly beloved son." 1 Tim. i. 2. 2 Tim. i. 2. But when he mentions him to others, he calls him brother. 2 Cor. i. 1. Col. i. 1. 1 Thess. iii. 2. In like manner Titus. Comp. Titus i. 4. and 2 Cor. ii. 13.

This mention of Timothy has led many, not only moderns, but ancients likewise, to think of Paul as writer of the epistle, particularly [d] Euthalius. And undoubtedly, many others have been confirmed in that supposition by this circumstance.

The original word, *απολελυμενον*, is ambiguous, being capable of two senses: one of which is that of our translation, "set at liberty," that is, from imprisonment: the other is dismissed, "sent abroad on an errand." In this last sense it was understood by Euthalius. Who, in the place just cited, says, 'That scarcely any one can be thought of, beside Paul, who would send Timothy 'abroad upon any service of the gospel.' And indeed this passage doth put us in mind of what Paul says to the Philippians, ch. ii. 19. "But I trust in the Lord Jesus, to send Timothy shortly unto you, that I also may be of good comfort when I know your state. Him therefore I hope to send presently, so soon as I shall see how it will go with me. But I trust in the Lord, that I also myself shall come shortly," ver 23, 24. Which induced Beausobre to say in the preface to this epistle: 'The sacred [e] author concludes with asking the prayers of the Hebrews, ch. xiii. 19. '"That he may be restored to them." These words intimate, that he was still prisoner, butthat 'he hoped to be set at liberty. Therefore he adds, in the 23 ver. that he intended to come and 'see them with Timothy, as soon as he should be returned. If this explication be right, this 'epistle was written at Rome some time after the epistle to the Philippians, and since the depar-'ture of Timothy for Macedonia.'

Thus we are brought to the time of this epistle. Nevertheless, before I proceed to speak distinctly to that, I would conclude the argument concerning the writer of it.

All these considerations just mentioned, added to the testimony of many ancient writers, make out an argument of great weight (though not decisive and demonstrative) that the apostle Paul is the writer of this epistle.

It should be observed, I have hitherto declined the use of two arguments often insisted upon in discoursing of this point.

[a] Et hoc ad exemplum Pauli. Eph. vi. 24. Col. iv. 18. 1 Tim. vi. 21. 2 Tim. iv. 22. Tit. iii. 15. Qui alibi explicat, quæ sit illa gratia, nempe Christi. Grot. in Heb. xiii. 25.

[b] Το συνηθες ακροτελευτον τεθεικε, την της χαριτος μετασιαν. Theod. in loc. T. III. p. 462.

[c] Μαρτυρειται δε και εν τοις εξης η επιστολη υπαρχεσα Παυλε, τω γραφειν, οτι και τοις δεσμοις μα συνεπαθησατε, και εκ τα λεγειν, φερισσοτερον ευχεσθε, ινα ταχιον αποκατασταθω υμιν. Euthal. ap. Zacagn. p. 670.

[d] Και εκ τα λεγειν, γινωσκετε τον αδελφον ημων Τιμοθεον απολελυμενον —— ουδεις γαρ αν, οιμαι, απελυσεν εις διακονιαν Τιμοθεον, ει μη Παυλος. κ. λ. Euthal. ib. p. 671.

[e] Preface sur l'épître aux Hébreux. n. 37. p. 429.

One of which is the testimony of St. Peter: 2 epist. ch. iii. 15, 16. This I have omitted, because I am not satisfied that he and the author of this epistle write to the same persons. Nor does it appear certain to me, that St. Peter there takes any particular notice of this [a] epistle as one of Paul's. However as many learned men look upon that passage of St. Peter, as a full testimony to Paul's being the writer of this epistle, I shall refer to several, or transcribe below, a part at least of what they say: particularly [b] Mill, [c] Spanheim, and [d] Basnage.

The other argument omitted by me is that taken from Heb. x. 34. "For ye had compassion of me in my bonds." On this insist [e] Spanheim, [f] Mill. and [g] Basnage, to prove that this epistle was written by Paul. But Mr. James Pierce translates the words thus: "For ye sympathized with those who were in bonds." And in his notes says: Were it certain, that the common is 'the true reading of the place, there would be little room left to doubt of the epistle's being 'written by St. Paul. But the Alexandrian, and other manuscripts, of the best note, read here 'δεσμιοις instead of δεσμοις μου. And the same is confirmed by ancient versions.' And that this is the truer reading, may be seen in Bengelius, Wetstein, and Mill himself: though in his argument concerning the author of the epistle, he has been pleased to argue from the common reading. If Paul here referred to his bonds, I should think he intended his imprisonment in Judea, as Mill thought, not at Rome, as Basnage does, in the place just cited. I make no doubt but that the Hebrew believers in Judea afforded St. Paul relief and comfort, whilst he lay prisoner at Cæsarea. But as I do not here discern any plain reference to that, I do not form any argument from this text, in behalf of the writer of the epistle.

I say no more by way of argument. But there are objections, which ought to be considered.

1. Obj. Heb. ii. 3, "How shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation, which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him?

Hence it has been argued, that the writer of this epistle placeth himself with those who had received the doctrine of the gospel from Christ's apostles. But Paul had it from Christ himself, as he says at large in the first chapter of the epistle to the Galatians. This has been thought by [h] Grotius and Le Clerc,[i] a good reason why Paul should not be esteemed the writer of this epistle.

To which I answer, that it is not uncommon for Paul to join himself with those to whom he is writing, and to say *us*, where he might say *you*: especially, when he says any thing that is humbling, and that might be thought disagreeable. So Col. i. 12, 13. "Giving thanks to the Father, who——has delivered us from the power of darkness."——This I take to be a plain instance. To which might be added, according to the judgment of some commentators, Eph. ii. 3. and Tit. iii. 3. The note of Grotius upon this last cited text may be observed. And now I

[a] Says Mr. Hallet, Introduction, p. 21. 'Some learned 'men have attempted to prove this point from what St. Peter 'says, 2 Pet. iii. 15, 16. If it could be proved, that he speaks 'of the epistle to the Hebrews, the testimony of this apostle 'would fully determine the dispute. But as I do not think, 'it can be certainly proved, that he speaks of this epistle, 'without proving that St. Paul was the author of it, I cannot 'argue from this passage. Those on the other side go upon 'the supposition, that St. Peter's epistles were written to the 'Hebrews, or Jews. But it seems to me abundantly more 'natural to suppose, that they were written to Gentile Chris-'tians, if we consider many passages of the epistles them-'selves."

[b] Et quidem epistolam hanc eam ipsam fuisse, quam ad Hebræos Christianos miserat Apostolus noster, disertis verbis D. Petri constat. Ep. 2. cap. iii. 15, &c. Mil. Proleg. num. 86—91.

[c] Vid. Spanhem. Diss. de Auct. ep. ad Hebr. Part. I. cap. ii.——v.

[d] Hebræis Paulum scripsisse, planum est ex posteriore Petri; 'Paulus pro sibi datâ sapientiâ scripsit vobis.', Hebræos enim adibat scripto Petrus circumcisionis apostolus. Quænam autem Pauli ad Hebræos scripta epistola, si nostra non est? ——Ipsa igitur est, quæ omnium in manibus versatur atque oculis. Basn. ann. 61. num. iv.

[e] Prima esto circumstantia vinculorum illa mentio. Capite x. ver. 34. ——Constat enim, soli Paulo, et fere semper, venisse hoc in usu. Et quas omnes ex Italiâ transmisit epistolas, vinculorum suorum mentione quasi distinxit. Spanh. ib. P. II. cap. 4.

[f] Auctorem habet hæc epistola, si qua usquam alia, D. Paulum. Alloquitur Auctor Hebræos istos, velut ipsius in carcere memores, ejusque vinculis συμπαθησαντας. Ista Apostolo nostro congruere, nemo non videt. Hierosolyma ipse duos ante annos eleemosynas ecclesiarum detulerat, ubi ab universâ illic ecclesiâ benigne exceptus erat, toto tempore, quo Cæsareæ mansit incarceratus. Mill. Prol. num. 85.

[g] A manu catenatâ epistolam in Italiâ exaratam fuisse, cernimus et videmus: 'vinculis meis mecum affecti fuistis.' Barnabam vero aut Lucam compedibus in Italiâ fuisse detentos, veterum in monimentis ne minimâ quidem literâ invenimus. Basnag. Ann. 61. n. iv.

[h] Præterea Paulo hanc epistolam abjudicat, quod hujus scriptor se iis annumeret, qui non a Christo, sed ab ejus discipulis, notitiam evangelii acceperit. cap. ii. 3. Cum contra Paulus auctoritatem sibi addat inde, quod hanc notitiam a Christo ipso acceperit. Grot. Pr. in ep. ad Hebr.

[i] Videtur et scriptor epistolæ ad Hebræos cap. ii. 3. &c. eorum numero censeri velle, qui evangelium acceperant ab iis, a quibus auditus erat ipse Christus.——Quod in Paulum non quadrat, qui evangelium ab ipso Jesu Christo et Deo accepisse se non falso gloriatur. Gal. i. Cleric. H. E. A. D. 69. p. 459.

transcribe below[a] the answer of Mr. Wetstein to this objection: which is in the main agreeable to what I have just said.

I would also observe, that there is another instance in this epistle, much resembling the text, upon which the present objection is founded. Heb. xii. 1.——"Wherefore——let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which does so easily beset us."——And this way of writing is suitable to Paul's style and method in his acknowledged epistles.

Secondly, I would farther add, if it might not be esteemed too prolix, that in divers other places we find Paul, when he asserts the resurrection of Jesus Christ, insisting also upon the testimony of the other apostles, and likewise of other disciples. Thus, preaching at Antioch in Pisidia, Acts xiii. 30, 31. "But God raised him from the dead. And he was seen many days of them, which came up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem, who are his witnesses unto the people." And also 1 Cor. xv. at the beginning: which I shall recite largely, as full to the point. "Moreover, brethren, I declare unto you the gospel, which I preached unto you, which also ye have received.——By which also ye are saved, if ye keep in memory what I preached unto you.—— For I delivered unto you first of all, how that Christ died for our sins, according to the scriptures: and that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day, according to the scriptures: and that he was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve. After that he was seen of James, then of all the apostles. And last of all he was seen of me."

And this context, perhaps, will justify me in proceeding somewhat farther. When St. Paul says, 2 Tim, ii. 8, "Remember, that Jesus Christ——was raised from the dead, according to my gospel:" he intends, as I apprehend, to lead Timothy to recollect the gospel, that had been preached by him in such and such circumstances, confirmed by miracles wrought by him, and agreeable to the prophecies of the ancient scriptures, and the testimony of the other apostles, and disciples of Christ. As he also says, at ver. 2. of the same chapter, "The things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses:" literally, "by many witnesses:" that is, confirmed by many witnesses. And he may be supposed to intend not only[b] the prophets, which is Grotius's interpretation, but likewise the testimony of all the apostles of Christ, and of many others, to which he had appealed in his preaching.

Upon the whole, it seems to me, that the expression of this text is highly becoming the apostle Paul, especially, supposing him to be here writing to the believers of Jerusalem and Judea. And indeed, as before shewn, the beginning of this second chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews affords, in my opinion, an argument of no small force, that they are the Christians to whom it is sent.

2. Obj. Another objection against this epistle being St. Paul's is, that it is supposed to have in it an elegance superior to that of his other writings. This has been judged by Grotius, and Le Clerc, who were formerly[c] quoted, sufficient to shew, that it was not written by Paul.

In order to judge the better of this, it may be of use to recollect what we have already seen in divers ancient writers, relating to this point.

Eusebius has a passage of Clement of Alexandria, from his institutions, at large cited by us[d] formerly: where Clement says, 'That[e] the epistle to the Hebrews is Paul's, and that it was 'written to the Hebrews in the Hebrew language, and that Luke having carefully translated it, 'published it for the use of the Greeks. Which is the reason of that conformity of style, which 'is found in this epistle, and the Acts of the apostles.'

The opinion of Origen in his homilies upon this epistle as cited by Eusebius, and by us[f] from him, is, 'That the style of the epistle to the Hebrews has not the apostle's rudeness of

[a] Hebr. ii. 3. Paulus se iis annumerat, qui notitiam evangelii a discipulis Christi acceperunt; cum tamen ad Galatas non semel testetur, glorieturque, se non ab hominibus, sed ab ipso Christo fuisse institutum, Gal. i. 1, 12, 17. ch. ii. 6. Ratio discriminis ex modo dictis manifesta est. In epistolâ ad Galatas id agit, ut auctoritatem suam adstruat; hic autem, ubi de supplicio desertoribus impendente loquitur, ut minus ingrata esset comminatio atque admonitio, seipsum illis annumerat, comm. 1. Δει ἡμας προσεχειν τοις ακουσθεισιν, μη ποτε παραρυωμεν ——πως ἡμεις εκφευξομεθα.——Postquam igitur ita cœpisset, consequens erat, ut in eâdem figurâ pergeret, scriberetque τηλικις σωτηρια——εις ἡμας εβεβαιωθη. Ita Eph. ii. 3, Col. i. 12, 13. Tit. iii. 3. ubi gentium peccata, et pœnam imminentem describit, et seipsum illis annumerat. J. J. Wetstein. N. T. tom. II. p. 384.

[b] Multis adductis testibus prophetis, qui hæc prædixerant. Hebr. xii. 1. Grot. in 2 Tim. ii. 2.

[c] See before, p. 142.

[d] Vol. i. p. 394.

[e] Και την προς Εβραιους επιστολην Παυλε μεν ειναι φησι, γεγραφθαι δε Εβραιοις Εβραικη φωνη· Λεκαν δε φιλοτιμως αυτην μεθερμηνευσαντα, εκδεναι τοις Ελλησιν. κ. λ. ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 6. c. 14. in.

[f] Vol. i. p. 532. from Euseb. H. E. l. 6. cap. 25.

'speech——but as to the texture of it, is elegant Greek, as every one will allow, who is able to 'judge of the differences of style.' Again, he says, 'The sentiments of the epistle are admirable, 'and not inferior to the acknowledged writings of the apostle. This will be assented to by every 'one who reads the writings of the apostle with attention.' Afterwards, he adds, 'If I was to 'speak my opinion, I should say, that the sentiments are the apostle's, but the language and 'composition another's, who committed to writing the apostle's sense, and as it were reduced into 'commentaries the things spoken by his master.' And what follows.

Eusebius[a] himself speaking of Clement's epistle to the Corinthians, says, 'Paul having 'written to the Hebrews in their own language, some think that the evangelist Luke, others, 'that this very Clement, translated it into Greek. Which last is the most likely, there being 'a great resemblance between the style of the epistle of Clement, and the epistle to the Hebrews. 'Nor are the sentiments of those two writings very different.' This passage has been already twice quoted by us: once in the chapter of Clement[b] bishop of Rome, and again in that[c] of Eusebius.

Philaster, bishop of Brescia, about 380, as formerly quoted, says, 'There[d] are some, who do 'not allow the epistle to the Hebrews to be Paul's: but say, it is either an epistle of the apostle 'Barnabas, or of Clement bishop of Rome. But some say, it is an epistle of Luke the evangelist, ——Moreover, some reject it, as more eloquent than the apostle's other writings.'

Jerom, about 392, in his article of St. Paul in the book of Illustrious Men, as[e] before cited also, says, 'The epistle, called to the Hebrews, is not thought to be his, because of the difference 'of the argument and style: but either Barnabas's, as Tertullian thought, or the evangelist 'Luke's, according to some others; or Clement's, bishop of Rome: who, as some think, being 'much with him, clothed and adorned Paul's sense in his own language.——Moreover he wrote 'as a Hebrew to Hebrews in pure Hebrew, it being his own language. Whence it came to pass 'that being translated it has more elegance in the Greek, than his other epistles.'

I need not allege here any more testimonies relating to this matter. We sufficiently perceive by what has been said, that many ancient Christians supposed the Greek of this epistle to have a superior elegance to the received epistles of St. Paul. And to some of them the Greek was their native language. And others, as Jerom, though Latins, may be supposed to have been good judges in this matter.

Some learned men of late times, as Grotius and Le Clerc, have thought this to be an insuperable objection. Of this opinion likewise was[f] Jacob Tollius: who in his notes upon Longinus, of the sublime, has celebrated the sublimity of this epistle, and particularly the elegance of the beginning of it. Which alone he thinks sufficient to show, that it is not Paul's. Others allow the fine contexture of the style of this epistle; but do not see that consequence. These are obliged to account for it: which they do several ways.

Mr. Wetstein, who allows, that the epistle is St. Paul's, and that it was written in Greek, thinks, that[g] Paul having now lived two years at Rome, may have improved his Greek style. But in answer to that it may be said, that we have several epistles of Paul, written near the end of his imprisonment at Rome, in which we perceive his usual style.

Again, Mr. Wetstein adds, 'That[h] this is a learned epistle, and may have been composed 'with more care and exactness than letters written to friends, or to churches, whose urgent 'necessities obliged him to write in haste.' But neither will this, I believe, be sufficient to account for the difference of style in this, and the epistles received as Paul's. For no care and attention will on a sudden enable a man to alter his usual style, in a remarkable manner.

It remains therefore, as seems to me, that if the epistle be Paul's, and was originally written

[a] H. E. l. 3. cap. 38.
[b] Vol. i. p. 291.
[c] Vol. ii. p. 381.
[d] P. 522.
[e] See Vol. ii. p. 556.

[f] Ejusmodi στηριγμες, και αναπαυσεις statim in initio eloquentissimæ, et nescio annon omnem gentilium scriptorum sublimitatem superantis, certe adæquantis epistolæ ad Hebræos reperias; quam vel hoc uno Pauli non esse probaverim. Sed sunt αναπαυσεις illæ non deorsum ruentis orationis, verum contra ea in cœlum ascendentis στηριγμοι. Ita vero incipit: Πολυμερως, και πολυτροπως, παλαι ο θεος λαλησας τοις πατρασιν. κ. λ. Ubi tres consequenter sunt positi Pæones quarti cum syllabâ post singulas remanente, velut ad subsistendum, dum ita in cœlum ad Deum velut gradibus scriptor adscendit. J. Tollius ad Longin. de Sublim. sect. 39. not. 22.

f Potuit Paulus aliter scribere, cum esset in Græciâ, aliter postea, cum in Italiam translatus ex usu frequentiori linguæ Græcæ, et Hebraïsmos vitare, et facilius scribere didicisset. Wetst. N. T. tom. II. p. 385.

[h] Potuit hanc epistolam, quæ erudita est, longiori meditatione elaborâsse, cum alias ad familiares amicos, vel ad ecclesias, ubi necessitas urgebat, festinantius effudisset. Ibid.

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or apprehension of a various reading in the inscription of this epistle. For if there had, none would have admitted so absurd a supposition, that Paul wrote from Rome an epistle to the Ephesians, before he had seen them.

Another thing deserving notice here is, that before the end of the fourth century there was forged an epistle to the Laodiceans, ascribed to Paul. For[a] it is expressly mentioned by Jerom in his book of Illustrious Men, written about 392. Which must induce us to think, that the epistle to the Ephesians was never called the epistle to the Laodiceans. For then there could have been no pretence for forging another with that title, to verify a false interpretation of Col. iv. 16.

I should now proceed to another argument. But I must look back, to secure this, taken from the testimony of ancient Christian writers. For it has been argued from a passage of St. Basil, in his books against Eunomius, that he had seen some ancient manuscripts of this epistle, in which these words, "at Ephesus," were wanting. That passage, as cited formerly, is thus: 'And Paul writing to the Ephesians, as truly united to him "who is," through knowledge, 'called them in a peculiar sense "such who are," saying, "to the saints who are, and [or even] 'the faithful in Christ Jesus. For so those before us have transmitted it, and we have found it 'in ancient copies.' This point having been already examined by us largely, I refer to what was then said.[b] It was then argued by us, that St. Basil does not here intimate, that the word or words, "at Ephesus," were wanting in any copies seen by him. And I would now observe farther, that our account of this passage is confirmed by the works of other authors, both before and after Basil. There had lived many learned Christian writers before his time. There were many learned Christians cotemporary with him: as his own brother, Gregory Nyssen, Gregory Nazianzen, Amphilochius, and others: and also soon after him, as Theodoret, and Euthalius: not now to mention Jerom, or other learned Latin authors. None of whom have said that the words, "at Ephesus," were wanting in any copies, which they had seen. The various reading, therefore, intended by Basil, must have been somewhat less, a small matter, not any thing like εν Εφεσω, "at Ephesus." For so remarkable a reading could not have been passed by in silence, unobserved by all others. And every one may see, that in this very place, as well as elsewhere, Basil cites this epistle, as written by Paul to the Ephesians. And they are the Christians, of whom Paul had said, that through knowledge they were united to him "who is."

In the place to which I referred just now, I gave an account of a Dissertation of Lenfant, vindicating the common reading; which was approved by Wolfius, and others. However, Mr. Kuster was not satisfied. And in the preface to his edition of Mill's New Testament, he says, 'That[c] the argument, or interpretation of Basil, depends upon a supposition, that the words, '"at Ephesus," were wanting in the inscription of this epistle. Otherwise the Christians, to 'whom that epistle is sent, could not have been reckoned more especially united to him, "who 'is," or called "such who are," rather than the Romans, or Philippians, or any other Christians 'to whom Paul wrote.'

To which I answer: that is saying all, and the only thing, that can be said, in behalf of the supposition, that the words, "at Ephesus," were wanting in some copies, which Basil had seen. But though this may seem specious and plausible, it is not conclusive. We have perceived from Palladius, and Jerom lately alleged, that there were some, who appropriated certain characters to divers churches. The Romans were especially called faithful, the Ephesians initiated, and knowing, and the Thessalonians lovers of the brotherhood.

But it cannot be thence concluded, that other Christians were not entitled to the same characters: or that the same things might not be also said of them. As may appear to any one who does but look into St. Paul's epistles: in which the faith of other churches is spoken of, beside that of the Romans. And others, beside the Thessalonians, are supposed to have been lovers of the saints, or the brotherhood. Says the apostle, 1 Thess. i. 3. "Remembering without ceasing your work of faith, and labour of love." 2 Thess. i. 4. "So that we ourselves glory in you, in the churches of God, for your patience and faith in all your persecutions." 2 Cor. viii. 7. "As ye abound in every thing in faith."——Eph. i. 1. "To the saints which are at Ephesus, and to the faithful in Christ Jesus." Ver. 15. "Wherefore——after I heard of your faith in the

[a] Legunt quidam et ad Laodicenses. Sed ab omnibus exploditur. De V. I. cap. v.

[b] See Vol. ii. p. 465—468.

[c] Nec magis διαζοντως apostolus Ephesios, ex sensu Basilii, vocaverit οντας quam Romanos, Philippenses, etc. ad quos scribens eâdem plane loquendi formulâ utitur. Kuster.

Lord Jesus, and love unto all the saints." Col. i. 2. "To the saints and faithful brethren in Christ, which are at Colosse." Philem. ver. 5. "Hearing of thy love and faith, which thou hast toward the Lord Jesus, and toward all saints." And others, beside the Ephesians, were partakers of the mysteries of the gospel with the apostle. See Rom. xi. 25. 1 Cor. ii. 6, 7. Col. i. 25—27. ii. 2. iv. 3.

That is the very observation of Palladius in the place above cited: that when the apostle blames some for certain vices, and commends others for certain virtues, he by no means intends to intimate, that those vices, or those virtues, were peculiar to the persons blamed or commended by him.

The Romans were called by some in ancient times in an especial manner faithful, the Ephesians initiated, and the Thessalonians, or Macedonians, lovers of the brotherhood. But they were not so exclusive of others. For all the churches or Christians to whom Paul wrote, were faithful, and initiated, or partakers with him in the mysteries of the gospel, and lovers of the saints, or brotherhood: though they might be reasonably exhorted to abound therein more and more. As are the Thessalonians themselves, 1 epist. ch. iv. 10. See also ch. iii. 12. And indeed, if such properties did not belong to them, they could not have been Christians. Nevertheless, when these several characters had been applied to some, particularly, it is likely, that few would scruple to follow the same way of speaking, if there was occasion.

So in the present case, that observation in Basil having been applied to the Ephesians by some men of no great judgment, it was left there, and not applied to any others. Indeed it is an impertinent observation, as Jerom[a] calls it. And, as it seems, was made use of by a few only. But it might have been as properly said of other Christians, as of the Ephesians.

One thing more I add here. They who are for leaving out the words, "at Ephesus," must read the place in this manner, "to such as are saints, and faithful in Christ Jesus." Then this should be a general epistle, not directed to any one place, but to good Christians every where. But that it is not a general epistle, is manifest from Eph. vi. 21, 22, without insisting now on any other places. "But that ye may also know my affairs, and how I do, Tychicus a beloved brother, and faithful minister in the Lord, shall make known unto you all things; whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, that ye might know our affairs, and that he might comfort your hearts." This plainly shews, that the epistle had not a general inscription, "to saints and faithful men," but was inscribed to the saints of some place. And who should they be, but the saints and faithful at Ephesus: to whom it is inscribed in all Greek manuscripts, and in all versions, and in all catalogues of the books of the New Testament, whether composed by councils or others?

4. Once more. St. Paul himself says, 2 Tim. iv. 12. "And Tychicus have I sent to Ephesus," very probably referring to this epistle, as[b] was shewn some while ago. This is what Whitby intends at the beginning of his preface to this epistle before transcribed. 'That this epistle to 'the Ephesians was indeed written by St. Paul, and directed to them, and not to any other 'church, we cannot doubt, if we believe either the epistle, or St. Paul himself.' By the testimony of the epistle he means the inscription at the beginning, where is "at Ephesus," in all manuscripts and versions. By the testimony of St. Paul himself he means what is said, 2 Tim. iv. 12. quoted above.

Having finished the argument in favour of the genuineness of the common inscription of this epistle, which to me appears sufficient and satisfactory, I now propose to consider objections, which have been raised by Mill, and others.

1. Obj. 'It is said, that there are in this epistle divers expressions, not suited to the Christians 'at Ephesus, where Paul had been twice, and spent there almost three years. See Acts xviii. 19—21. xix. and xx. 1. and 17—38.'

Says Mr. Pierce, in the place before referred to, representing Mill's argument, 'He has proved it highly improbable, that the epistle was at first written to the Ephesians. St. Paul had 'resided among them, and "kept back nothing that was profitable unto them."——How then 'could he write to them, as though he had never seen, or been among them, but only had 'heard of them? Eph. i. 5. "Wherefore I also, after I heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus, 'and love to all the saints." Again, is it likely he would refer those to whom he had "declared 'all the counsel of God," so long together, to a bare report of himself? Eph. iii. 2. "If ye have 'heard of the dispensation of the grace of God, which is given me to you-ward." Or would he

[a] See Vol. ii. p. 467, note [b]. [b] See before, p. 301.

'suppose, that they who had heard him preach a thousand times would need to "understand his 'knowledge in the mystery of Christ, from what he said in a few verses, or even the whole of 'that short epistle?" Eph. iii. 4.

To the like purpose another learned author, whom likewise I shall transcribe here, that this objection may appear in all its strength, 'He[a] intimateth, that he had only heard of their faith 'in Christ, and of their love to all Christians, ch. i. 15.——Again, he not only mentioneth his '"hearing of their faith in Christ," but ch. iii. 1, 2. he speaks, as if he was dubious, whether 'they had heard of the extraordinary revelations, which he had received from heaven.——And 'verses 3, 4. he intimateth, that if they had never heard of these things before, they might under-'stand them from the brief hints which he had given them in this epistle. Is this like St. Paul's 'style to the churches of his own planting?——Or could a few lines, or even a larger epistle than 'this, have given them so clear a knowledge of St. Paul's illumination, as their hearing him a 'thousand times? For had he not been among them for the space of three years, warning every 'one of them night and day with tears?'

But this difficulty, if I mistake not, will disappear upon farther consideration, and a fuller examination of the matter.

First. It appears from the epistle itself that the Christians, to whom it is sent, were not unknown to Paul, nor they to him; but they were well acquainted with each other.

That the apostle was acquainted with these Christians, must, I think, be evident to all, who read without prejudice the first fourteen verses of the first chapter of this epistle. I insist only upon ver. 13. "In whom ye also trusted, after that ye heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation: in whom also after that ye believed, ye were sealed with the holy Spirit of promise." How could the apostle write thus to any, but to such, whose conversion to Christianity he was well acquainted with, and that upon their believing they had received gifts of the Spirit? How could any man write thus to people whom he had but lately heard of?

There are also many other passages of this epistle, which shew the apostle's knowledge of the state of these Christians, both before, and after their conversion. Some of which I must select here.

Ch. ii. 1, 2. "And you hath he quickened, who were dead in trespasses and sins: wherein in time past ye walked according to the course of this world."——and throughout that chapter to the end.

Then at ch. iii. 13. "Wherefore I desire, that ye faint not at my tribulation for you, which is your glory." That must be said to Christians, of whose tender affection for him he was very sensible: recollecting, it is likely, what had happened at Miletus, as related Acts xx. 36—38. And indeed it is throughout an affectionate, as well as instructive and useful epistle.

Ch. iv. 20. "But ye have not so learned Christ." Ver. 21, "If so be," or[b] forasmuch as ye have heard him, and have been taught the truth as it is in Jesus." This the apostle knew very well.

I cannot forbear to recite this place more largely, from ver. 20 to 34. "But ye have not so learned Christ, forasmuch as ye have heard him, and have been instructed in him, as the truth is in Jesus, to[c] put off with respect to the former conversation, the old man, which is corrupt according to deceitful lusts, and to be renewed in the spirit of your mind, and to put on the new man, which is created according to God in righteousness and true holiness." Certainly these are St. Paul's own converts and disciples. The case of these people resembles that of the Galatians. Ch. iii. 1. "Before whose eyes Jesus had been evidently set forth crucified among them." But to these Christians, at Ephesus, the apostle expresseth himself with more mildness, as was fit, than to the Galatians.

Then ver. 30. "And grieve not the holy Spirit of God, whereby ye were sealed unto the day of redemption: or with which ye were sealed in the day of redemption." These Gentile Christians had received the Spirit. And from whom, I pray, if not from St. Paul? And that they had a variety of spiritual gifts, is manifest from ch. v. 18—20.

[a] Dr. Benson's history of the first planting the Christian religion, Vol. II. p. 272. first edit. p. 292. second edit.

[b] 'Si tamen illud audistis:']' Si tamen,' Græce, 'siquidem.' Non enim dubitans hoc dicit apostolus, sed magis rem 'confirmans,' uti post Chrysostomum annotat Theophylactus. Nam et alias interdum vim confirmandi habet conjunctio si, ut secundæ ad Thessalon. primo vers. 6. Est. ad Eph. iv. 21.

[c] See Dr. Doddridge upon the place, whose version, in the main, I have here adopted.

Ch. v. 8. "For ye were sometime darkness: but now are ye light in the Lord. Walk as children of the light." Which shews, that the apostle knew the state of these Christians before and after their conversion.

And that St. Paul was acquainted with them, and they with him, appears to me very evident from ch. vi. 21, 22.

Secondly, at ch. i. 15, are words, upon which an objection has been formed, as we have seen. "Wherefore I also, after I heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus, and love unto all the saints:" that is, according to Mr. Locke's paraphrase: 'Wherefore I also here in my confinement having heard of the continuance of your faith in Christ Jesus, and your love to all the saints.' And in his preface to this epistle Mr. Locke has these expressions. 'Wherefore when he heard 'that the Ephesians stood firm in the faith, whereby he means their confidence of their title 'to the privileges and benefits of the gospel, without submission to the law, he thanks God for 'them.'

Whitby's paraphrase of this verse is to this purpose. 'Wherefore I also having heard of your 'steadfast faith in the Lord Jesus, and your increasing love to all the saints; that is, that the 'faith and love wrought in you continues steadfast, and aboundeth.'

To the like purpose also [a] Grotius whose words I have placed below.

Theodoret's note upon ver. 15, and 16, is to this purpose: 'Hence some have supposed, 'that the apostle wrote this epistle to the Ephesians, when he had not yet seen them. But 'they should consider, that writing to the Corinthians concerning whom he had received some 'disagreeable information, he says, "It has been related to me of you, my brethren, by them 'which are of the household of Chloe, that there are contentions among you," 1 Cor. i. 11. 'As therefore when he had received information of some things disagreeable, he wrote with grief 'of mind: so when he had received an account of things agreeable concerning these Ephesians, 'he bestows commendation. He praiseth them, both for their piety and for their liberality to 'the saints; whereupon he also gives thanks to God, the author of all good things.'

So that this text was no difficulty at all with Theodoret. However, it may be expedient that I should enlarge somewhat farther.

I observe, then, that St. Paul writes in the same manner to Philemon, his own convert, whose faith therefore he certainly knew. Philem. ver. 4, 5; "I thank my God, making mention of thee always in my prayers: hearing of thy love, and faith, which thou hast toward the Lord Jesus, and toward all saints." That Philemon had been converted to the faith of the gospel by Paul, I suppose to be evident from ver. 19: "Albeit I do not say unto thee, how thou owest to me thy ownself besides." So that text [b] has been generally understood: and how it can be interpreted otherwise, I do not conceive.

Whitby's paraphrase is: '"Albeit I do not say unto thee, how thou owest to me," by whom 'thou wast converted, "even thy ownself," or the well-being of thy soul "besides."'

Beausobre and Lenfant in their preface to the epistle to Philemon express themselves in this manner. 'Philemon was a considerable person at Colosse, a city of Phrygia. St. Paul had 'converted him, either at Ephesus, or some other city of Asia, when he preached the gospel in 'that country: or else at Colosse itself, in one of the journies which he had made in Phrygia.'

There are some other things to be observed here concerning this person. For in the first verse of that epistle Paul calls Philemon beloved, and his fellow-labourer; which, if I am not mistaken, indicate personal acquaintance, and imply their having laboured together in the service of the gospel at Colosse, or in some other place. And yet St. Paul writing to Philemon, speaks of his "having heard of his faith and love."

Still farther, it appears to me highly probable, that Onesimus, in whose behalf this epistle was written, knew Paul before he saw him at Rome. He either had seen Paul at his master's house at Colosse, or else at Ephesus, when attending upon his master there. Paul was a prisoner at Rome, and could not go abroad. "He dwelt in his own hired house, with a soldier that kept him," Acts xxviii. 16, and 30. It is likely, therefore, that Onesimus came first to Paul. Being in straits, and knowing Paul's benevolent temper, and what civilities he had received from his master, Philemon, he might hope for some relief from him. Or, possibly, hearing, that Paul was at Rome, and recollecting the discourses which he had heard him make,

[a] Loquitur autem Paulus de profectu evangelii apud Ephesios, ex quo ipse ab illis discesserat. Grot. in Eph. i. 14.

[b] Cæterum, si ad jus meum redeam, propter sermonem Christi, quem tibi evangelizavi, et Christianus effectus es, teipsum mihi debes. Hieron. in Ep. ad Philem. T. IV. p. 452.

when attending on Philemon, he was touched with remorse for the faults, which he had been guilty of, and came to Paul for farther instruction in the things of religion, and for advice and comfort. He might also encourage himself with hopes of Paul's interceding in his behalf, and obtaining a reconciliation with his master.

Says Beausobre in his preface to the epistle to Philemon, 'It can hardly be doubted, that 'the repentance of his fault obliged Onesimus to come to Paul, whom he knew to be his master's 'friend. For otherwise, he might have remained unknown at Rome.'

Philemon then was well known to Paul. Nevertheless, at the beginning of his epistle to him, he thanks God, "having heard of his love and faith." The meaning is, he had received information of the continuance of his faith, and of its bearing good fruit. If Paul could write thus to Philemon, his convert, friend, and fellow-labourer, he might write in a like manner to other Christians, to whom he was no stranger.

So likewise to the Colossians, ch. i. 3, 4; "We give thanks to God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, praying always for you: since we heard of your faith in Christ Jesus, and of the love which ye have to all the saints:" that is, having heard of the continuance of your faith, and of the good fruits of it. This he had been assured of by Epaphras, who had come to the apostle at Rome. It is not to be supposed, that Paul now first heard of the faith of the Colossians, or the Laodiceans. I think that the Colossians were Paul's own converts, and that the church there had been planted by him. But supposing that to be uncertain, I imagine, it cannot be questioned, that the church there had been planted a good while ago by some of the apostle's assistants, and fellow-labourers. Consequently, the apostle did not now first know, and hear of the faith and love of the Christians at Colosse. He must have known it before he came to Rome, and before he was apprehended at Jerusalem. But he had lately received good tidings concerning their steadiness and perseverance from some, who had come from them to him at Rome.

St. Paul, since his coming to Rome, had received from Tychicus an account of the state of things at Ephesus, which upon the whole was very pleasing. He had received from Epaphras a like account of the state of things at Colosse, and particularly a good account of the conduct of Philemon. For all which he praiseth God in his epistles to them. Indeed it could not but be matter of much joy to the apostle, to hear of the continued faith of Christians in several places, notwithstanding the many difficulties attending the profession of Christianity, and notwithstanding the discouragement which his own long captivity might have occasioned in the minds of many.

In these three epistles, to the Ephesians, the Colossians, and Philemon, are the same expressions, near the beginning, "having heard of your faith and love." And they are all to be understood in a like manner. If these words were to be understood in the epistle to the Ephesians of "now first hearing:" it might be as well argued, that the epistle could not be written to the Laodiceans. For, as before intimated, it may be reckoned certain, that before Paul came to Rome he knew of the faith of the church at Laodicea.

Thirdly, in the next place I consider that part of the objection, which is raised from Eph. iii. 2, 3, 4. "If ye have heard of the dispensation of the grace of God, which is given to me youward: how that by revelation he made known unto me the mystery, as I wrote before in a few words: whereby ye may understand my knowledge in the mystery of Christ."

To which part of the objection I answer, that "if ye have heard of the dispensation," may be rendered, "since," or "forasmuch as ye have heard," and what follows. So Theophylact, approved by Whitby upon the place.

I observe farther. These things are as properly said to the Ephesians, as to any other Christians in that country, or thereabout. They were all acquainted, and much alike acquainted with them. If such expressions might be used in an epistle to the Colossians, or the Laodiceans, they might be used also in an epistle to the Ephesians. No Gentile Christians, whether converted immediately by Paul himself, or by some of his assistants or fellow-labourers, could be ignorant of it. Nor could Paul doubt whether they knew it. Nevertheless he might judge it proper to hint these things, the more to confirm the instructions, and exhortations which he sent them, and to secure their steadiness in the faith and profession of the pure gospel of Christ as they had been taught. And does he not speak more largely, and more distinctly of this matter, in his epistle to the Galatians, whom none ever denied to be the apostle's converts?

Gal. i. 11—20; "But I certify you, brethren, γνωριζω δε υμιν, that the gospel, which was preached of me, is not after men.——For ye have heard of my conversation in time past——But it pleased God——to reveal his Son in me——Now the things which I write unto you, behold, before God, I lie not." These things the Galatians were not ignorant of. But in his epistle he reminds them of them, and in a very solemn manner.

The writers, from whom this objection was taken, speak of the Ephesians having heard the apostle 'preach a thousand times,' and ask: 'Could the apostle suppose, that they who had 'heard him preach a thousand times, could need to understand his knowledge of the mystery 'of Christ, from what he said in a few verses, or even from the whole of this short epistle?' But those expressions appear to me very strong, and even unjustifiable: though they are warranted by [a] Mill, whom those learned men follow.

He and they seem to conceive of the Christians at Ephesus, as a small society, consisting perhaps of two or three hundred people. And they speak, as if they supposed that church to have been formed and planted before the apostle came thither, or very soon after his arrival: and that they had all heard him preach once at least every day of the three years that he resided in that city. How else could they think that the Christians at Ephesus had heard Paul preach a thousand times? He says indeed to their elders at Miletus, Acts xx. 31, that "for the space of three years he had not ceased to warn every one night and day with tears." Certainly the apostle was very diligent in making converts, and in confirming the believers there. But conversions were made gradually, not all at once, as is evident from the account, which we have of Paul's preaching at Ephesus, in the nineteenth chapter of the Acts; where also St. Luke observes, at ver. 10, "that all they which dwelt in Asia, heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks." This may lead us to think that Paul had many converts in several parts of Asia. Some of these may have seen, and heard the apostle at Ephesus once only, or however not often. To all these the epistle to the Ephesians was sent. The inscription "to the saints and faithful at Ephesus," the chief city, would comprehend all the believers in the country. And some converts may have been made since the apostle was there. However, though it should be allowed, that most of these Christians had heard the apostle often, the reading of this epistle might be of great use to them. For it is an excellent epistle, as all must allow, and not inferior to the most admired of St. Paul's writings.

I have now considered the first, and, as I suppose, the principal objection.

2. Obj. It is said, 'that in all St. Paul's epistles, written to particular churches, there is 'some peculiar case mentioned, respecting each church, that seems to be one reason at least 'for writing to them: which is also observed in his epistle to the Colossians, whom he there 'cautions against the worship of angels.'

I answer. That is a just observation. And the same may be found in Jerom's preface to his Commentary upon this epistle to the Ephesians: where he says, as [b] the blessed John in the Revelation, writing to the seven churches, either reproves the faults, or commends the virtues of each: so likewise, he says, does the apostle Paul in his epistles. And he supposeth this epistle to have been written to the Christians at Ephesus, and to be suited to their case.

But we are not to expect, that even an apostle should censure, and find fault where there is little or no occasion for it. It becomes him to own the good temper and conduct of any church that deserves it. And what church could be so likely to deserve mild treatment, as the church at Ephesus, which had had so much of the apostle's presence, and of his favourite disciple Timothy, upon whom he has bestowed so great commendations? 1 Cor iv. 17; xvi. 10: Philip. ii. 19—22; and who undoubtedly would be faithful and diligent, where he was sent occasionally only, or where he was stationed for a while. This was the case here. I suppose that Timothy was left at Ephesus, when Paul went up to Jerusalem. There he continued till after the apostle's arrival at Rome, and after the writing of this epistle to the Ephesians, of which we are now speaking. Moreover, as is well known, when Paul was going up to Jerusalem, he delivered, at Miletus, a most pathetic charge to the elders of that church, and to Timothy with them, as

[a] Quomodo convenit hoc civibus Ephesinis, qui sexcenties prædicantem audierant Apostolum? Mill. Prol. num. 72.

[b] Necesse est enim, ut juxta diversitates locorum, et temporum, et hominum, quibus scriptæ sunt, diversas et causas, et argumenta, et origines habeant. Et, quomodo beatus Joannes in Apocalypsi suâ ad septem scribens ecclesias, in unâquâque earum specialia vel vitia reprehendit, vel virtutes probat; ita et sanctus Apostolus Paulus per singulas ecclesias vulneribus medetur illatis, nec ad instar imperiti medici uno collyrio omnium oculos vult curare. Pr. i. in ep. ad Eph. T. IV. p. 320.

I suppose. See Acts xx. 17—38, particularly 28—31, which certainly must have excited all to faithfulness and zeal in the performance of their duty. Indeed he says, "I know, that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock." There would arise men, that would endeavour to devour, and lay waste the church of Ephesus. Nevertheless, I think these earnest warnings of the apostle must have been of great use to defeat the designs of such evil men: so that they should not be able to do much mischief there, at least for some while.

And says the apostle, ver. 31; "Watch, and remember, that by the space of three years I ceased not to warn every one of you night and day with tears." This the apostle does again very suitably in this epistle, in divers places, which cannot be overlooked, nor passed by us here. So Eph. iv. 1. "I therefore the prisoner of the Lord beseech you, that ye walk worthy of the vocation, wherewith ye are called."——ver. 17. "This I say therefore, and testify in the Lord, that ye henceforth walk not as other Gentiles," and what follows. So also ch. v. 1. ——And vi. 12—17. These warnings have, probably, a respect to temptations, which the Ephesians might meet with from their heathen and idolatrous neighbours, and from deceitful and artful men among Christians. To such things as these Jerom supposed Paul to have an eye in this [a] epistle.

And these written warnings, as well as others, seem to have had a good effect. The church of Ephesus appears to have behaved commendably for a good while. This may be collected from Rev. ii. 1—6. And Ignatius at the beginning of his epistle to them says, ch. vi. 'And 'indeed Onesimus himself does greatly commend your good order in God: that you all live 'according to truth, and that no heresy dwells among you.' And ch. ix. 'I have heard of 'some, who have passed by you, having perverse doctrine: whom you did not suffer to sow 'among you.' And to the like purpose in other places of that epistle.

3. Obj. It is said, 'that Timothy's name is not mentioned in the introduction to this epistle: 'though it is found in the beginning of the epistle to the Colossians, and that to Philemon. 'Hence it is argued, that Timothy was unknown to all, or most of the church, to whom this 'epistle was written. Consequently it was not sent to the church of Ephesus where Timothy 'was well known.'

In answer to which I would say, first, that I can see no reason, why St. Paul should scruple to put Timothy's name at the beginning of an epistle, written to Christians, with whom Timothy was not personally acquainted. Secondly. There can be no reason to doubt, that Timothy was as well known to the Christians at Laodicea, as at Colosse. Thirdly. Therefore there must have been some other reason for omitting the name of Timothy at the beginning of this epistle. Fourthly, that reason presently offers, and probably was this, that at writing this epistle Timothy was not with the apostle at Rome. I think Timothy was now at Ephesus. How then could his name be placed at the beginning of an epistle written to the Ephesians from Rome?

4. Obj. 'At Philippi the church was settled with fixed officers, before the apostle wrote. 'And therefore he directs his epistle not only to the Christians in general there, but to the 'bishops and deacons. But there is no such thing here: though the church of Ephesus had 'evidently such officers, before the writing of this epistle.' See Acts xx. 17.

To which I answer, that there must have been fixed officers in many churches, beside that at Philippi. Says St. Luke, in his account of the peregrination of Paul and Barnabas in several places, Acts xiv. 21—23, "they returned again to Lystra, and Iconium, and Antioch, (in Pisidia) confirming the souls of the disciples.——And when they had ordained them elders in every church, and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord on whom they had believed." Says Beza upon this text: 'In [b] every church they ordained elders, that is, 'pastors, and deacons, and other officers.' From what is said here Luke leads us to conclude, what was done elsewhere. It was not needful to mention such things every where. But very

[a] Scribebat ad Ephesios Dianam colentes.——Scribebat autem ad metropolim Asiæ civitatem, in quâ ita idololatria—— et artium magicarum præstigiæ viguerant.——Hæc idcirco universa replicavimus, ut ostenderemus, quare Apostolus in hac vel potissimum epistolâ obscuros sensus, et ignota seculis sacramenta congesserit; et de sanctarum contrariarumque virtutum docuerit potestate; qui sint dæmones, quid valeant. ——De quibus ait: 'Non est nobis pugna adversum carnem 'et sanguinem, sed adversum principitatus et potestates.'—— Hieron. ubi supr. p. 322.

[b] 'Per singulas ecclesias,' κατ' εκκλησιαν. Sic antea dixit Lucas κατ' οικον, pro 'domatim Presbyteros, id est, Pastores et Diaconos, et alios ecclesiæ gubernationi præfectos. Hic enim, ut alibi sæpe, generaliter accipitur Presbyteri nomen.' Bez. in Act. xiv. 23.

probably there were church-officers fixed in all the churches in no long time after they were planted, and particularly in Greece and Macedonia. From St. Paul's epistle we know, that there were bishops and deacons at Philippi, though not mentioned by St. Luke in his history of the apostle's preaching there. Acts xvi. 12—40. Beza concludes from 1 Thess. v. 27, that [a] there were fixed officers in the church at Thessalonica. And it is very manifest from ver 12 and 13 of that chapter: "And we beseech you, brethren, to know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you: and to esteem them very highly in love, for their works' sake." St. Paul says to Titus, ch. i. 5, "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I appointed thee." Whenever Paul was in Crete, it is reasonable to think, that he made there but a short stay. Nevertheless before he left that island, he had given orders to Titus, to ordain "elders in every city." And not long after coming thence he wrote to him an epistle, with particular directions for that purpose. Before Paul left Ephesus, it is likely, that he had ordained several elders in that city, and in the district of Asia. And yet he afterwards wrote to Timothy, giving him directions concerning the qualifications of such persons, that he might make a farther supply, where it was wanting. Which must induce us to think, that the apostle was not willing, that any churches should be destitute of fit guides and instructors for any long time after they had been planted. St. Paul's epistle to the Galatians, is inscribed "to the churches of Galatia," without any mention of bishops or deacons. And yet there must have been there men of that character.

St. Peter writes to the Christians in Galatia, and other neighbouring parts, and sends an admonition to such. 1 Pet. v. 1, 2. "The elders which are among you I exhort.——Feed the flock of God, which is among you." And from the epistle itself it may be concluded with certainty, that there were fixed officers in the churches of Galatia, though they are not mentioned in the inscription. For so St. Paul directs, ch. vi. 6, "Let him that is taught in the word, communicate unto him that teacheth in all good things." There is no notice taken of any elders in the inscriptions of either of St. Paul's epistles to the Corinthians. And yet there must have been such officers in that church. Clement of Rome, in the first century, in his epistle to the Corinthians, speaking of the apostles, says, ch. xlii. 'They went abroad, publishing the good tidings, that the kingdom of God was at hand. And preaching in countries and cities, they [b] appointed their first-fruits, having first proved them by the spirit, to be bishops and deacons of those who should believe.' And afterwards, in ch. xliv. 'Wherefore we cannot think that they may be justly cast out of their ministry, who [c] were either appointed by them [the apostles] or were afterwards chosen by other eminent men with the consent of the whole church.'——So writes Clement. And thus he bears witness to two things. First, that this was the general method of the apostles. And, secondly, he assures us, particularly, that this had been done in the church of Corinth. About which, I suppose, he could not be mistaken. There must therefore have been fixed officers in the churches of Thessalonica, Corinth, and Galatia: though St. Paul has taken no particular notice of them in the inscriptions of his epistles. It cannot then be any just exception against this epistle having been sent to the Ephesians, because their bishops or elders are not named. For it was a common thing with the apostle, to inscribe his epistles to the churches, or saints, of such a place, without any particular notice of their officers, though there were men of that character among them. I have mentioned above St. Paul's epistles to the Thessalonians, the Corinthians, and the Galatians. To them might be added the epistle to the Colossians. For that also is inscribed "to the saints, and faithful brethren in Christ, which are at Colosse." And yet there must have been elders in that church: one is mentioned whose name is Archippus. However, it is in this manner only; Col. iv. 17. "And say to Archippus, take heed to the ministry, which thou hast received of the Lord, that thou fulfil it." Nor does the apostle send his salutations to the church in Laodicea by him in particular, but by the saints to whom the epistle is inscribed. See ch. iv. 15. Once more, Timothy, as is generally allowed, was at Ephesus when St. Paul wrote to him those two epistles, which we have. When the first was written, there must have

[a] Vos, ὑμας. Hinc apparet, mitti solitas fuisse apostolicas epistolas presbyterio, ad quod hæc abjuratio et præcedentes duo versiculi proprie pertineant; quoniam alioqui absurda esset hæc petitio, si ad totum ecclesiæ cœtum referretur. Bez. in 1 Th. v. 27.

[b] —— καθισασαν τας απαρχας αυτων, δοκιμασαντες τω πνευματι, εις επισκοπους και διακονους των μελλοντων πιστευειν.

[c] Τας ουν καταστασεις υπ' εκεινων. κ. λ.

been some elders in that church, and yet more at the time of writing the second. It cannot be contested by any. Nevertheless no salutations are sent to the elders of Ephesus, in either of those epistles.

5. Obj. 'If this epistle was sent to the Ephesians, it may be thought very strange, that 'St. Paul should not salute any of his friends there, where he had many friends and acquaint-'ance.'

But I cannot perceive this to be of much weight. There is no epistle of St. Paul that has so many salutations in it, as that to the Romans, whom he had never seen. There are no salutations of particular persons at the end of the first epistle to Timothy, who was then at Ephesus. I suppose Timothy to have been in the same city likewise, when Paul wrote his second epistle to him. Nevertheless there are in it no particular salutations, except those in ch. iv. 19, "Salute Prisca and Aquila, and the household of Onesiphorus." Tychicus went with this epistle to the Ephesians. And what is said ch. vi. 21—23, would be instead of many particular salutations, and fully answer the end. For Tychicus is there required to "make known unto them all things, and to comfort their hearts." I might add, that no particular persons are saluted by name in either of the epistles to the Thessalonians, nor in the epistle to the Galatians, nor in that to Titus, excepting only Titus himself, to whom the epistle is sent.

6. Obj. Mr. Wetstein says, 'that [a] the epistle to the Ephesians is written to Gentiles, 'whereas the church at Ephesus consisted chiefly of Jews.'

I answer: That the epistle, called to the Ephesians, is written to Gentiles, or to such chiefly, is allowed, and is very manifest. And it seems to me very evident, from the history which we have of St. Paul's preaching at Ephesus, in the book of the Acts, that the apostle's chief harvest there was from among the Gentiles. For a while indeed he taught in the synagogue, but the behaviour of the Jews obliged him to withdraw. Whereupon he preached in another place. And I should conclude from what is in Acts xix. 17—40, that the apostle had many more converts there among Gentiles, than Jews.

7. Obj. 'It is argued from Col. iv. 16, that this epistle was sent to the Laodiceans. For St. Paul says there: "and when this epistle is read among you, or has been read among you, 'cause that it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans: and that ye likewise read the 'epistle from Laodicea." Hereby, as is argued, must be intended the epistle called to the 'Ephesians, but really sent to the Laodiceans. For, says Mill, [b] and likewise others after him, 'this epistle called to the Ephesians, and the epistle to the Colossians, were both sent by the 'same messenger, and at the same time.'

To which I answer, that if the epistle, called to the Ephesians, be the epistle intended by the apostle, and sent at the same time with that to the Colossians, it is manifest, that it was not sent to the Laodiceans. This may be concluded from what is said to the Colossians, ch. iv. 15. "Salute the brethren, which are in Laodicea, and Nymphas, and the church which is in his house." This plainly shews, that there was not now any epistle sent to the Laodiceans. If there had, there would have been no occasion for the apostle to send this order to the Colossians. For it is impossible to write a letter to any persons, or societies, without saluting them, or doing somewhat that is equivalent. And it is manifest, that in the epistle inscribed to the Ephesians, the Christians, to whom it is sent, are saluted. Particularly ch. i. 1, 2, and ch. vi. 21, 22, 23. This has appeared evident to learned men of the first rank, and different communions. So [c] Baronius, and Tillemont. This last says, 'that [d] since St. Paul orders the Colos-'sians to salute those of Laodicea in his name; it is a certain sign, that he did not write to 'them at that time.' Du Pin says: 'If [e] St. Paul had written at the same time to the Laodi-'ceans, he would not have charged the Colossians to salute them in his name.' And James

[a] Imprimis vero observandum, cum ecclesiâ Ephesina ex Judæis potissimum collecta fuerit, Act. xviii. 19, 21, 24, 25; xix. 9, 10, 17; xx. 21; Apoc. ii. 2, 7; eam, ad quam hæc epistola scripta est, non ex Judæis, sed ex Gentilibus fuisse congregatam. Wetst. N. T. tom. II. p 239.

[b] Quidni igitur scripta fuerit ad Laodicenses?——Sane per eumdem nuntium missa erat hæc epistola, per quem delata erat epistola ad Colossenses, Tychicum scilicet, nec non eodem tempore. Mill. Prol. num. 74.

[c] Sane nullam eidem tabellario ad Laodicenses fuisse a Paulo datam epistolam, satis constat: dum in eâ, quam tum scripsit ad Colossenses, salutari mandat eos, qui Laodiceæ essent fideles, sic dicens: 'Salutate fratres, qui sunt Laodiceæ.'—— Libentius igitur Chrysostomo ac Theodoreto inhæsisse, quam cæteris, ut nulla a Paulo scripta fuerit epistola ad Laodicenses. Baron. ann. 60. num. xiii.

[d] Et puisque S. Paul ordonne aux Colossiens de saluer de sa part ceux de Laodicée, c'est une marque indubitable, qu'il ne leur écrivit point alors. S. Paul. note 69. Mem. Ec. tom. 1.

[e] En effet, si saint Paul eût écrit en même temps aux Laodicéens, il n' eût pas chargé les Colossiens de les saluer de sa part. Diss. Prel. l. 2. ch. 2. sect. viii.

Basnage: 'St. [a] Paul did not then write to the Laodiceans, since he salutes them in his letter 'to the church of Colosse.' The acute and honest Mr. Pierce, though much inclined to Mill's opinion concerning this epistle, saw this difficulty and owned it. 'But I have one objection,' says he, 'which I cannot so easily get over. And were it not for that, I might fully agree with 'him. My objection is, that it seems highly improbable, that St. Paul should send his salutations to the Laodiceans, in the epistle, which he wrote to the Colossians, in case he had sent that epistle to the Laodiceans by the same messenger.'

I am not unwilling to allow, that the epistle spoken of in the latter part of verse 16, of ch. iv. to the Colossians, is our epistle to the Ephesians: "and that ye likewise read the epistle from Laodicea:" that is, the epistle that is to come to you from Laodicea. So the place is rendered in the French Testament of Lenfant and Beausobre: "and [b] cause likewise to be read among you that which the Laodiceans will send to you." And their note is this, "that [c] from Laodicea: that is to say, that which will come to you from Laodicea." For the original has 'that sense.'

If the epistle to the Ephesians was sent away by the apostle at the same time with those to the Colossians, and to Philemon: I should think, that Tychicus went first to Ephesus, and there left the epistle to the Ephesians, with an order, that it should be forwarded to Laodicea, and so to Colosse. Tychicus having left that letter at Ephesus, went forward with Onesimus to Colosse: where they delivered the epistles to Philemon, and the Colossians. And then I suppose, that Tychicus's commission was at an end. He had no order to go to Laodicea. The apostle's salutations to the brethren at Laodicea were to be taken care of by the Colossians.

But I rather think, as before shewn, that the epistle to the Ephesians was written very soon after the apostle's arrival at Rome, and then carried to Ephesus by Tychicus. And when Tychicus went now in the second year of the apostle's imprisonment, with these epistles to the Colossians, and Philemon; he came ashore at Ephesus, and there left express orders, that the epistle, formerly sent to them, should be soon forwarded by them to Laodicea, and so to Colosse. Having so done, he went, as before said, with Onesimus to Colosse: where they joined in delivering the letters to Philemon, and the church at Colosse. And now the commission of Tychicus was at an end.

8. Obj. Once more, it is observed by learned men, 'that Marcion said, this epistle was 'written to the Laodiceans, or called this the epistle to the Laodiceans.'

To which I answer, first. Humphry Hody denied, that [d] Marcion reckoned the epistle called to the Ephesians to have been written to the Laodiceans. And indeed this point seems to lie in great obscurity. Nor is it said by any one beside Tertullian, that I know of.

Secondly. Suppose Marcion to have affirmed this, what does it avail? Grotius says, in his preface to this epistle, 'Marcion [e] called this the epistle to the Laodiceans. Nor was there any 'reason why he should falsify in this matter.' And to the like purpose others. To which I answer: Catholic writers of the same time, and since, call this the epistle to the Ephesians. Nor is there any reason why they should falsify. Yea the same is said, not only by all catholics, but likewise by all heretics in general. Let Marcion's credit be ever so good, this is a sufficient answer. For what interest had the catholics to falsify here? If Marcion said, this epistle was sent to the Laodiceans, he must have been mistaken. We are assured, that what he said is false, from the unanimous testimony of numerous men, who had no interest to deceive, and could not be deceived.

But Marcion's credit is very little in such an affair as this. The same writer, who speaks of

[a] S. Paul n'écrivoit pas alors aux Laodicéens, puisqu'il leur fait une salutation dans la lettre á l'église de Colosse. Basn. *Hist.* de l'Eglise. l. 8. ch. 3. n. iii.

[b] Et faites lire de même parmi vous celle que les Laodicéens vous envoyeront.

[c] Gr. 'celle de Laodicée,' c'est à dire, 'celle qui vous 'viendra de Laodicée.' Car l'original a ce sens là.

[d] Decem tantum epistolas Pauli, cum particulis quibusdam ex epistolâ ad Laod.—recepit Marcion hæreticus, quâs librum Apostolicum inscripsit. De cæteris scripturarum libris nullum agnovit, præter Evangelium Lucæ, illudque mutilatum. Epistolas etiam, quas recepit Paulinas, mutilavit, vitiavitque.—Simonius in Hist. Crit. N. T. cap. 15, contendit, Marcionem, nullam epist. ad Laod. recepisse, sed epistolam ad Ephesios falso inscripsisse ad Laodicenos. Sed in hoc Epiphanius falli non potuit, qui in Apostolico Marcionis recenset epistolam ad Ephesios loco 7 mo, et illam ad Laodicenos loco xi mo. πρὸς Λαοδικεις ια. Ideo vero dicit Tertullianus contra Marc. l. v. cap. xi. 'Epistolam quam nos ad Ephesios præ-'scriptam habemus,' a Marcione 'ad Laodicenos inscriptam 'fuisse,' quoniam locus, qui ex Epistolâ ad Laodicenos a Marcione adductus est, in epistolâ ad Ephesios exstabat. Quod etiam observat Epiphanius. Hod. de Bibl. text. origin. p. 664.

[e] Marcion hanc epistolam vocat ad Laodicenses, ex fide, ut credibile est, ecclesiæ Laodicensis. Nam cur in eâ re mentiretur, nihil erat caussæ. Grot. Præm. in ep. ad Eph.

Marcion's [a] calling this the epistle to the Laodiceans, I mean Tertullian, does also let us know, that [b] Marcion rejected the epistles of Paul to Timothy, and Titus. And chargeth [c] him with altering the text of scripture, openly employing a knife, not a stile. And speaks particularly of his leaving out texts [d] in the epistle to the Romans. Will any say, that Marcion had good reason for so doing? or that all this was owing to his superior care and judgment above other Christians? For my own part, I think not. And if he said, that this epistle was written to the Laodiceans, not to the Ephesians, he was mistaken at least. He had not, and could not have any good reason for it.

Mill [e] and other learned men after him, in defending their opinion concerning this epistle, magnify the care and exactness of Marcion. 'He flourished, they say, in the beginning of the 'second century, and lived at Sinope, in Paphlagonia, which was in Asia Minor, as well as Lao-'dicea. And he affirmed, that the epistle called to the Ephesians was actually an epistle to the 'Laodiceans. Most probably, he had heard so from such as knew the fact, and could inform 'him: or rather, had seen some of the manuscripts, which gave it that title.'

But all this is said without any ground. Such suppositions are easily made. But there is no proof of the truth of them. If there be any credit to be given to what the ancients say of Marcion, he must have been a very rash, and arbitrary, and careless critic: provided he at all deserve the name of a critic. And if he thought this epistle to have been written to the Laodiceans; it is likely, that he took up that opinion without much inquiry, or examination, and without sufficient reason, and perhaps without assigning any.

Jerom,[f] speaking of Marcion and Basilides, who, as he says, were not friendly to the Old Testament, and altered the gospels and epistles of the New Testament, and rejected both the epistles to Timothy, and the epistle to Titus, and that to the Hebrews, he adds: 'And if they 'assigned any reasons, why they did not reckon these epistles to be the apostle's, we should 'endeavour to make an answer, and perhaps might say, what would be sufficient to satisfy the 'reader. But now since with heretical authority they pronounce, and say, this epistle is Paul's, 'and that not: they may be fitly answered on the side of truth, in the same manner that they 'assert falsehood.'

And Tertullian having spoken of Marcion's admitting the genuineness of the epistle to Philemon, adds, 'Nevertheless [g] I wonder, that when he receives an epistle to one man, he 'should reject two to Timothy, and one to Titus, which treat of the government of the church. 'He had a mind, I suppose, to alter also the number of the epistles:' that is, as he had done of the gospels: which passage, as the reader may remember, was quoted by us [h] formerly.

It hence appears, that Tertullian knew not why Marcion rejected the epistles to Timothy, and Titus. He knew that Marcion rejected those three epistles. But he was not aware of his having assigned any reasons for so doing: which shews, I think, that Marcion acted arbitrarily in such things as these.

Indeed Tertullian speaking of Marcion's attempting, or designing to alter the inscription of the epistle to the Ephesians useth this expression: 'as [i] if he had made more than common

[a] Tertull. adv. Marc. l. 5. cap. xi.

[b] Miror tamen, quum ad unum hominem literas factas receperit, quid ad Timotheum duas, et unam ad Titum, de ecclesiastico statu compositas, recusaverit. Adv. Marcion. l. 5. cap. ult. p. 615.

[c] Marcion enim exertâ et palam machærâ, non stylo usus est; quoniam ad materiam suam cædem scripturarum confecit. Id. de Præsc. Hær. cap. 38.

[d] Quantas autem foveas in istâ vel maxime epistolâ Marcion fecerit, auferendo quæ voluit, de nostri instrumenti integritate patebit. Adv. Marc. l. 5. cap. 13.

[e] Sed omnino verisimile est, Marcionem, qui Sinope aliquamdiu agebat, haud procul a Laodiceâ, sive ex popularium suorum traditione, seu etiam auctoritate exemplarium quorumdam, hanc epistolam tamquam ad Laodicenses scriptam citâsse. Mill. Prol. num. 78.

[f] Licet non sint digni fide, qui fidem primam irritam fecerunt, Marcionem loquor et Basilidem, et omnes hæreticos, qui vetus laniant testamentum; tamen eos aliquâ ex parte feremus, si saltem in novo continerent manus suas, et non auderent Christi——vel evangelistas violare, vel Apostolos. Nunc vero cum Evangelia ejus Christi dissipaverint, et Apostolorum epistolas non Apostolorum Christi fecerint esse, sed proprias, miror, quomodo sibi Christianorum nomen audeant vindicare. Ut enim de cæteris epistolis taceam, de quibus quidquid contrarium suo dogmati viderant, eraserunt, nonnullas integras repudiandas crediderunt; ad Timotheum videlicet utramque, ad Hebræos, et ad Titum, quam nunc conamur exponere. Et si quidem redderent causas, cur eas Apostoli non putarent, tentaremus aliquid respondere, et forsitan satisfacere lectori. Nunc vero, quum hæreticâ auctoritate pronuntient, et dicant: Illa epistola Pauli est, hæc non est; eâ auctoritate refelli se pro veritate intelligant, quâ ipsi non erubescunt falsa simulare. Hieron. Pr. in ep. ad Tit. T. IV. p. 407.

[g] Miror tamen, quum ad unum hominem literas factas receperit, quid ad Timotheum duas, et unam ad Titum, de ecclesiastico statu compositas, recusaverit? Adfectavit, opinor, etiam numerum epistolarum interpolare. Adv. Marcion. l. 5. cap. ult. p. 615. D.

[h] See Vol. i. p. 424. See also here, note [b]

[i] See below, note [b]

inquiries about it.' But I suppose Tertullian, to speak by way of irony, and sarcastically; not allowing Marcion uncommon diligence and exactness, but intimating, that a man, who acted thus, should be very careful to be rightly informed.

All this I have said in the way of a general answer to the argument taken from the supposed opinion of Marcion. I will now more particularly inquire what Marcion said and did, and what might be the ground and reason of his opinion and conduct. And I think there are but two writers, from whom we can receive any information, Tertullian and Epiphanius.

The first is Tertullian. 'I[a] pass by another epistle,' says he, 'which we have inscribed to 'the Ephesians, but heretics to the Laodiceans.'

Afterwards: 'According[b] to the true testimony of the church, we suppose that epistle to 'have been sent to the Ephesians. But Marcion once had a mind to alter the title, as if he had 'made a very diligent inquiry into that matter. But the title is of no importance, since the 'apostle wrote to all, when he wrote to some.'

I hope I have rightly translated the word 'gestiit.' I think it meaneth, 'had a mind to,' or 'was inclined,' or shewed an inclination so to do.

By these passages of Tertullian we are assured, first, that this epistle which was in the hands of catholic Christians, was, in all its copies, inscribed to the Ephesians. And Tertullian was persuaded, that it was the true testimony, or tradition of the church from the beginning.

Secondly, in the first of these passages Tertullian says, that heretics called this the epistle to the Laodiceans: by heretics meaning, as I suppose, Marcion and his followers.

Thirdly, Tertullian says, that once, or upon some occasion, Marcion had a mind to alter the title of this epistle.

Here it may be questioned, whether by title be meant what we call a running title, affixed to the epistle, or the inscription, which makes a part of the epistle, and is inserted at the beginning of it. I rather think this last to be intended. But take it either way, Tertullian supposed, that Marcion had in his copies the same title, or inscription with the catholics, that is, to the Ephesians, or at Ephesus. Nor does Tertullian say, that Marcion ever inserted the inscription to the Laodiceans, in any of his copies. It seems to me that he did not.

Consequently, what Tertullian says, is, that Marcion, and his followers, sometimes at least, called this the epistle to the Laodiceans, and perhaps quoted it by that title. But he had not in his copies any title, or inscription, different from that of the catholics. Marcion gave out, that the epistle, called by the catholics to the Ephesians, was written to the Laodiceans. He affirmed this to be right, and that the catholics were in the wrong in calling it an epistle to the Ephesians. For he was persuaded it was written to the Laodiceans.

I think this is the most that is said by Tertullian, or that can be collected from him. Yea, it seems to me, that I have in a strong manner represented the whole of what is said by him.

I now proceed to Epiphanius, who says, 'that[c] Marcion received only ten epistles of Paul. 'They are these. The first is that to the Galatians, the second is the first to the Corinthians, the 'third is the second to the Corinthians, the fourth that to the Romans, the fifth is the first to the 'Thessalonians, the sixth the second to the Thessalonians, the seventh is that to the Ephesians, 'the eighth to the Colossians, the ninth to Philemon, the tenth to the Philippians. He has also 'some parts of an epistle to the Laodiceans.' So Epiphanius.

It is well known, that Marcion had an evangelicon, and an apostolicon, or a gospel and an apostle. In the former, as is generally said, he had St. Luke's gospel only. But concerning the truth of that account I make no inquiries now. Our concern at present is with St. Paul's epistles only. And Epiphanius here expressly says, that Marcion received ten, and placed them in the order in which they are rehearsed above. He likewise says, that Marcion had some parts of an epistle to the Laodiceans. And he quotes, as from him, those words which are in Eph. iv. 5, 6. after this manner: "One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one Christ, one God and Father of all,

[a] Prætereo hic et de aliâ epistolâ, quam nos ad Ephesios præscriptam habemus, hæretici vero ad Laodicenos. Tertull. adv. Marcion. l. 5. cap. xi.

[b] Ecclesiæ quidem veritate epistolam istam ad Ephesios habemus emissam, non ad Laodicenos. Sed Marcion ei titulum aliquando interpolare gestiit, quasi et in illo diligentissimus explorator. Nihil autem de titulo interest, cum ad omnes Apostolus scripserit, dum ad singulos. Ib. cap. xvii. p. 607.

[c] Ἔχει δε και επιστολας παρ' αυτῳ τȣ ἁγιȣ απoστολȣ δεκα, αἷς μοναις κεχρηται.—— Αἱ δε επιστολαι αἱ παρ' αυτῳ λεγομεναι εισι πρωτη μεν προς Γαλατας—— ἐκδομη προς Εφεσιȣς, ογδοη προς Κολοσσαεις.——Ἔχει δε και προς Λαοδικεας λεγομενης μεσης. Epiph. H. 42. num. ix. p. 310.

who is above all, and through all, and in you all." Having so done, he says: 'Nor[a] did the 'unhappy Marcion think fit to take that passage from the epistle to the Ephesians, but from the 'epistle to the Laodiceans, which is not the apostle's.'

This account of Epiphanius led H. Hody to say, that Marcion received eleven epistles of St. Paul. James Basnage was of the same opinion. He says: 'It[b] has been conjectured by some, 'that Marcion confounded the epistle to the Laodiceans with that to the Ephesians.——But that 'conjecture cannot be maintained. For he distinguished two epistles of St. Paul, one to the 'Ephesians, and another to the Laodiceans. And Epiphanius reproacheth him, because he 'rather chose to take his passage from the epistle to the Laodiceans, which was not Paul's, than 'from the epistle to the Ephesians, where are the same words.'

And indeed, I apprehend, that if we had Epiphanius only, many might be of the same opinion. But comparing him and Tertullian, and examining carefully the whole article of Epiphanius, I think it must appear more probable, that Marcion did sometimes quote the epistle to the Ephesians, as if it had been sent to the Laodiceans. Nor can I perceive any good reason to think, that any letter to the Laodiceans was forged so early as the time of Marcion.

And now I would observe, that Epiphanius seems to have been well acquainted with Marcion's apostolicon. For he[c] had his writings, and composed a treatise against him, called Scholion, or Scholia, which he inserted, somewhat altered, in his article of the Marcionites, in his large work, called the Panarium, which we have.

Having observed this, I say, that from Epiphanius it appears, that in Marcion's apostolicon the epistle to the Ephesians was entitled, and inscribed to them, as it was in the copies of the catholics. And all the difference between the catholics and him, upon this head, was, that he sometimes quoted this epistle, as written to the Laodiceans. Epiphanius, who had seen Marcion's apostolicon, found therein ten epistles, all inscribed, as in the catholic copies. One of which, and the seventh in order, was that to the Ephesians. However, in one place of Marcion's works and[d] but one, he had seen a passage of the epistle to the Ephesians quoted, as from an epistle to the Laodiceans.

Some such thing as this induced Tertullian, a man of a violent temper, to say: 'I pass by 'another epistle, which we have inscribed to the Ephesians, but heretics to the Laodiceans.' However, from Tertullian, as before shewn, it appears, that in Marcion's copies of this epistle it had the same title, as in the catholic copies, and that he never altered the inscription. And thus Tertullian and Epiphanius agree. For from this last likewise we plainly perceive, that in Marcion's apostolicon was the epistle to the Ephesians: but not exactly in the same order, as with the catholics.

And thus, if I mistake not, Marcion himself confirms the common reading at the beginning of this epistle. And this recompence we have of our diligent inquisition into this affair. So it often happens. Opposition made to truth is the means of establishing it.

This opinion of the case may be farther justified by two considerations, which perhaps deserve to be mentioned. One is, that there is no notice taken of this affair by any other writers, beside Tertullian and Epiphanius. Jerom, and many others, who often speak of Marcion and his principles, say nothing of it. It is therefore very probable, that his inscription of the epistle to the Ephesians was the same, as in the catholic copies. If not, his alteration here, as well as in other places, would have been observed. The other is, that all those, called heretics, so far as we know, had this epistle inscribed to the Ephesians. The Manichees agreed with Marcion in divers of his peculiarities. Nevertheless, in their copies this epistle was inscribed to the Ephesians. This has appeared from the quotations of it in the writings of Faustus, and Secundinus, formerly[e] taken notice of.

[a] Ου γαρ εδοξε τω ελεεινοτατω Μαρκιωνι απο της προς Εφεσιους ταυτην την μαρτυριαν λεγειν, αλλα της προς Λαοδικεας, της μη ουσης εν τω αποστολω. H. 42. p. 375. in.

[b] Marcion l'a citée. Il en tiroit même quelque preuve pour son hérésie. On a conjecturé, qu'il la confondoit avec celle des Ephésiens.——Mais cette conjecture ne peut se soutenir, parceque Marcion distinguoit deux lettres de S. Paul, l'une aux Ephésiens, l'autre aux Laodicéens. Et S. Epiphane lui fait une espèce de reproche, de ce qu'il a mieux aimé tirer son passage de l'épitre aux Laodicéens, qui n'étoit point de S. Paul, que de celle aux Ephésiens, dans laquelle on trouvoit les mêmes paroles. J. Basn. Hist. de l'Egl. l. 8. ch. 3. num. iii.

[c] Ελευσομαι δε εις τα υπ' αυτου γεγραμμενα [illegible] H. 42. cap. ix. p. 309. C.

[d] Præter hanc tamen ad Ephesios epistolam, putat Epiphanius, recepta etiam esse a Marcione epistolæ ad Laodicenses fragmenta. Εχει δε και της προς Λαοδικεας μερη τινα. E quibus tamen unicum illud a se productum reperit. Jac. Usser. Diss. de Ep. ad Laod.

[e] See Vol. ii. p. 215, 217, 233.

But though the inscription of this epistle was the same in Marcion's, as in the catholic copies, he sometimes quoted it, as an epistle to the Laodiceans, and was of opinion, that it was written to them. We are therefore now to inquire into the ground and reason of this opinion.

Pamelius[a] in his notes upon Tertullian, as cited by archbishop Usher, (for I have not his edition at hand,) conjectured, that the words of Col. iv. 16. were the occasion of this opinion of Marcion. So likewise says [b] Estius.

It is very probable, that those words[c] gave occasion to the forging an epistle to the Laodiceans. Theodoret, not far from the beginning of the fifth century, as formerly[d] cited by us, says in his commentary upon that text: 'Some have hence imagined, that the apostle had also written 'to the Laodiceans, and they have forged such an epistle. Nevertheless the apostle does not say '"the epistle to the Laodiceans, but from Laodicea."'

That is the unvaried reading of this text in all the copies of the New Testament, and in all ancient Greek[e] writers. And I have suspected, that the epistle to the Laodiceans was forged by a Latin, and that the Latin version of that text gave occasion to it. Fabricius[f] in the introduction to his account of the epistle to the Laodiceans speaks to the same purpose.

In like manner I have for a good while been of opinion, that the Latin version of this text was the occasion of the mistaken notion of Marcion.

When I formerly gave an account of a Latin Commentary upon thirteen of St. Paul's epistles, written about 380, I took notice, that[g] the translation of Col. iv. 16. followed by that author, was "that ye read the epistle of the Laodiceans." Et vos ut eam, quæ est Laodicensium, legatis. The same translation is in the Commentary of Pelagius. Et ea, quæ Laodicensium est, vobis legatur. Which affords good proof, that this was the translation, which was in the Latin version, then in use.

I also observed in the same place, that this expression is ambiguous. It may import an epistle, written by the Laodiceans: or an epistle, which was their property, as having been written to them. I have since found the same observation in[h] Estius. So Secundinus, the Manichee, in his letter to Augustine, by the epistle of the Ephesians plainly means the epistle to the Ephesians. For his words are these: 'Against[i] whom the apostle, in the epistle of the 'Ephesians, says, "he wrestled."' For he says: "we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but 'against principalities, and powers." Eph. vi. 12.

It is not likely, that a good number of the Latins, by "the epistle of the Laodiceans," in Col. iv. 16. understood an epistle written to the Laodiceans. And Marcion also, having before him the Latin version, and understanding the words in that sense, concluded, that St. Paul had written an epistle to the Laodiceans. At length he was brought to think, that the epistle, intended by St. Paul, was the epistle inscribed to the Ephesians. Accordingly, he sometimes quoted it with that title. This will be the more readily admitted, when it is considered, that Marcion made use of the Latin versions of St. Paul's epistles. So say both[k] Mill, and[l] Wetstein.

[a] Jacobus Pamelius, Annot. 259. in lib. 5. Tertulliani adv. Marcionem. 'Fortassis,' inquit, occasionem dedit Marcioni hujus tituli huic epistolæ imponendi, quod legisset,' Col. iv. 'Salutate fratres,' &c. Usser. Diss. de Ep. ad Laod.

[b] Sciendum præterea est, Marcionem, antiquum hæreticum, occasione præsentis loci, epistolæ ad Ephesios scriptæ titulum mutâsse, inscribendo eam ad Laodicenos, tamquam ea non ad illos, sed ad hos scripta esset, &c. Est. ad Col. iv. 16.

[c] 'Et eam, quæ Laodicensium est, vos legatis.] Horum verborum occasione abusus quispiam concinnavit, atque evulgavit epistolam quamdam, velut a Paulo scriptam ad Laodicenses. Est. in Col. iv. 16.

[d] See this Vol. p. 11.

[e] As some proof of this, I allege the note of Theophylact upon this verse. 'Which is the epistle from Laodicea? It is 'the first to Timothy. For that was written from Laodicea. 'However some say, it is an epistle, which the Laodiceans 'had sent to Paul. But what good the reading such an epistle 'could do them, I do not know.' Τις δε την ἡ εκ Λαοδικειας; ἡ προς Τιμοθεον πρωτη. Αὕτη γαρ εκ Λαοδικειας εγραφη. Τινες δε φασιν, ὁτι ἡν οἱ Λαοδικεις Παυλῳ επεστειλαν. Αλλ' εκ οἰδα τι αν εκεινης εὐδει αυτοις προς βελτιωσιν. Theoph. in loc. tom. II. p. 676.

[f] Quamquam hunc Pauli locum neutiquam puto testimonium perhibere commentitiæ ad Laodicenses epistolæ, tamen quia ex illo, sive Latinâ potius ejus versione ambiguâ ansam cepit quisquis illam supposuit, non fuit a me omittendus. Lectionis nulla est in codicibus Græcis differentia. Omnes enim, quantum scio, habent την εκ Λαοδικειας. Ita et Syrus, et Arabs, et interpretes Græci, Chrysostomus, Theodoritus, Theophylactus, Œcumenius. Neque Latinus aliter legisse videtur, etsi vertit: 'Eam, quæ Laodicensium est.' Fabr. Cod. Apocr. N. T. tom. II. p. 853.

[g] See Vol. ii. p. 521.

[h] Fefellit tamen hos omnes ambiguitas verborum hujus loci, prout Latine leguntur. Quod enim dicitur, 'eam quæ Laodicensium est,' intelligi potest, vel ad quos, vel a quibus epistola scripta sit aut missa. Et quidem priori modo Latini fere intellexerunt. Sed hanc ambiguitatem dissolvit Græca lectio, quæ sic habet: 'Et eam quæ ex Laodiceâ est, ut et vos legatis.' Est. ad loc.

[i] Contra quos se Apostolus in Ephesiorum epistolâ certamen subiisse fatetur. Dicit enim, se non contra carnem et sanguinem habere certamen, sed adversus principes et potestates. Secundin. ep. ad Aug. sect. i. Ap. Aug. T. VIII.

[k] Vid. Mill. Proleg. num 378. et 666.

[l] Ac principio, quod a nemine adhuc animadversum puto, (nisi a J. Millio Prol. 378. suboluisse quitemus) comperimus;

And now, I suppose, it may appear, what regard is due to the authority of Marcion in this matter.

Thus I have at large stated, and considered all the material objections against the common reading at the beginning of this epistle, the epistle to the Ephesians. And the solutions that have been offered, seem to me satisfactory. And from the universal agreement of all copies in that reading, and the unanimous testimony of all Christian writers for the first twelve centuries, it appears, that there is no more reason to doubt of the genuineness of the inscription of the epistle to the Ephesians, than of any other of the acknowledged epistles of St. Paul.

This disquisition has been of greater length than might have been wished. But if any things have been set in a truer light light than usual, it will be acceptable to some.

CHAP. XIV.

That the Churches of Colosse and Laodicea were planted by the apostle Paul.

It has been of late a prevailing opinion, that the Christians at Colosse and Laodicea were not converted by St. Paul. But to me it seems, that there is no good ground for it.

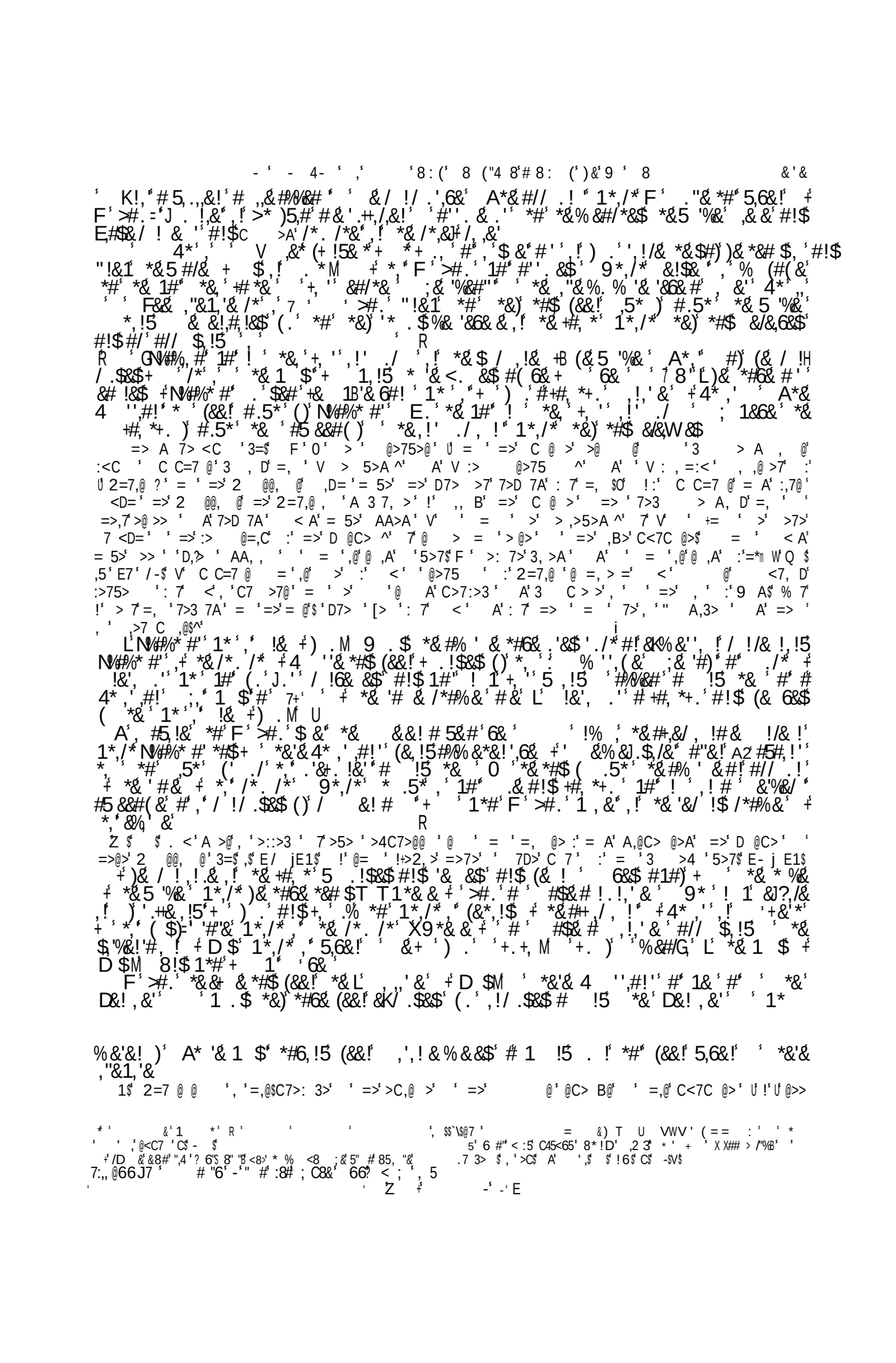
Says Theodoret, in his argument of the epistle to the Colossians, prefixed to his commentary, 'Some[a] are of opinion, that when the divine apostle wrote this epistle, he had not seen the 'Colossians. And they endeavour to support their opinion by these words, "For I would that 'ye should know, what great conflict I have for you, and for them at Laodicea, and for as 'many as have not seen my face in the flesh," ch. ii. 1. But they should consider, that the 'meaning of these words is this, "I have not only a concern for you, but I have also great con-'cern for those that have not seen me." And if he be not so understood, he expresses no concern 'for those who had seen him, and had been taught by him. Moreover the blessed Luke says in 'the Acts, "And after he had spent some time there, he departed, and went over all the country 'of Galatia, and Phrygia, in order," ch. xviii. 23. Colosse is a city of Phrygia. And Laodicea, 'the metropolis of the country, is not far from it. How was it possible for him to be in Phrygia, 'and not carry the gospel to those places? And in another place the blessed Luke says, "Now 'when they had gone throughout Phrygia, and the region of Galatia, and were forbidden of the 'Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia."' ch. xvi. 6.

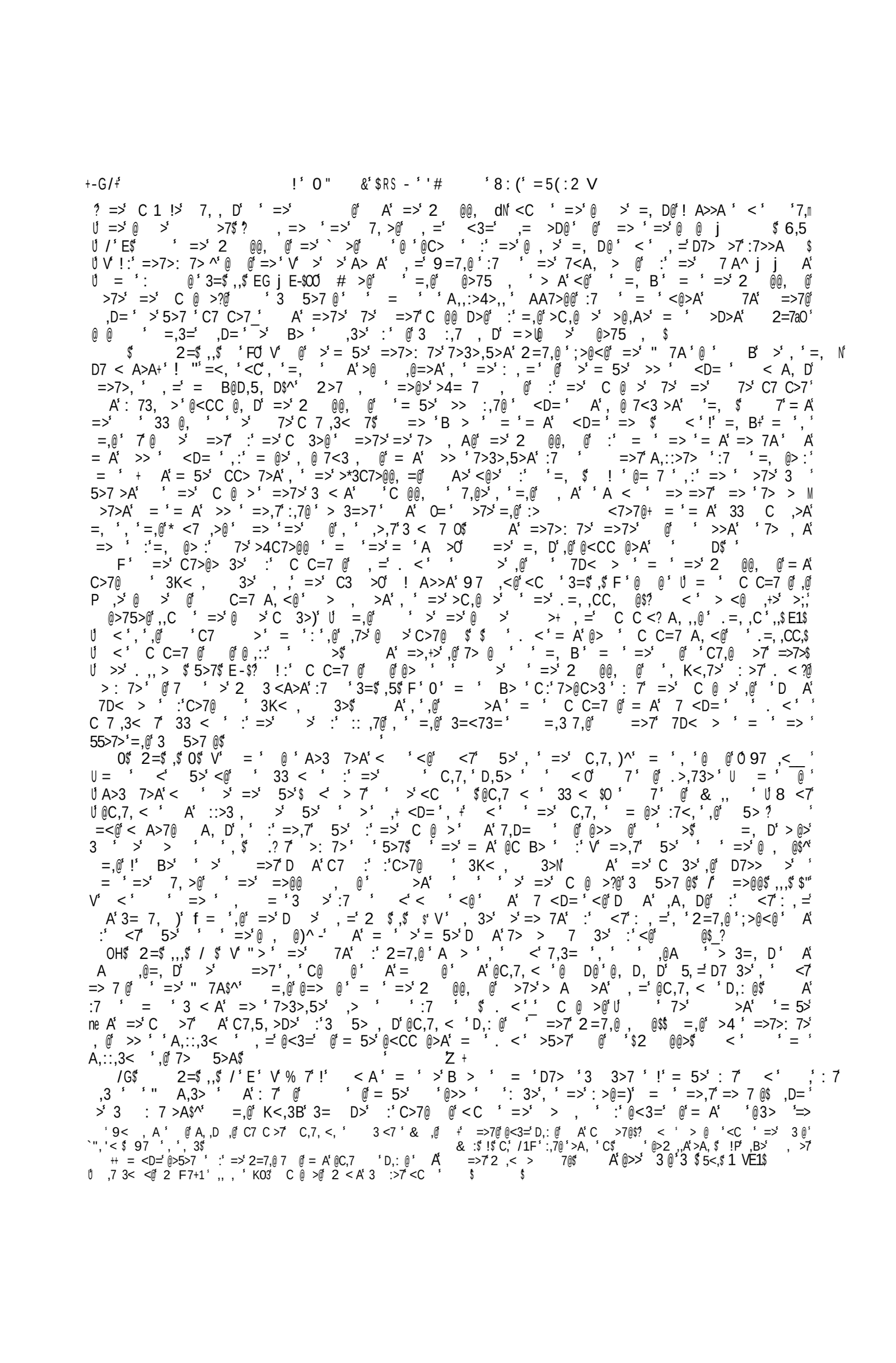
So says that very learned writer in the fifth century. And those observations have led me to divers considerations, inducing me to think, that the churches of Colosse and Loadicea had been planted by Paul, and that the Christians there were his converts.

1. The apostle was twice in Phrygia, in which were Colosse, Laodicea, and Hierapolis. Says St. Luke, in the places already cited by Theodoret, Acts xvi, 6, "Now when they had 'gone throughout Phrygia, and the region of Galatia, and were forbidden of the Holy Ghost 'to preach the word in Asia." And ch. xviii. 23. "And after he had spent some time there [at Antioch] he departed, and went over all the countries of Galatia and Phrygia, in order, strengthening the brethren." To which St. Luke refers again, ch. xix. 1. "Paul having passed through the upper coasts, came to Ephesus." St. Luke does not mention any cities by name. But there is no reason to say, that he was not at Colosse. It is much more reasonable to think, that in one, or rather in both those journies, Paul was at Colosse, Laodicea, and Hierapolis, chief cities of Phrygia. For, as Theodoret says, how was it possible, that he should be in that country, yea and go "through it," and "all over it," and not be in the chief places of it? St. Luke has not particularly named any places in Galatia, in which Paul was; but he must have been in several towns and cities in that country, where he planted divers churches. Gal. i. 1, 2. So was he, in like manner, in several cities of Phrygia: where also, in all probability, he planted divers churches.

Marcionis codices N. T. non ex Græcis exemplaribus, sed ex versione Latinâ veteri sive Italicâ conflatos fuisse, &c. Wetsten. Prolegom. p. 79.

[a] Theod. tom. III. p. 342, 343.





CC@ >?@‘ : 3>‘ @>> @‘ ‘, C ‘ = ‘ =>‘ 2C C+@@, @‘ ‘ = ‘ =>‘ ,@‘ 7, , D‘ = A‘ @>> ‘ =, $ % 7‘ ,:‘ =>‘ 2 , @@, @‘ = A‘ >> ‘ D‘ = @>‘ = ‘ = A‘ ‘ @>> ‘ =, ‘ =>‘ < ,‘ = 5>‘ >4C7>@@>A‘ =, > :‘, ‘ =,@‘ >7‘ ℕ V‘ !‘ < A‘ A, >‘ B > ‘ = ‘ D7> ‘ 3 : ,3 ‘ !‘ = 5:‘ : 7‘ ‘ A‘ : 7‘ => ‘ ‘ ;= CA,3> ‘ A‘ : 7‘ @‘ ‘ @‘ = 5>‘ ‘@> ,‘ ‘ : 3>‘ , ‘ =>‘ : >@=‘ = ‘ <7‘ => 7 @‘ ,D=‘ >‘ 3 O‘ : : >A$^‘ < ‘ <C ‘ =>‘ > , , ‘ :‘@<3=‘ @‘ , A‘ ‘ @>> ‘ =, ‘ =>‘ @ @‘ = ‘ =>,7‘ => 7 @‘ : ,,B= >‘ 3 : 7 >A$^‘ A‘ = 7, D‘ :, ,@=>A‘ =,@‘ >@ , ‘ :‘ 3 3>7 ‘ : 7$ @<3=‘ V‘ @‘ = A‘ ‘ @>> ,@‘ : 3> ^‘ =>‘ 7> <7 @‘ ‘ ,,>‘ 2 , @@, @‘ ‘ = ‘ =>‘ @‘ 7, , D‘ A‘ @ @‘ 5>7$ $‘ V‘ A‘ =,@‘ !‘ @ ‘ >@ ‘ ‘ ‘ @= < A‘ >D,< >‘ <‘ , =‘ > ,3, D‘ 7A@$^

=> A 7> ‘ >@,A>‘ = ‘ =>‘ A‘ @ ,A‘ , ‘ =>‘ C7>: 3>‘ ‘ =,@‘ >C,@ > ‘ =,3=‘ = @‘ >> ‘ 7> A ‘ 7 @37, >A ‘ @C> B@‘ D , ‘ ‘ =,@‘ C<7C @>‘ , ‘ =,@‘ C 7 C=7 @>‘ :‘ 3=$‘ ,,$‘ / ‘ E$‘ U !‘ < A‘ = 5>‘ <‘ >‘ Ů C>7@< A>A‘ :‘ ‘ D7> ‘ 3 3>7 ‘ : 7‘ < ‘ A‘ : 7‘ =>‘ " A,3> , @‘) A‘ ‘ ‘ : 7‘ <‘ A‘ =>‘ Ó A,3> @‘ < ‘ ,B> ,@>‘ : 7‘ ‘ = ‘ = 5>‘ ‘ @>> ‘ >$‘ A‘ V = ‘ =,@‘ ,@‘ =,@‘ > , D‘ CC> 7@‘ :7 ‘ = ‘ : @ℕ V‘ = ‘ =>,7‘ => 7 @‘ ‘ >‘ 3 : 7 >3 " ^‘ >‘ A >@‘ ‘ @ ‘ V‘ <7) ? ‘ U V =>,7ℕ^‘ = ‘ ,@ℕ :‘@<3=‘ @‘ = A‘ ‘ @>> ‘ =, \

/ /$‘ 2 =$‘ ,,$ 1$‘ % 7‘ = <D * !‘ >‘ @> ‘ , ‘ =>‘ : >@=‘ > ‘ ‘ !‘ , =‘ <‘ , ‘ =>‘ @C,7, ‘ * , D‘ ‘ >= A, D‘ <7‘ 7A>7‘ A‘ =>‘ @ >A:=@ >@@ :‘ <7‘ : , =‘ , ‘ 2 =7,@ $^‘ ! ‘ ,@‘ =>7>‘ , C ,>A ‘ , :‘ !‘ ‘ ‘, ,@ B> ‘ = ‘ =>‘ C @ >‘ = A‘ >> ‘ , =‘ => ‘ A‘ = A‘ >> ‘ C7>@> ‘, ‘ =>‘ @@> ‘ :‘ =>‘ > ,>5>7@‘ ‘ 2 @@>$

/E$‘ = ‘ ,@‘ @ ,A‘ 3=$,5$‘ F j HŮ V‘ ‘ ‘ @ >‘ @= ‘ 3=,3<@‘ A>3 7>‘ < ‘ < ^‘ A‘ =>‘ 7>@ ‘ >@ ‘ @<, @‘ =>‘ @<CC @, , ‘ :‘ C>7@ ‘ 3K< , 3>‘ @‘ >: 7>‘ =, >A$‘ ! A>>A ‘ !‘ =, B‘ , ‘ ‘ >‘ :< ‘ C7 :‘ = ‘ . <‘ @‘ 3K< , >A‘ , =‘ => ‘ A‘ => ‘ , =‘ =, $

/r$‘ H:=>‘ @ < , @‘ , ‘ 5>7$‘ /G ‘ / / ‘ / ‘ :7 ‘ 7,@ 73=<@‘ (7B‘ 6$<B>‘ #> @‘ @<CC @>‘ ,>‘ 2 , @@, @‘ ‘ = 5>‘ >> ‘ > ‘ 3K< , >A‘ , =‘ . < ?@‘ :> 7 5> >7@‘ A‘ :> , <7>7@$ AC, = ?@‘ >‘ ,@‘ , ‘ =>‘ @ < , ‘ ‘ =>‘ >D, , D‘ :‘ =>‘ >C,@ >$‘ 2 @>K<> ‘ =>‘ 2 , @@, @‘ >7>‘ ‘ < B ‘ ‘ =>‘ C @ >‘ 7‘ < 3K< , >A‘ A =‘ =, $‘ A‘ =>‘ ,B>‘ @ <M , @‘ 7>‘ @ ‘, ‘ =>‘ >C,@ >‘ ‘ . =, > ‘ ‘, = , ‘ :‘ 2 @@>$

/ $‘ 2 =$‘ ,5$‘ E1 ‘ m‘ < >‘ =>‘ 7> =7> ‘ =,3=‘ 7>‘ , ‘ " A,3> ‘ A‘ C= @‘ A‘ =>‘ 3=<73= =,3=‘ ,@‘ , ‘ =,@‘ = <@>$‘ &>7$‘ /F$‘ A‘ @ ‘ ‘ 73=,CC<@ℕ B>‘ =>>A‘ ‘ =>‘ , ,@ 7 ‘ =,3=‘ = <‘ = @‘ 7>3>,5>A‘ , ‘ =>‘ " 7A‘ - ‘ = <‘ :< :, ‘ , $^‘ ,,@‘ @= @‘ = ‘ . <‘ @‘ > ‘ 3K< , >A ‘ , =‘ =>‘ @ >‘ :‘ =>‘ 3=<73=>@‘ , ‘ 2 @@>‘ A‘ " A,3> $‘ A‘ , ‘ :: 7A@‘ ‘ 7D< > ‘ = ‘ =>‘ = A‘ >> ‘, ‘ = ‘3 < 7 ‘ A‘ C 7 ,3< 7 ‘ ‘ " A,3> ℕ >‘ @ < >@‘ =>‘ 7> =7> ‘ =>7>‘ A‘ C= @‘ ‘ >‘ A‘ =>‘ 3=<73=‘ , ‘ =,@‘ = <@>$‘ Ů ! ‘ Ø,@‘ C73:3 >‘ @‘ => AC7> ‘ = ‘ =>‘ ‘ >‘ :‘ =>‘ U : , =:< ‘ , ‘ " A,3> ‘ = ‘ = A‘ A>‘ ,@‘ = <@>‘ ‘ 3=<,73=‘ A 7 , D‘ , ‘ , = C,> $? @‘ : 7‘ 73=,CC<@‘ =>‘ @ >‘ => A 7> ‘ @ @‘ Ů = ‘ ‘ @ >‘ = A‘ @<CC @>A‘ =, ‘ ‘ = 5>‘ >> ‘ , ,@ >7‘ ‘ Ů " A,3>)‘ < ? @ @‘ => ‘ Ů =>‘ >C,@ >‘ ‘ . =, > ‘ @=> @‘ = ‘ =>‘ A > >A‘ ‘ 2 @@>‘ =>7>‘ Ů . =, > ‘ @$? >>‘ . =, > $ 5>7$ E$

/1$‘ 2 =$,5$ - ‘ $, = ‘ C7 , D‘ @ ‘ : 7‘ <@‘ = ‘ 9 A‘ < A‘ C> ‘ < ‘ <@ ‘ A 7‘ :‘ < >7M 3>‘ ‘ @C> B‘ =>‘ @ >7 ‘ :‘ 2=7,@ ‘ : 7‘ =,3=‘ !‘ ‘, ‘ A@) = ‘ !‘ ‘ B>‘ , ‘ ,:>@ ‘ @‘ !‘ <D= ‘ ‘ @C> B$^+‘ A‘ 5>7$ /0$‘ V‘ > > >7‘ ‘ A@$^‘ <3=‘ A> A@‘ ‘ >‘ A>‘ :‘ @ 7 D>7@$ < ‘ ,> ‘ ,+>‘ @ ‘ C7 C>7 ‘ A>‘ :‘ :7,> ,A@‘ A‘ 3K< , 3>$

! ‘ ‘ 7A ‘ =>‘ = >‘ > <7‘ :‘ =,@‘ >C,@ >‘ @ @ ‘ := ‘ =>‘ C @ >‘ ,@‘ ‘ 7, ,, ‘ @ 7 , >7@ ‘ < ‘ ‘ 3K< , 3> ‘ A,@3,C >@ ‘ A‘ 3 5>7 @$‘ $

/ $‘ % ‘ ‘ 7D< > ‘ ‘ >‘ B> ‘ :7 ‘ =>‘ >C,@ >‘ ‘ . =, > ‘ ‘, = , ‘ :‘ 2 @@>‘ @> ‘ ‘ =>‘ @ >‘ , >‘ , =‘ =,@‘ ‘ =>‘ 2 , @@, @$

%7 ‘ &‘ /H =‘ :‘ =>‘ >C,@ >‘ ‘ . =, > ‘ !‘ @<CC @>‘ , ‘ ‘ >‘ >5,A> ‘ = ‘ =>‘ = A‘ >> ‘ 3 M 6 & "‘ ‘ 2 , @ , , ‘ ‘ $‘ . < $‘ ! A>>A‘ =,@‘ ,D= ‘ >‘ A >‘ ‘ @ >‘ + &‘ C 3>$ < ‘ , ‘ ‘ @‘ > ‘ = 5>‘ >> ‘ 3 >‘ ‘ = >$ Z

A‘ $‘ . < ?@ 3K< , 3>‘ , =‘ . =, > ‘ A‘ =>‘ 2 =,,@ , @‘ ‘ 2 @@>‘ ‘ >‘ , :>77>A‘ :7 ‘ @>5>7 ‘ =, D@‘ , ‘ = ‘ >C,@ >$‘ ‘ ‘ 5>7$ E‘ =>‘ @ < >@‘ CC ,, ‘ ‘ >‘ C7 ‘ ,:>‘ :‘ . =, >)‘ A‘ 73=,CC<@‘ C7 ‘ C @ 7‘ ‘ 2 @@>‘ ‘ > @‘ ‘ > A>7‘ , ‘ = ‘ 3=<73=ℕ‘ = ‘ @‘ >: 7>‘ @>75>A‘ ,@‘ @‘ > , >A‘ 2 ‘ ,5$ /FO‘ 3>‘ 7>‘ ‘ 5>7$ EE +‘ $‘ . < ‘ A>@,7>A‘ . =, > :‘ UU ‘C7>C 7>‘ =, ‘ ‘ AD, D$?? => 3>‘ / ‘ 3 3 <A>‘ = ‘ . <‘ = A‘ >> ‘ ‘ 2 @@>‘ >: 7>$ ‘ ‘ ‘ +‘ $ ‘ P

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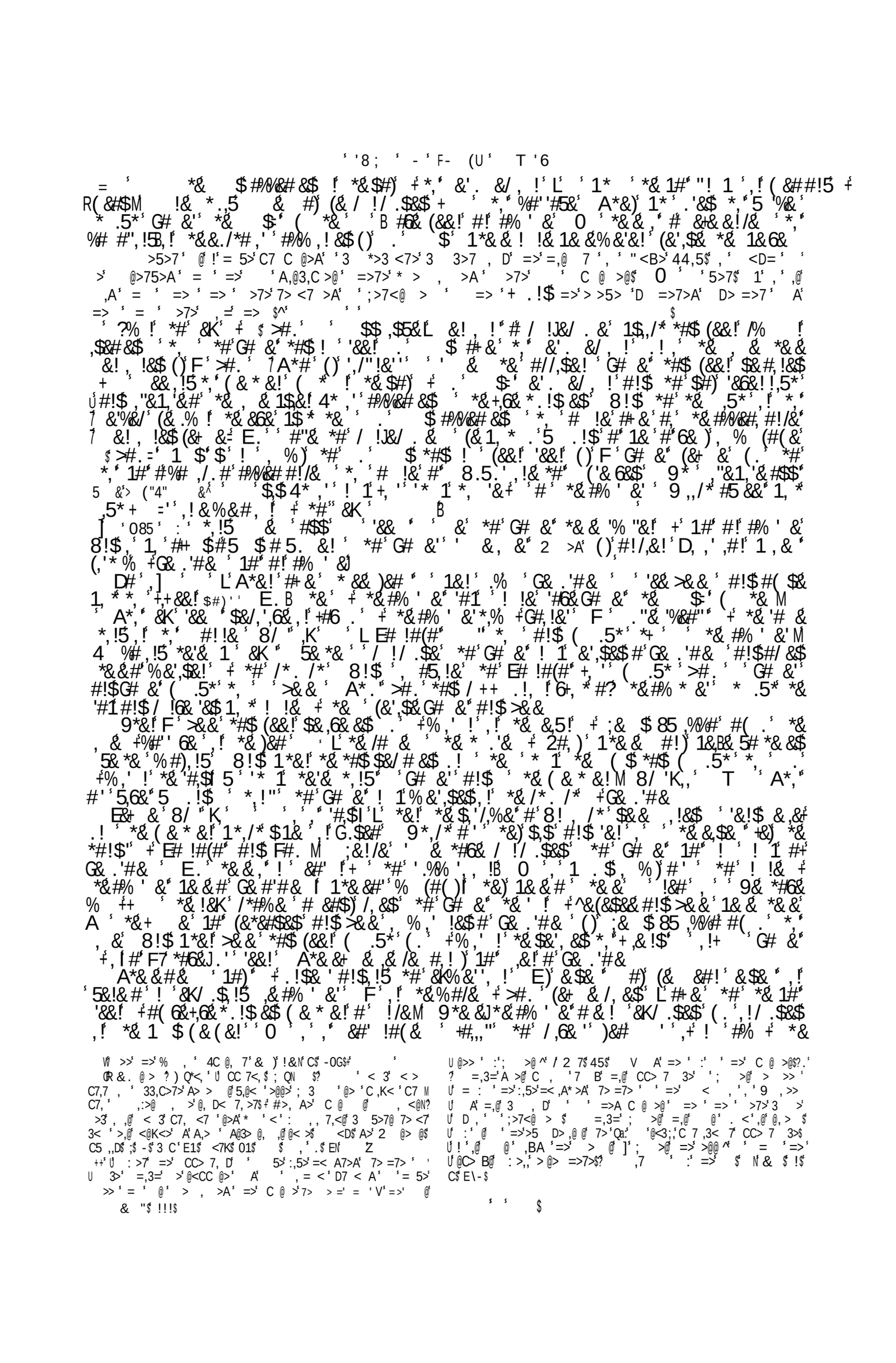
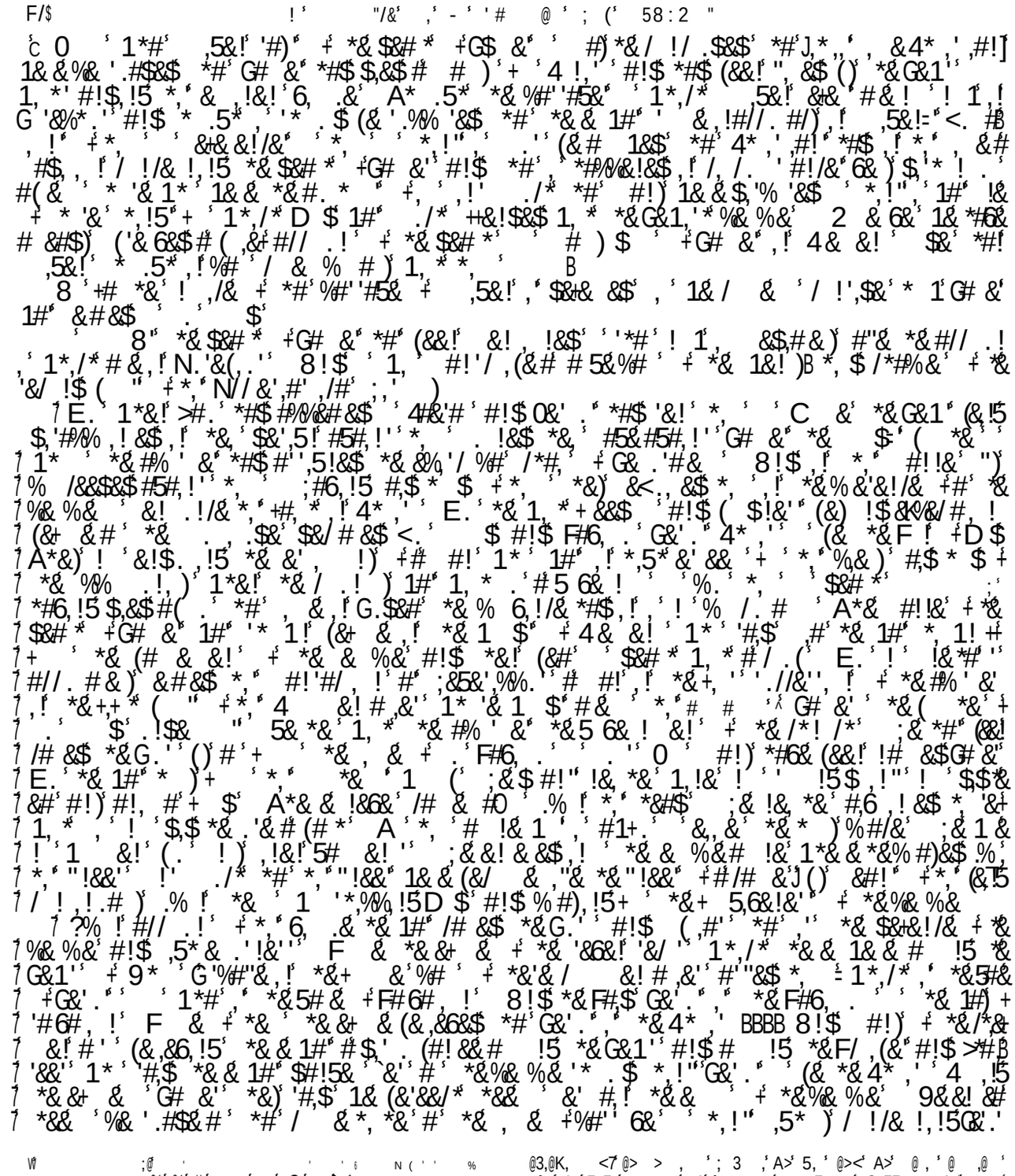
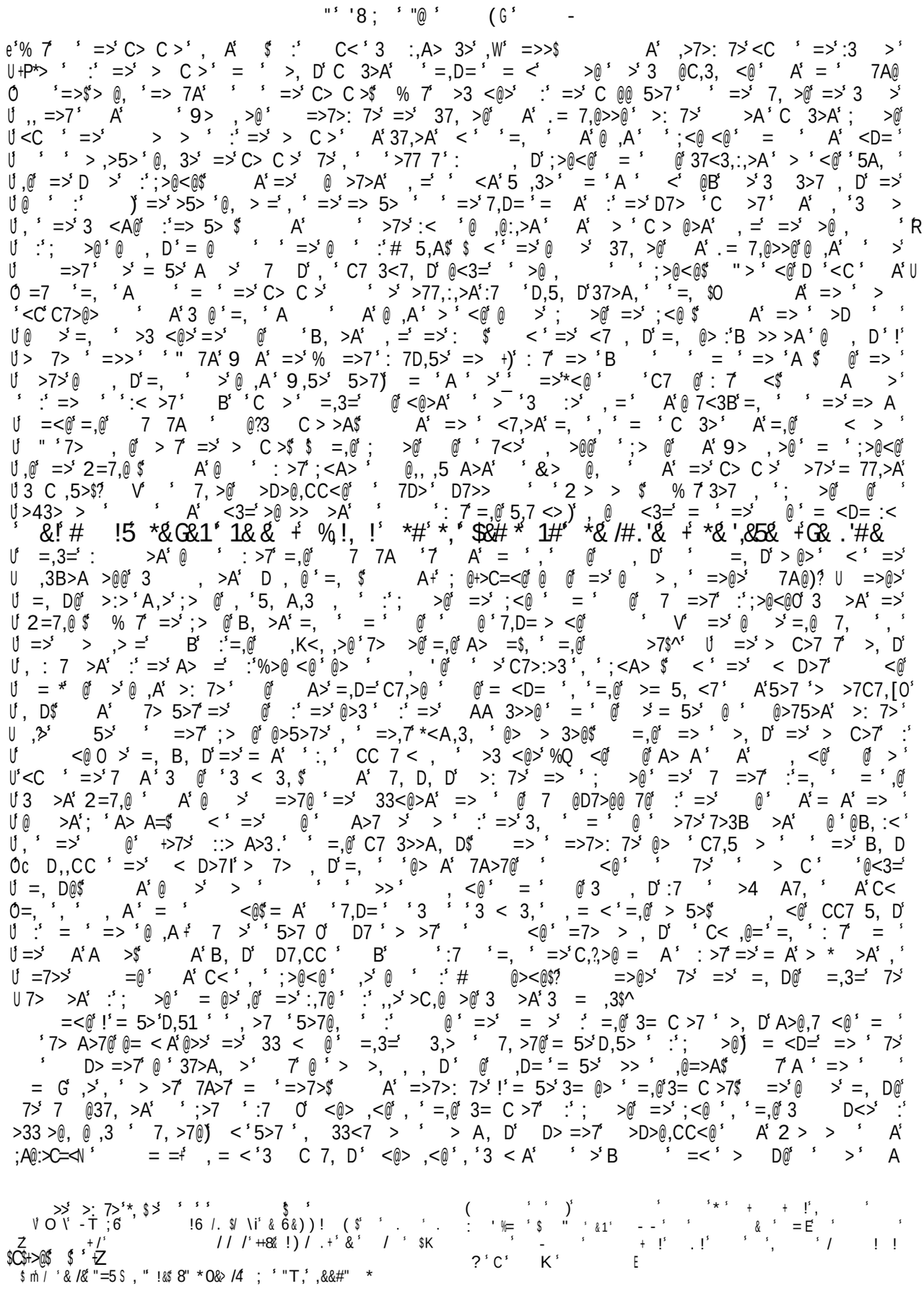
!,- <@ >; >@ => @ : C=><@ @ A,@ , 3 >A , => 3 D<>@ : => C @ >@ Ö
, => :,,+5 =7>> D @C> @ A , => :,7@ 3= C >7 : => 3 @$ % 700 =>7> + @ < > =>7
C @ > : =,@ > ; >@ => 7 =>7 : ; = A @ : h> >A>>$ >5>7 => C7 :@ :=,@
>,<D ; >@ > @ : C=><$@ 7> A>:>77>A : 7 => C7>@> $! >D, , =7, , D => =,@ 7
: ; >@ > , >A , => 3 @ A . < ?@ >C,@ >@$ $
$. < 7>3B , D <C => @>5>7 CC> 7 3>@ : <7 " 7A => A,@3,C >@ : >7 =:@ 7>@<7M
7>3 , @ @ / 2 7$ 6&' 10 j0$ V = => @ @>> : :' 2>C= @ => : => > 5>$: >7 = =>
@ @>> : 5> :,5> =< A7>A 7> =7> 3> > , D ! @<CC @> => C 3> , 9 , >>
=>7> => = A CC , >A >> => A,@3,C >@$ V : >7 = => @ @>> : ; >@ => : :
=> C @ >@ > , D ,:3 ,@ ,B> => => >7> , >@@>@ :=,@ @3> @, $ V A @ : :
=> @ @>> : : > @ $^
; >@ <@ > => 7> , > A>A => @ > = ,@ > , >A > $. < > @> => 7>$ (7>M
5>7 ; >@ => @ : h> >A>> = A >> > A> A > D A =, > : 7> 7, , D =,@ >C,@ > =>
2 7, =, @ , => > 7 :' 2=7,@ 1 $! ,@ ,B> = $. < @C> B@ :=, = @ @ , ,
,5, D$ A => =>7>@C> B@ : ' C 7 ,3< 7 CC> 7 3> :' 2=7,@ =,
> > 7 :7 ; >7 = , => D @C> 33 7A, D => > 7> +@ =>7> ? @ 33 < :
8 C 7 ,3< 7 CC> 7 3> :' <7$ " 7A ; >@ => " 7A?@ 7 =>7 = 33 7A, D =,@ 3 C<M
, D 5>7 >A => 3=<73=' :' ;>7<@ > =,7 > 7@$! ,@ =,@ C<7C @>$ Ú & >7 + @ : >7
Ú => " 7A @ 7,@> => > ; >@ A @= >A =, @> : =, $ % 7 ; >@ = A @ >
Ú @ 7 = => < A > 7> A :7 => , > = => = A A7< B => 3<C :' => " 7A ,
=> @= < A @>> =, ' 7,@> :: D => = @ >>C$^ ! ,r AA>A , > : >7) V 7, D ^ @ , =
=> " 7A V > A 7> A$^ A >7) V > B 7> A A >@@>A A 7 B> , A => >
Ú D 5> , ; >@ => ; <@ :,A @ ,A =, 7 (7 =>7 > = 7> A$Y % 7 => ; : ,r
7,@> :7 D => = @ >>C$^ $ $ $
/ =, B =,@ @ 7 > @<::,3,> @= = ; * >@ 3 >A => ; <@ A => " 7A?@
7 =>7 + @ , =,D= >@ >> , = => ;> A@= > ,>5>7@ = <@>A => D @C> 5> > , >A$
< @ > : => 3,73< @ 3>@ : =,@ 33 < <@ >>A@+ > : < <@ 7 ,@ =>7> 7> @
=, B = ; ,>@ 7 : => C @ >@ = A 3>7 , >4C>3 , : => " 7A?@ 7,@, D :7
=> A> A) >5>7 => >@@ !' @= > , = <D= > > 3 @,A>7>A 3 A,A 7> A>7@$. @@, =,@ 33 < ,@ : < A>A <C => =,@ 7 7>3 7A>A , " <B> 44,5$: => A,@3,C >@

V ($ * ! 7B,,; /0,' "<B> 6 C 3 @ PX > CC 7<, >,$;<7 5>7 > , ; 3 <@ @> 3 7 >@ <
< A< ,< >@ A< @ :<,@@> C @ @ ; 3 ,5 3 < (, >7 3 ,3> # , A >
3<C,< @ ; 3 < h> >A ,, > ; 3 < !C 4,$,>7 $ 5,A>7> >< 7>@<7D> > Ú A 7 ,> , @$? <7@<@K<> C @
A5$ > 5,A$! &$ C$ / -F$ & 5 < K< > = < < @ ' ! $ ^ @ ,
Ú 5 D> < A< K<> 4* A$ CC> <7 @>3< A< > 7 @ @ , K<> AA, 7$ / , , , C > > > > >A,4, 3 :7>D > >
> > <C>7 , 97@>3< " , < K<> @>7 >7 7 @ ,, $C @ A>A, ; 3 ; @ > A,4, > ,) %7 >7 , 3 >A> C > >
>@ C @ ?7>@<77>3 , > 5 7,@ 7>:>7) # , @ < << K , 7>@ 7>4, % ,,,,@ = , @ AC7 ,>,, , <@$? # >$ &$
/3 3< >A,@@> + R, A > @>75 3>7A ,@ ,5, A ; 3 < !$ 3 C$ -$ + 0







ZD@>5>7 ' =, D@ 5>7 '< ,B> ' > ' =>' = >' =,@ 7 ' <D= ' ' =>7>: 7>' ' >' 7>*>3 >A$? ' = '
6 ' ' < , , D ' 33>A>$ < ' @ !' = 5>' '7 ' '> 7D>' <C ' C 7 ,3< 7@': 7 @= , D ' =>'
7> @ , > >@@ :' = '*<AD > ' !' <@ ' >' 3 > ' , =' 7>3 > A, D ' '3 7>:<' A ', C 7 , '
> , ' ' =>' @>75 , @ :' =>' 7, >7@ ' = ' !' = 5>' 7>:>77>A$ >5>7 ' !' ' ' A'
' = 5>' ' CC 7 < , ' ' > , ' ':> ' = <D= @ ' >@,A>' = '!' = 5>' 7> A '@ ,A ': 7 7> 5, D '
A,::,3< ,>@ ' A' @ >7, D ' *>3 , @$
-$ <@> ,<@ @ ' U = ' ' = <D= :<' > ' D ' =>' ;> @ >7>' :' C, , ' = ' ,>'
U A> =' :' ; >@ @ =>' 3 <@>' :' =>' @,>D>' :' ;>7<@ > ' A' = ' , ' @ , D ' ' =, D ' > @>'
U < ' =>' ,3B>A >@@ 3 , >A' D , @ ' =, ' A' = ' ; @>C=<@ @ @ =>' @ >$?
7,D> '@C> B@ ' =>' ,B>' C<7C @>' @ >' = 5>' @>>) < ' ' K<, >' @ ' @ 7 D $ =>' @ >' ,@
@ ,A ' ;>7 ' 7>' = ' 3>$!' > O ' , ' =,@ B' :' ! <@ 7, <@ (> $ A+? @ ' > @> =>7>$
< ' >, =>7 =>' 7 <@> ,<@ >4C7>@@ ' @ ' , ' = ' C 3>' :' ; @>C=<@$ =,3=' ' B>' <@
=, B = ' => ' 77 >A' =,@ :7 ' 7,D> $ 7 A >@ 7,D> ' , : 7 ' <@ , ' = ' 7B :'
; @>C=<@ = @>' =, D@ >7>' @ ,A ' = <D=' =>' = @ > , >A' => '@>5>7 ' , >@$ =,3=' 'A,@C @>'
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$ <@> ,<@ C7 3>>A@ ' A' @ @ ' = ' , ' =>' > ,> =' B' :' =,@ ,K<, ,>@ ; @>C=<@ = A'
7> >A' =>' A> =' :' ; >@ , ' ' C @@ D>' =,3=' =>' =>7>' 7 @37, >@$ =,3=' C @@ D>' ,@ @ , ' , '
=>' 7B@ :' ; @>C=<@$ A' = ' ,@ =>7>' @ ,A ' ' >' 5>7 ' 7<>' : 7 =>' @ ' C 7) U = O'
O <@ =>' < D>7 ' >, D' =,D= C7,>@ ' A' ' ' C:' ' = <D= ' A' > >7C7,[, D' > C>7 ' => '
U =>7>' @ ' ' D 5>7 7 , ' ;<A> ' 3 5> >A' '3 < 3, ' A' = A' @ >' @ >A' ' A> =' @
U 7 @D7>@@ 7@ :' =>' @) A' = ' ' :' =>' @ ' A,@37>> ' A' A>7 >' > ' D' =>' ;> @
U >7>' ::> A>A' ' =,@ C7 3>>A, D' N : 7 @ <3=' @ =, @ ' ;<A> ' @ , ' =>' @ >' :' 'C7 5, 3> ' =>'
U =,D= C7,>@ ' = A' ' 7,D= ' ' 3 ' =>' 3 < 3, ' D> =>7 ' , = < ' > 5>' A' => ' :> 7>A' = ' =,@
U 3 , ' < A' >' 7>@> >A' ' =>' > C>7 7$? ' =,@ ' !' @ ' ,@ 5>7 ' ,B> $ >5>7 => >@@ = @>'
Z 7A@' V ; >@ =>' 7 =>7 :'=, ' = ' ,@ 3 >A$ 2=7,@ ^' = 5>' >> ' @<@C>3 >A' ' >' ' , >7C M
, $ A' C7 , 0O 7>' @ $ <CC @, D' O = @>' 7A@ ' >' ', >7C , ' >' 3 ' D =>7
' 7>' :7 ' = ' C @@ D>' = ' = ' <@ A,A' , >D ' 3 A> ' @>5>7 ' C>7@ @ ' A> =' @
7 @D7>@@ 7@ :' =>' ;> ,@=' @$ < ' = ' => ' >7>' 7 => =>7 ' :' => ' >7>' 2=7,@ , @
$ 7 ' 3 ' >' A> >7 , >A' , =' 3>7 , $
1$ <@> ,<@ @<CC @> =' = ' =,@ C @@ D>' :' ; @>C=<@ 3 :,7 @ =>' 33 < ' D,5> ' ' >D> '
@,CC<@N =>7> @ ' , ' CC> 7@' ' =>' =>7 = A' 5>7 ' A,::,3< ' '7>3 3, >' => $!' A ' ' C>7M
3>,5>' >D>@,CC<@ '@ ' ' =, D' :' <@ ' =>' =,D= C7,>@ $ 7 = @ =>' >4C7>@@ ' > , >A'
=>' AA<3>>@ ' :' =,3=' @>3 ' <@ @$ 7 A >@ >D>@,CC<@ @ ' ' 7A' :' =>' 3 < 3, ' :' =>'
U ;> @$ A' @ =>' C< ,@= > ' :'@ , D ' => ' 7A>7>A' ' D,@ 7 >@$ @ D> >7 ' , : ,3 >A'
' > ' < ' :' =>' 3, ' , ' ,@ C7 >' = ' => ' = ' >7>' C< ' ' A> =' ' =>' C7 3<7> > ' :'
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> 7 , ' A' @ <7,>A' ' : 7 ::':7 ' =>' C 3>' =>7>' =>' >4C,7>A$
$, 3>' = ',@ @ ,A' :' ; >@ , ' =>' C @@ D>' :' ; @>C=<@ ' ,@ *<@ ' @<@C>3 >A' ' >' ' , >7M
C , ' , ' <D= ' ' ' >' 7>D 7A>A$ "> 7 >A' > ' :' >' , >@ :, A' T, '5>7 'A,::,3< ' 'A> >7
' , >' = ' ; >@ A,>A$ < ' = ' A,::,3< ' @ @>> @ ' >' ,@ <3=' , 37> @>A' 'C , D'

V 7 A, ' > , ' ; @>C=<@ ' >' >< ' @ 3 , ,@ :<,@@>' > '
Z3> > 7, ,@ , ' C C< ' <' C7 C >7 >*<@ >3> ' 37>A, < ' @, '
@< >7@ ' ,>7 @ $ #>' &$!$ 3 C$ E$ &,A$ > '3 C$ /-$
R 7 @> <@ A ; > < ' K<,' :7 >7 # , ' A,3< <7'
>' @ 3 , ,@' >K<>*<@ , ,T ' > ' C>7C> <0 5,7D, , ,@ ' < '
; @>C=<@ K< K<' =,@ 7,3<@ ;<AT 7< ' C7 C >7 =<*<@ >3> '
;>7 @ ' @ 5>7@ 7 ' 7>:>7 $,>' C7, <@ >C,@3 C<@ >4'
;<A@>,@ ;>7 @ 57 @ 3 >A> ,@ >33 >@, >$ A5$; 5, $ /$ /$ $
!&$.$ E$ C$ /0E$, $
% 3, >' K ,A> ' 37>A,A>7, ' ;>7 @ : , @ C7 3>7>$ D7 5, '
>7 <,@@>' K< A' @ >A7,< ' @<' <3 7, >' , @ , <,@@>' 3< '
A<A< ' *<@ D A,' ' , @ ;<A >,@ >@@>' >7CC < ') K< A'
, >7< ' , 3 @< C 2 @@ 7>' ' <@<7C < ' , > ' >'
D> ,' @<T D7 5,' : 7 @@>' C @ ' <> A< ' >@@> $ >A' K< >' A>'
U ; 3 ' ;>@<' K<,' 2=7,@ ,,@ A,3> <7' :7 7>' = > ,<7' > '
7 7 A@< > < ' >':>7, ,' 2 7,@ , ,,' >@@>' 5,A>,, <7) K<JA> '
5>' , ,' A,4, <@+$ 2 >7,3' < ' ;' @<C7$ @>3 $,,$ C$ /1$ 2 :$ >*<@A$
7@ 27, $ C 7' ! ! !$ @>3 $,$ 3 C$ ' / $ < $ 4,$
' >>' & _$,$ C$ 1$ >>' =>,+>' ,B> ,@>' >' +

' >>' #7$ > @ ?@ ,@ 7 ' :' $; >@' @>3 $,,$ C' /E$ =>'
@>3 A' >A, , $
QZS<,A' D,@ 3 7 7 '>@@>' C >@ ' K , '= >3 ; @>C= ' > '
, , ' >D>@,CC,' 77 , ' ' ; @>C=<@ K<,A> ' A < '
>@@>' @37, , ' , ' C< ,3 ' ;<AT 7< ' 3 3, , N >D>@,CC<@ 5>7 '
C>7 @>A, , > ' 3 < < < ' C C ,' 33,@<7 $ ' >D>@,CC<@
K<,A> ' :<@ >' :< ,@ >3 < ' , ' >A, ' <7 >' ; @>C=<@ < > '
C,A < ' 33< <,@@>' 77 $ %,> ' < > ' C,A , ' >4 7 '
C 7 @ 3 , ,@ ' < ' < ' >@ $ & >@$, $ A' <@> $ /$ E$
3 C$ E -$ C$ /$$ + N
>3< A 'K<,' :,A> ' = > : 77 , ,' >D>@,CC,' > @ C 7 > '
< ' ; @>C=< ' : @,' 7D<>7>' ' @<@C>3 < ' = >7>' =< 3 M
3< ' K< ' 7>@ C< ,3>' ;>7 @ >' D>@ ' A> K<>' ,@@, , '
, >7 77 <7 N < ' ,7 7,' @< > ' ' <@> , ' ; @>C=,' > ' >M
D>@,CC,'5>7 ' ' > A> ,' 3 C, >' >3 >< ' > @@>' > ' , '3 '
3 7A ' 7>A,D>7>' <' >7<,7,<@ 77 , =,@ :,A> ' , ' A< ,< '
:7>5 3 @@>$ 2 >7,3$ 7@ 2 7, $. $! ! !$ @>3 $,$ $ 4,,$
K . >@' > ' :,>7, ' < ' ; 3 <@ = 3 > C 7>' 7 <<@@, $
>A' D> <@ 7 ,@$,D < $ 2 >7,3$ $ $ $!4,,' < $,,,$, $

ʻ '8 ; ʻ - ʻ (/ ʻ - ,/ @ @

ZM @>75>ʻÓ , ʻ >ʻ =>ʻC >7ʻ :ʻ2=7,@ ʻ :ʻ => ʻ = ʻ< >7>Aʻ =>@>ʻ5 7A@ʻ >ʻ @ʻ =>ʻ:,7@

@ @ 2=7 @ @ ʻ ʻA,Aʻ ʻ7>3>,5>ʻ =>ʻ>C,@ >ʻ :ʻ $;<A>ʻ@ ʻ: 7ʻ @ >ʻ3 ʻC>73>,5>ʻ ==, ʻ=>ʻA,Aʻ = ʻ :ʻ $; >@$

! R =,@ʻ ; >@ʻ,@ʻ3 >Aʻ ʻ $ʻ (7Bʻ Vʻ =>ʻ >@@ ^ʻ 3=$ 45$ʻ G$ʻ Vʻ =>7>ʻ >7>ʻ @ ʻ >

ZB, Dʻ ʻ : ʻ :$ Dʻ = ʻ @ʻ (7 ʻ (DA > >ʻ Aʻ (7 ʻ =>ʻ =>7ʻ :ʻ ; >@ʻ =>ʻ

"'>@@ʻ Aʻ ; @>@ʻ Aʻ >$^ʻ = ʻ=>7> ʻ,@ʻ > ʻ ; >@ʻ =>ʻ " 7A?@ʻ 7 =>7ʻ Aʻ =>ʻ@ ʻ

:ʻ C=><@ʻ,@ʻD> >7 ʻ@<CC @>Aʻ Aʻ!ʻ =, B7> @ $ >ʻ3 ʻ >ʻ ʻ =>7ʻ >3 <@>ʻ ; @>@ʻ

,@ʻC7>@> ʻ : >7 7A@ʻ > , >Aʻ @ʻ =,@ʻ 7 =>7ʻ D7>> ʻ ʻ =>7ʻ C 3>@ʻ :ʻ =>ʻ >5 D>,@ @ʻ

]5 >7>ʻ <7ʻ " 7A?@ʻ 7> =7> ʻ 7>ʻ >A$ ($ʻ 4,,,$ʻ 11ʻ (7Bʻ 5,$ʻ ʻ < ʻ , >7C7> >7@ʻ 7>ʻ ʻ

7 >Aʻ = ʻ=>ʻ @ʻ @ʻ3 >A$

! ʻ= @ʻ >> ʻ = <D= ʻ = ʻ =>7>, ʻ,@ʻ ʻ7>:>7> 3>ʻ ʻ ; >@ʻ =>ʻ@ ʻ :ʻh> >A>>ʻ Aʻ 7 =>7ʻ :ʻ

; = ʻ = ʻ= Aʻ >> ʻ >=> A>Aʻ ʻ >7 Aʻ, ʻ =>ʻ > 7ʻ :ʻ 2=7,@ʻ $ʻ Aʻ",D= : ʻ@ @ʻ Ú = ʻT

Ú ; >@ʻ 7ʻ ; 3 ʻ,@ʻ 3 ʻ3 >Aʻ ; >@ʻ =>ʻ D7> ʻ , ʻA,@ , 3 , ʻ :7 ʻ ; >@ʻ =>ʻ@ ʻ :ʻ

Ú C=><@ʻ = ʻ,@ʻ3 >Aʻ =>ʻ">@@ʻ ʻ: 7ʻ ʻA,D , ʻ 7ʻ@<C>7, 7, ʻ :ʻ C @ >@=,Cʻ = ʻ =>ʻ= A$Nʻ

Ó 5>ʻ =>ʻ =>7ʻ < ʻ>, =>7ʻ >3 <@>ʻ =,@ʻ ; >@ʻ @ =>ʻ>A>7ʻ 7ʻ >3 <@>ʻ :ʻ =>ʻ@, D< 7ʻC7,5 3 ʻ

Ú = ʻ 2=7,@ʻ A , >Aʻ=, ʻ ʻ , =ʻ=, @> :ʻ @ʻ =>ʻ @ʻA,Aʻ . > >7ʻ Aʻ ; = $?

>7>ʻ 7>ʻ@>5>7 ʻ7> @ @ʻ :ʻ=,@ʻA> , ʻ <ʻ= <D=ʻ",D= : ʻ@ @ʻ ; >@ʻ =>ʻ @ ʻ :ʻ

e) (ʻ @ʻ3 ʻ3 >Aʻ ; >@ʻ =>ʻD7> ʻ =>7>ʻ,@ʻ ʻ, @ 3>ʻ :ʻ, ʻ, ʻ =>ʻ > ʻ >@ > $

! ʻ ʻ >ʻ @>, >Aʻ = ʻ ;,>ʻ >@@ʻ, ʻ =>ʻ 7,D, ʻ ,@ʻ ʻ ʻ3 C 7 ,5>ʻ < ʻ ʻC @, ,5>ʻ =>ʻ

, >ʻ Pʻ, !#:ʻ Aʻ@ ʻ >[ʻ= @ʻ 7 @ >A$ (7, ʻ ; 3 ,ʻC 75,ʻ > ʻ ; @>ʻ >7$ʻ >5>7ʻ , ,ʻ

=>ʻ " , ʻ5< D >ʻ, ʻ,@ʻ ; 3 ,ʻ , 7,@$ Aʻ, ʻ,@ʻ>5,A> ʻ = ʻÓ;>7 ʻ@ ʻ< A>7@ Aʻ =>ʻ 7A$

9 7>D 7 ʻ @@> ʻ+ʻ = <D=ʻ =>ʻ @ʻ3 >Aʻ =>ʻ">@@ʻ @ʻ ʻ >, Dʻ >ʻ :ʻ =>ʻ > 5>ʻ C @ >@$$

=,3=ʻ 7> @ ʻ !ʻ3 ʻ A , ʻ >3 <@>ʻ !ʻ ʻC>7@< A>Aʻ=>ʻ @ʻ C @ >ʻ, :ʻ=>ʻ @ʻ =>ʻ " 7A?@ʻ

7 =>7$ 7ʻA ʻ!ʻC>73>,5>ʻ, ʻ =>ʻ > ʻ >@ > ʻ 7>ʻ = ʻ ʻ :ʻ=,@ʻ >$$

>ʻ 8&ʻ) ʻ I8ʻ ʻ48 (ʻ >3 <@>ʻ=>ʻ68ʻ =>ʻ < D>7ʻ :ʻ =>ʻ ʻ C @ >@ʻ :ʻ =,@ʻ >$ < ʻ

,ʻ -"ʻ _ ʻ"ʻ: ʻ# ,ʻ: ʻ#)8)" "&ʻ ʻ ; >@ʻ =>ʻ :ʻ ,ʻ C=><@ʻ <@ʻ= 5>ʻ >> ʻ=,@ʻ

=>7?@ʻ:,7@ 7 ʻ Aʻ ʻ= 5>ʻ >> ʻ @ʻ (ʻ ʻ A>7ʻ = ʻ ; >@ʻ =>ʻ@ ʻ :ʻh> >A>>$

>ʻ= 5>ʻ3 *>3 <7>Aʻ = ʻ =>ʻ ,D= ʻ >ʻ@ʻ3 >Aʻ ʻ 33 < ʻ :ʻ=,@ʻ@ <7>$ =,3=ʻ3 ʻ

*>3 <7>ʻ,@ʻ: 5 <7>Aʻ ʻ =>ʻ , >7 ʻ@> @>ʻ :ʻ =>ʻ 7Aʻ, ʻ =>ʻC @, ,5>ʻA>D7>>ʻ; >@ʻ =>ʻ", >$ Aʻ

@ >ʻ ʻ >ʻ Cʻ ʻ =, Bʻ = ʻ =,@ʻ @ʻ >ʻ 7> @ ʻ = ʻ =>ʻ ;> @ʻ ʻ =>ʻ > C >ʻ 33 7A, Dʻ ʻR

>D>@,CC<@ʻ C 3>Aʻ =, ʻ ʻ ʻ > , > 3>ʻ = ʻ =>ʻ ,D= ʻ >ʻ => 7Aʻ ʻ ʻ =>ʻ C> C >ʻ => ʻ

@@> >Aʻ, ʻ D7> ʻ < >7@$ ʻ h 33=><@ʻ >, Dʻ , >ʻ :ʻ @ <7>ʻ Aʻ =>7>ʻ >, Dʻ ʻ D7> ʻ

37 Aʻ3 , >Aʻ<Cʻ, Cʻ ʻ@ 3 7>ʻ 7>>ʻ ʻ@>>ʻ;>@<@ʻ @ʻ=>ʻC @@>Aʻ ʻ"<B>ʻ4,4$$.>7= C@ʻ =,@ʻ,@ʻN

@ʻ,B> ʻ ʻ3 *>3 <7>ʻ @ʻ $

>5>7 => >@@ʻ !ʻ@= ʻ > , ʻ >ʻ 7>$ >ʻ ,D= ʻ >ʻ@ $3 >Aʻ ʻ 33 < ʻ :ʻ ,@ʻ, :>7, 7, ʻ

, ʻ3 C 7,@ ʻ :ʻ=>ʻ =>7ʻ ; >@$! ʻ,@ʻ ,:>@ ʻ = ʻA<7, Dʻ =>ʻ , >ʻ :ʻ <7ʻ " 7A?@ʻ A>ʻ Nʻ

=,@ʻ> 7 =ʻ .> >7ʻ Aʻ ; >@ʻ Aʻ ; = ʻ =>ʻ ʻ@ @ʻ :ʻh> >A>>ʻ >7>ʻ =>ʻ @ʻ> , > ʻ Aʻ

3 @,A>7 >ʻ :ʻ =>ʻA,@3,C >@$ => ʻ >7>ʻ =>ʻ @ʻ: 5 <7>Aʻ Aʻ >ʻ A , >Aʻ ʻ <7ʻ " ,+Aʻ ʻR

@ >ʻ@C>3, ʻ &#'.& :ʻ3 :,A> 3>ʻ Aʻ:7>>A $ Aʻ, ʻ,@ʻ @>75 >ʻ= ʻ, ʻ , ʻ =>ʻ3 D<>@ʻZ

:ʻ =>ʻ C @ >@ʻ ; >@ʻ =>ʻ@ ʻ :ʻ C=><@ʻ Aʻ , ʻ =>ʻ2 , >ʻ 7ʻh> >@ʻ Aʻ ;<A @ʻ 7>ʻ

=>ʻ @ʻ > , >Aʻ>43>Cʻ;<A @ʻ!@3 7, $ʻ . @@, ʻ =>@>ʻ=7+3>ʻ = ʻ!ʻ@<CC @>ʻ ʻ= 5>ʻ >> Nʻ

I<7ʻ " 7A?@ʻ 7> =7> ʻ >7>ʻ =>ʻ >@ʻ3 >Aʻ ʻ >ʻ C @ >@ʻ Aʻ: 7ʻ ʻ =, >ʻ >7>ʻA>:>3 ,5>ʻ, ʻ

: , =ʻ Aʻ< A>7@ A, Dʻ 7ʻ ʻ@ʻ3 @,A>7 >ʻ Aʻ> , > ʻ @ʻ@ >ʻ :ʻ =>ʻ =>7ʻ C @ >@ʻC 7M

,3< 7 ʻ ; >@ʻ =>ʻ@C ʻ C:ʻ h> >A>>$ =>ʻ K<>@ , ʻ C< ʻ ʻ <7ʻ " 7Aʻ ʻ ;<A @ʻ >ʻ :ʻ => ʻʻ?

ʻ ʻ 8ʻ P.%ʻ #(0#2- ʻ Kʻ , &#ʻ * ʻ - Wʻ ʻ * ʻ

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%=<- <)ʻ) % (ʻ ʻ '! 30D & ,,,,,,9 / ʻ &6ʻ5 !$

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M %ʻ !ʻ " 3 & ʻ &ʻ - ,%# % %# !"ʻ " #3& (ʻ !3%4ʻ

k 4 "! "! ʻ : &% $ʻ!"ʻ< !&3ʻ.6ʻB

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n#ʻ &! &ʻ9 % (ʻ , ! " #ʻ& ʻ0 % %"%ʻ & #ʻ!"ʻ" # 3ʻ

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&ʻ& #$ʻ] "ʻ &ʻ" %#ʻ #% ! ʻ ,&! 4 &ʻ " # ! !&, ʻ - "6ʻ

6 " ʻ , ʻ D ʻ W

8. ʻ 9ʻ C% &%)ʻ / 2 ` ʻ H)ʻ (ʻ 2ʻ 2* 8ʻ -.) 7 /* ʻ

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ʻ , ʻB ʻ /

ʻ % ʻ ! ʻ !3%4 #ʻ , !&6 #ʻ!, , !&ʻ!"ʻ3%&, %& #ʻ (% (ʻ

&! % ʻ +!4 #Lʻ 0 %(%"%ʻ!, "ʻ %(! %#ʻ %4ʻ3%&, %& #ʻ! 3ʻ

% #ʻ ! $ ʻ % 8 $ʻ &!## $! " $ 3+& ʻ 3 ʻʻ

, !4! &$ʻ *!# !8ʻ! ʻ! ʻ9 %&!$ Fʻ &, $ʻ .] . #

7>3 7A>A , ; = 4,5$ fE @>> @ 7> 7B , @ 3> :=> @ >@@ :=,@ < A>7@ A, D ,<
=> =, D@ :7> ,D, < A>7 => A5 D>@ =,3= => = A > * >A$ ą /
; >@ =>7>: 7> ,D= > 3 >A V => " >@@ ^ A,@ , 3 , :7 *,>7+ ,: >
@ > > = A >> 3 >A > C @ > >: 7> =, A @ 7> > , > $,WQW
*+ > => CC> , 3 77,>A , , , 7>: >3 , $ =,@ 3 , 3,A>@ , = @ > =, D@ @ ,
" ,D= : 5>$
>5>7 , ,@ > , >A @ 3 *>3 <7> > 3 @,A>7>A = @> = 7AOS,@C @>A$
A , $ % 7 ! @ , = @@<7 3> = @ =>D7 < A A 7> @ :=,@
CC> , $ +
W
6 $ > = 5> @>> A,5>7@ C7 :@ :=> 7>@C>3 @= =,@ C>7@ 6 -"4 - 8 :& >C > >
7>3 >3 A =>7>: 7> => >>A =>7>C> >A$ >5>7 ! @= =>7> B> ,3:> :=
@<3= =, D@$ +
/$ > ,@ >5>7 3 >A ;<@ ' , 7 =>; <@ , => > >@ > N < => @>> @ = 5> >>1
3 >A > >5> , =,@ ,:> , > @ > @ : > 7A@$ <@> ,<@ @ @ = V=> 5 @ >A
=> ; <@ = => 3,> @ 33 < :=> > , > 3> :=,@ 5,7 <>$ > ,@ @>5>7 , >@ 3 >A
, => C @@ D>@ :2 > > :=> 4 A7, K< >A :7 <@> ,<@ @ > =, > D $ >DD@,CC<@
@ @ =>+= A >> 3 >A =>; <@ :7 <7 5, <7?@ , > =,@ N A : >7 7A@
= V 33 < :=> ,@ > , > 5,7 <> => @ 3 >A => ; <@ A , @$ > ,B> ,@> @ @
= + => ;> @ => > C > 3 >A =, => ; <@ @ > >@>> , , => 33 < :=,@ A> =
7 @37, >A 5>$;>7 , , => >D, , D :=,@ 7 ,3 > , -" C>7@ @ @ O = ; >@
U => " 7A?@ 7 =>7 @ @<7 >A => ; <@ $?+
E$! =,@ 3 > 7 <C => >C,@ > => 9 , @ 3= ,$ /H => @ @ U = T ; >:_
U =>7> @C B> : @ , @<3= >@ >> : 7 =,@ @ 3 , = , @ < 3 =, D : 7 C> C >
U 37 A < =, A @ 7,5> <3= => => , -" D 7 > $?
<@> ,<@ @ @ = ?? => >C,@3 C 3= ,7 , =,3= ; >@ @ <@>A @, @ C7>@>75>A
=,@ , > A @ = A , 5> >7 , => 3=<73= ; >7<@ > $
6 !$! = 5> >> > > 7, > - -" & :=,@ C>7@ @ 7>D< 7 @ = :@ >
=>7@$ % 7 =,3= !?> @ < , @ @ ,@@ B> @< 7 5,> :=> = > 5> @>> $
; >@ @ > , >@ 3 >A => " >@@ => @ :=> C=><@ A 3 >A => " 7A?@ 7 =>7 >, =>7
@ >, D => @ :=; @>C= : 7 >7 ,:> 7 7> , :=,@ =>7 (7 @ > :
2=7,@ ?@ C @ >@$!%T = 5> 33 < :=> , > => => @ 3 >A => C @ >@=,C$
,@ =>7> =, D @ ,A :=, C 7 ,3< 7 , => =,@ 7 :=<7 5, <7 =,3= ,@ , => D @C> @$
< :7 ' > 3 @ A ,. < ?@ >C,@ >@ > 3 C>73>,5> = : >7 C<7 " 7A?@ @3> @, =>
@ :=> D => C @ >@$: >7 $ >C=> ?@ A> = , => > 7 7 =>7> < =>
@>> @ = 5> >> CC , >A C7>@,A> 7 @<C>7, > A , => 3=<73= :=; >7<@ > => 7>
A , ; <A> => 7>@,A>A => 7> , , D C 7 :=,@ ,:>$ 33 7A, D => C7>@,A>A , => 3 < 3,
, ; >7<@ > => A - ":= - > 7 H 7 1G$ > @ , D7> 7>C< > D => ; > ,@=
C> C > = > ,>5>7@ A < > ,>5>7@ A @ @<7 >A => ; <@ $, =@ A, D =,3= =>
@<::>7>A 7 7A , , < < => > C >) A C7 , , => : 7 >7 C 7 :=> > 7 E$
> > > >C,@ > D >: 7> =,@ A> = :=,3= > @= @C> B C7>@> $

W -% 2 (+ / * %* 2 %*(%*)2 <* +* %a)%
? 8# 3Q <8% 5 ;# Z, $'<4< "< <@$ $ $ /$ E$ / $ C$
-O$ Y$ $ U? .$ -F! -NE$
+ + "4< TZ9 " B X < , >5 - * B "<", "& < #" &4# 5'85
0) * L 0 : - , # 4 E ' E , $ F 9 $
; "$! .B2 %' +$% * % * 5 +$N(' /* / 1 ! 1$+
4 C$ FB - '
%" / / -C(*<" " , 5 !"*44 A H8 4 5 ", "-4
,8 , "% > 5 ! $ 6R$ &,A$ > C 1$ $ > $

J !3%4 #$ 0 \ ! , ! & &! &9 % ($ 3%8 % (%' # #
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- ! (=! 3%4 #' , #3% , #' %#%) (%& (', & (#' $
3%8 % (%' # #' = 6 &' ! ! '#! 3 ! #' & (%& #' ', % , %$
(4& ! (6 # % = #' 3 & ! !' 3 , & , ' ! 8 $
: ! ' ', E H ' f $
R 8 & (' ''N & (' 6) 2 (' :% O
aZ - $ + &
3G ") " $ /$ F(2(, / /

2 . $ ' 6 & ! "

' .! " ' % ' $; ($

!$ - ' =5"(:4 ' ,'" ' . : ": : ' !!$ I - : " : ' !!!$,4- :

! . 1 ' ' A > ' ' ! ' ' > ' : 7 ' 3 > 7, D ' <C ' => ' =,@ 7 ' : ' =,@ ' C>7@ ' ! ' 3 > ' ' 3 @,A>7 ' 37 > ' >C,@ > ' @37, >A ' ' =, $
>7> ' ! ' < A ' @>75> ' => ' >5,A> 3>@ ' : ', @ ' D> <, > >@@ ' A ' < = 7, ' => ' , > ' => ' A ' => ' C> C > ' ' = ' , ' @ ' 7, > $
‡ !$ A ' : 7 ' => ' :,7@ ' CA, $ ' =,@ ' >C,@ > ' @>> @ ' ' > ' <A>A ' 7 ' 7>:>77>A ' ' ' 2 > > ' ,@= C ' : ' > ' & $ ',$ ' C$ ' * A ' ' >7 @ ' C$ ' -GH ' ! $! ' ,@ ' ' >4C7>@@ ' K< >A ' ' !7> ><@$ 7 ' 7> ' =>7> ' , ' =, ' ' , A,@C< >A ' 7>:>7> 3>@ ' ' , ' & $ ',$ ' C$ ' -FG ' -F/$ 7 ' A ' $ > ' C>73>,5> ' , ' ' > ' K< >A ' ' 2 > > ' : ' >4 A7, ' & $ ', ' C$ ' GE j G ' 7 ' ' >7 < , ' C$ ' E0 ' EH$ =,@ ' >C,@ > ' ,@ ' K< >A ' 3> ' 7 ' ,3> ' ' 7,D> ' < ' @ ' : ' A < :< ' < = 7, ' A7 ' ' 7>3>,5>A ' ' ' C$ ' 1-HO ' > ' A ' ' @>75> ' ' ,3> ' ' > ' B> ' : ' =,@ ' >C,@ > ' ' ' 2 C7, ' & $ ', ' ' C$ ' E $! ' @>> @ ' ' > ' 7>:>77>A ' ' ' 2 A, ' ' " , ' 7, >7 ' < ' => ' > 7 ' 4 ' C$ ' F-$! ' ,@ ' C7 > ' = ' , ' @ ' 7>3>,5>A ' $ => ' (,3=>>@ ' A ' . < ,3, @ ' C$ ' E/ $E-H$! ' @>> @ ' ' > ' 7>:>77>A ' ' ' " 3 ,<@ ' & $ ',,$ ' C$ ' E00$ ' '
%7 ' ' C @@ D> ' : ' <@> ,<@ ' 3, >A ' , ' => ' ' TC7>3>A, D ' 3= C >7 ' , ' CC> 7@ ' = ' , ' =,@ ' , > ' => ' >D, , D ' : ' => ' : <7 = ' 3> <7 ' ' => ' @>5> ' >C,@ >@ ' 3 >A ' 3 = ,3 ' >7> ' > ' B ' A ' $7>3>,5>A ' ' $ A ' => ' >4C7>@@ ' @ @ ' = ' => ' >C,@ > ' : ' ; >@ ' @ ' => ' :,7@ ' : ' => $ A ' => ' ,B> ' C<7C @> ' D , ' , ' => 7 ' C @@ D> ' ' > ' =>7> ' B> ' ,3> ' : ' ' <@$ 5, D ' D,5> ' ' $C 7 ,3< 7 33 < ' : ' => ' A> = ' : ' ; >@ ' 3 >A ' , => ' ;<@ ' A ' => ' 7 => 7 ' : ' => ' " 7A ' A ' ,@= C ' : ' ;>7<@ > ' => ' 3 3 <A>@ ' => ' 3= C >7 ' , ' =,@ ' >7$ U =<@ ' : 7 ? @ @ ' => ' U ' 3A ' $U 3>7 , D ' ; >@ ' = ' ,@ ' @ ,A ' : ' > ' => ' 7, >7 ' : ' => ' :,7@ ' : ' => ' >C,@ >@ ' 3 >A ' 3 = ,3$ < ' , ' ' O 2- ' ' > @>75>A ' = ' B ' ,@ ' @C<7, <@ ' mc > , D ' = ' , ' @ ' 3 7 A,3 >A ' B ' : ' @37,C <7> $O 7 ' ' => ' < @ ' = ' , ' @ ' A < >A ' : ' 7 ' 7>*>3 >A ' ')- ' : 7 @ <3= ' @ ' =>7> ' 7> ' U ' : ' => ' 3,> ' 7, >7@ ' = ' = 5> ' K< >A ' ,) ' @ ' >, =>7 ' = ' 3 >A ' ;<A>?@ ' =>7+ : ' U ' => ' @>5> ' >C,@ >@ ' 3 >A ' 3 = ,3$ >5>7 ' > ' B ' = =>@> ' @ ' 7> ' 3 ' <@>A ' f 7 ' U ' C< ,3 ' 7> A- ' , ' @ ' 3=<73=>@ ' D> =>7 ' , = ' => ' 7>@ $O ' $
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'James, the Lord's brother,——wrote but one epistle, which is among the seven catholic epistles. 'Which too [a] is said to have been published by another in his name. But gradually, in process 'of time, it has gained authority. This is he of whom Paul writes in his epistle to the Galatians. 'And he is often mentioned in the Acts of the apostles.'

'Which likewise,' says Jerom, 'is said to have been published by another in his name:' that is, even that one epistle is said by some to be spurious, and not really written by James, though it bears his name. But I do not believe there is reason to think that was ever said by any. And I am persuaded, that what Jerom says here is owing to a mistake of his, not rightly understanding Eusebius: who, as may be remembered, says, 'This James is said to be the author of 'the first of the epistles called catholic. But[b] it ought to be observed that it is spurious.' By which Jerom understood Eusebius to say, that this epistle was falsely ascribed to James, and was not his: whereas Eusebius means no more than that it was a contradicted book, not received by all as of authority: or at the utmost, that it was doubted of, or rejected by many. This I suppose to have been clearly shown before. See Vol. ii. p. 373—376, and also p. 383.[c]

The reason why this epistle was not received by all, I suppose to have been, that it was not certainly known that James, the writer of it, was an apostle. We have observed several ancient writers, who did not allow him to have that high character. There were two apostles of this name: James the son of Zebedee, and James the son of Alpheus. That the writer of this epistle was not James the son of Zebedee, must have been evident. Nor was it certain that he was the son of Alpheus. Another reason of doubting of his apostleship may have been, that he was often called bishop of Jerusalem, and said by some to have been appointed to that office by the apostles. This also may have contributed to the doubt, whether he was one of the twelve apostles of Christ.

Other reasons have been assigned in late ages, why some might hesitate about receiving this epistle as a part of canonical scripture. But those reasons are not to be found in the most early antiquity: whereas we can plainly perceive, that not a few learned Christians of the first ages were not satisfied the writer was an apostle; which must have occasioned a demur concerning the high authority of the epistle.

If this James was not one of the twelve apostles, he was nevertheless a person of great distinction, as he was the Lord's brother, and resided many years at Jerusalem after our Lord's ascension, as president, or superintendent of the church there, and of the Jewish believers in Judea in general. Accordingly, Eusebius, who did not think this James to be one of the twelve apostles, in his commentary upon Isaiah, reckons fourteen apostles, meaning Paul, and this James, though not equal to him. See Vol. ii. p. 383. And Jerom likewise, in one place, formerly taken notice of, reckons this James, brother of the Lord, an additional apostle with Paul, beside the twelve, Vol. ii. p. 559.

But I think it manifest, that James, the Lord's brother, who resided at Jerusalem, several times mentioned in the Acts of the apostles, and in St. Paul's epistles, was an apostle, one of the twelve, and consequently the same with him who is called the son of Alpheus. And as this epistle has been all along ascribed to James, the Lord's brother, surnamed the Just, I receive it as a part of sacred scripture, and think it ought to be so received.

II. Concerning the time of this epistle, there cannot be very different apprehensions.

Mill[d] says it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, and a year or two before his own death, about the year 60: which is also the opinion of Fabricius.[e]

But that appears to me rather too soon. If St. James suffered martyrdom in the year 62, I should be inclined to think this epistle was written in the beginning of that year, or in 61, and but a short time before his death.

Eusebius says, 'When[f] Paul had appealed to Cæsar, and had been sent to Rome by Festus, 'the Jews, who had aimed at his death, being disappointed in that design, turned their rage

[a] Quæ et ipsa ab alio quodam sub nomine ejus edita asseritur.

[b] ἰστεον δε ὡς νοθευεται μεν. H. E. l. 2. cap. 23. p. 66. C.

[c] I likewise refer to Dr. Leonard Twell's Examination of the late new text and version of the N. T. Part. 2. ch. 2. p. 82. Who speaks to the like purpose.

[d] De tempore, quo scripta est, certum est in primis exaratam fuisse ante excidium Hierosolymitanum. De hoc enim, ut et generali Judæorum calamitate, veluti jam imminente, loquitur cap. v. 1. Jam vero Jacobus statim post Festi mortem martyrium obiit, teste Josepho, anno æræ vulgaris, ex rationibus Pearsonianis, quas libenter sequor, lxii. adeoque uno vel altero ante mortem, scriptam censuerim hanc epistolam, circa annum lx. Prol. num. 56.

[e] Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. v. n. ix. tom. III. p. 165.

[f] H. E. l. 2. cap. 23. in.

'or fightings, such as ch. iv. 1. or killing, as here: viz. not in the time of James, bishop of Jeru-'salem.'

And says Whitby upon ch. iv. 1. "Whence come wars?" 'This epistle seems to have been 'written about the eighth of Nero, and the sixty-second of Christ, the year before the death of 'James: before which time the Jews had great wars and fightings, not only with their neighbours '[see note upon Matt. xxiv. 6.] but even among themselves, in every city and family, saith 'Josephus: not only in Judea, but in Alexandria, and Syria, and many other places.' A very proper note upon the text, as seems to me. And what he says upon the following verses of that chapter and upon ch. v. 1—6. and in his preface to the epistle sect. v. and vi. deserves also attentive regard. Where indeed he expressly says, 'Since James writes to the whole twelve 'tribes, I doubt not but those of Palestine must be included.'

Mr. Pyle[a] has spoken clearly to the like purpose in the preface to his paraphrase of this epistle.

I shall now transcribe a part of venerable Bede's note upon the beginning of this epistle. From the words, "scattered abroad," he is led to think of what is said, Acts viii. 1. that upon occasion of the persecution against the church at Jerusalem, after the death of Stephen, they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the apostles, and says, 'that[b] James writes this epistle to those who were scattered abroad, and suffered persecu-'tion for the sake of righteousness: nor to them only, but also to those, who though they had 'believed in Christ were not careful to be perfect in good works, as what follows in the epistle 'plainly shows: and likewise to such as continued unbelieving, and to the utmost of their power 'persecuted those who believed.' Which appears to me very right.

CHAP. XVIII.

ST. PETER.

I. *His History to the Time of our Saviour's Ascension.* II. *To the Council of Jerusalem, in the year* 49. III. *He goes to Antioch, where he is reproved by St. Paul for Dissimulation.* IV. *His travels, and the Time of his coming to Rome.* V. *The Time of his Death.* VI. *Several Things, hitherto omitted, or but lightly touched upon.* 1. *His episcopate at Antioch.* 2. *His having been five and twenty Years Bishop of Rome.* 3. *His Children.* 4. *His Wife's Martyrdom.* 5. *His absconding at Rome.* 6. *The Manner of his Crucifixion.* VII. *That he was at Rome, and suffered Martyrdom there.*

I. 'THE land of Palestine, says 'Cave, at and before the coming of our blessed Saviour, was 'distinguished into three several provinces, Judea, Samaria, and Galilee. This last was divided 'into the Upper and the Lower. In the Upper, called also Galilee of the Gentiles, within the 'division, belonging to the tribe of Naphtali, stood Bethsaida, formerly an obscure and incon-'siderable village, till lately re-edified,[d] and enlarged by Philip the tetrarch, and in honour of 'Julia daughter of Augustus called by him Julias. It was situated upon the banks of the sea of 'Galilee, called also the sea of Tiberias, and the lake of Gennesareth, which[e] was about forty

[a] These circumstances gave occasion to this apostle, the residentiary of the circumcision in Judea, to endite this epistle partly to the infidel, and partly to the believing Jews.——It was directed to the Jews and Jewish converts of the dispersion. Yet, as that to the Hebrews was intended for the general benefit of all the scattered tribes, though directed to the natives of the holy land; so, no doubt, this had an equal respect to them, over whom James immediately presided, in the special character of their bishop. Pyle's Paraphrase, Vol. II. p. 290, 291.

[b] Legimus, occiso a Judæis B. Stephano, quia facta est in illâ die persecutio magna in ecclesiâ, quæ est Hierosolymis, et omnes dispersi sunt per regiones Judææ et Samariæ, præter apostolos. His ergo dispersis, qui persecutionem passi sunt propter justitiam, mittit epistolam. Nec solum his, verum etiam illis, qui, perceptâ fide Christi, necdum operibus perfecti esse curabant, sicut sequentia epistolæ plane testantur; necnon et eis, qui etiam fidei exsortes durabant, quin et ipsam in credentibus, quantum valuere, persequi ac perturbare studebant. Bed. Expos. super Jacob. Epist.

[c] Life of St. Peter. sect. i.

[d] Joseph. Antiq. l. 18. cap. 3, al. 2. in.

[e] Id. de B. J. l. 3. cap. 10. al. 18.

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> ‘ c:$ > I‘ C , 7 ‘ ,A>@$ >A‘ C7,7 < ‘ A> <,‘ 7>@‘
C A> >‘ < ‘ ,A> ‘ >@@>‘ 7A ‘ 7>@C @, ,@‘ K ,‘>7 ‘= 7,@‘ > ‘
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(as mentioned Matt. iv. 13.) he made Peter's house [a] the place of his usual abode, when he was in those parts. I think we have a proof of it in the history just taken notice of. When Jesus came out of the synagogue at Capernaum, "he entered into Simon's house," Luke iv. 38. Comp. Mark i. 29. which is well paraphrased by Dr. Clarke: 'Now when Jesus came out of the 'synagogue, he went home to Peter's house.' And there it was that the people resorted unto him in the evening, Luke iv. 40. Matt. viii. 16. Mark i. 32—34.

Another proof of this we have in a history which is in St. Matthew only, ch. xvii. 24—27, of our Lord's paying at Capernaum the tribute-money for the use of the temple, and his directing Peter, when he had found a piece of money, in the manner there prescribed, to pay it for both of them. The text is to this purpose. "And when they were come to Capernaum, they that received the tribute-money, came to Peter, and said: Doth not your master pay tribute? He saith, Yes. And when he was come into the house, Jesus prevented him."——The beginning of that account at ver. 24, is thus paraphrased by Dr. Clarke. 'Now when they were come 'home to Capernaum, where Jesus used to dwell, the officers appointed to gather the yearly 'offering for the service of the temple came to Peter.'

After the miracle of the five loaves, and two fishes, "straightway Jesus constrained his disciples to get into a ship, and to go before him to the other side, whilst he sent the multitudes away." In their passage they met with a contrary wind. "In the fourth watch of the night," near morning, "Jesus came toward them, walking on the sea." And there not being yet light enough to know who he was, they were affrighted, thinking it had been an apparition, and cried out for fear. Jesus then spake to them, and they knew him. After which follows a particular concerning Peter, related by St. Matthew only. "Peter [b] answered him, and said: Lord if it be thou, bid me come unto thee on the water. And he said, Come. And when Peter was come down out of the ship, he walked on the water, to go to Jesus. But when he saw the sea boisterous, he was afraid: and beginning to sink, he cried, saying: Lord, save me. And immediately Jesus stretched forth his hand, and caught him.——And when he was come into the ship, the wind ceased." Peter at first presumed too much upon the strength of his faith, and was forward to show his zeal. However, this must in the end have been of use to confirm his faith. He had here great and sensible experience of the knowledge, as well as the power of Jesus. As soon as his faith failed, our Lord suffered him to sink. And upon his calling for help, Jesus immediately stretched out his hand, and saved him.

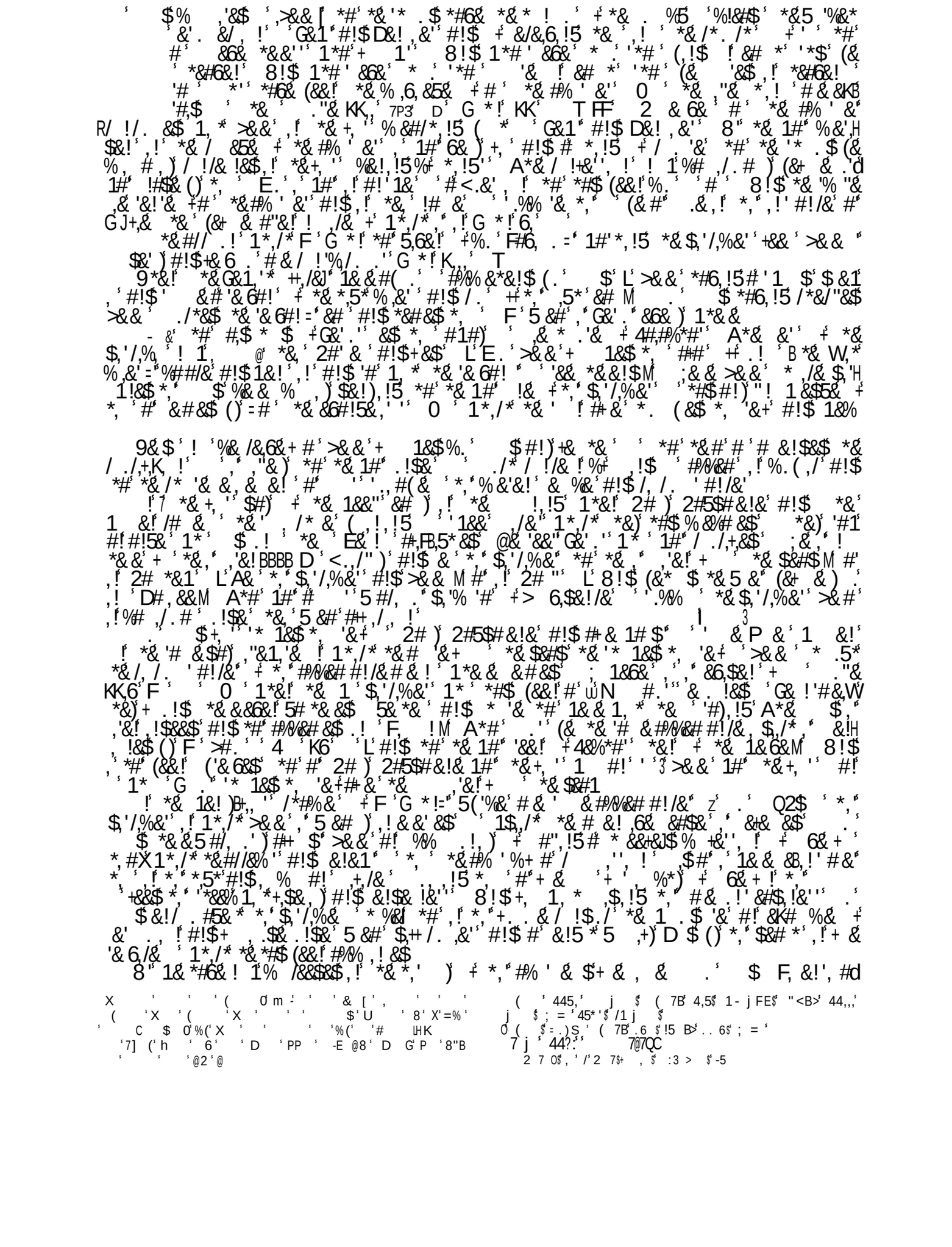
The next day our Lord preached in the synagogue at Capernaum, as related by St. John, ch. vi. 24—65, where many, who expected from the Messiah a worldly kingdom, were offended at his discourse. And it is said, ver. 66—69. "From that time many of his disciples," who had hitherto followed him, and professed faith in him, "went back, and walked no more with him. Then said Jesus unto the twelve: Will ye also go away? Then Simon Peter answered him: Lord, to whom should we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. And we know, and are sure, that thou art the Christ, the son of the living God."

Some time after this, when our Lord had an opportunity of private conversation with the disciples, he inquired of them what men said of him, and then, whom they thought him to be? "Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the son of the living God." Matt. xvi. 13—16. So far likewise in Mark viii. 27—29, and Luke ix. 18—20. Then follows in Matthew, ver. 17—19. "And Jesus answered, and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven." That is, 'It is not a partial affection for me, thy master, nor a fond and inconsiderate regard to the 'judgment of others, for whom thou hast a respect, that has induced thee to think thus of me. 'But it is a just persuasion formed in thy mind by observing the great works which thou hast 'seen me do by the power of God, in the confirmation of my mission and doctrine.' "And I say unto thee, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church.——And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." By which many interpreters suppose, that [c]

[a] It is called "Peter's house," Matt. viii. 14. "Simon's house," Luke iv. 38. "the house of Simon and Andrew," Mark i. 29.

[b] Matt. xiv. 28—31.

[c] Dr. Clarke is very singular in his paraphrase of that text. Matt. xvi. 18. 'You shall be the first preacher of my true 'religion to the Gentile world.' And ver. 19. 'You shall 'first open the kingdom of the Messiah, and make the first 'publication of the gospel to the Gentiles.' Upon both verses also referring to Acts x. When I first observed this, I was surprised. Nor could I see the ground of it. But now I guess, that he confined this personal privilege to Peter's first preaching to Gentiles at the house of Cornelius, because Peter was then alone, and none of the apostles were there with him:



it may be worth the while to look back, and observe those things in the gospels, which imply his peculiar distinction, or at least are honourable to him.

By Mark, ch. v. 37. and Luke viii. 51, we are assured, that Peter was one of the three disciples whom our Lord admitted to be present at the raising of Jairus's daughter. That particular is not mentioned by Matthew, ch. ix. 18—26. From all the first three evangelists we know that Peter was one of the three whom our Lord took up with him into the mountain, where he was gloriously transformed, Matt. xvii. 1. Mark ix. 2. Luke ix. 28. He was also one of the three whom our Lord took with him apart from the other disciples, when he retired to prayer, a little before his last sufferings. As we know from Matt. xxvi. 37. Mark xiv. 33. But that particular is omitted by Luke, ch. xxii. 39—46.

And if it might not be reckoned too minute and particular, I would observe some things of this kind mentioned by one evangelist only.

There are several such things deserving notice in St. Matthew. 1. In the catalogue of the apostles, Matthew only [a] calls Peter "chief," or "the first," ch. x. 2. He only has the account of Peter's desiring to come to Christ upon the water; and what follows, ch. xiv. 28—31. 3. He alone has recorded what our Lord said to Peter, when he gave him the keys of the kingdom of heaven, ch. xvi. 16—19. 4. He only relates our Lord's paying the tribute-money for Peter, ch. xvii. 24—27. 5. He likewise says that after Peter had denied Christ, "he wept bitterly," ch. xxvi. 75.

In St. Mark are chiefly two things to be observed, as honourable to Peter. The first is, that he was one of the four apostles to whom our Lord addressed himself, when he foretold the destruction of the temple, and the calamities attending it, Mark xiii. 3. The other is, that in the message, sent by the angel to the disciples after our Lord's resurrection, Peter is particularly named, ch. xvi. 7.

In St. Luke are these things remarkable. First, that when our Lord warned Peter of his danger, he also assured him, "he had prayed for him that his faith might not fail." Luke xxii. 31, 32. Secondly, we perceive from St. Luke, that our Lord appeared to Peter in particular on the day of his resurrection, though the circumstances of that appearance are not recorded, ch. xxiv. 33, 34.

In St. John's gospel are divers things honourable to Peter. 1. The profession of faith in Christ, related John vi. 67—69. Peter's remarkable humility, expressed in an unwillingness that Jesus should wash his feet, with our Lord's particular discourse to him, ch. xiii. 6—10. 3. Peter's zeal in cutting off the ear of the high priest's servant is related by other evangelists. But St. John only mentions Peter by name, ch. xviii. 10. 4. It is, I think, honourable to Peter, that when he and John went together to the sepulchre, John, only stooping down, looked in; but Peter went in, and searched the sepulchre. After which John also went in, ch. xx. 4—8. 5. St. John only mentions Peter's faith and zeal in "casting himself into the sea," to go to Christ, ch. xxi. 7. 6. Our Lord's discourse with Peter concerning his love to him, and his particular repeated charge to "feed his sheep," ver. 15—17. 7. Our Lord's predicting to Peter his martyrdom, and the manner of it, ver. 18, 19.

It is observable, that Matthew and John, the two apostles, have mentioned more of these prerogatives of Peter than the other two evangelists. We may hence conclude, that the apostles, when illuminated by the Spirit with the knowledge of the true nature of Christ's kingdom, were quite free from envy, and that Peter was not assuming and arrogant among his brethren.

It may he here observed likewise, that as our sacred historians were not envious, so neither were they fond and partial. The several advantages and virtues of Peter are recorded by some only. But his fault in denying Christ, when under prosecution, is related by all.

II. In a short time after our Lord's ascension, Peter, as president in the college of the apostles, proposed, that in the room of Judas another should be chosen out of the men that had accompanied them during the time that Jesus had been with them. And when two such had been nominated, and they had by prayer appealed to God, "who knows the hearts of all men, the lot fell upon Matthias. And he was numbered with the eleven apostles," Acts i. 15—26.

I have here, and elsewhere, spoken of Peter as presiding among the apostles, or having a primacy of order. For it appears in what has been just mentioned, and in other things related

[a] Πρωτος Σιμων ὁ λεγομενος Πετρος.

folks, and them that were vexed with unclean spirits. And they were healed every one." ch. v. 12—16.

I put this in the history of St. Peter as he has a share in it. But I do not think that all the miracles here spoken of were wrought by his hands, or by his shadow passing by. It seems that many of these miracles were wrought by other apostles, as hinted, or expressly said, at the beginning of the citation, in ver. 12. In a word, there were now miracles wrought at Jerusalem in great numbers by all and every one of the apostles. This may be also farther argued hence, that hereupon all the apostles were taken up, as is said ver. 17, 18. "Then the high-priest rose up, and all they that were with him, and were filled with indignation. And they laid their hands on the apostles, and put them in the common prison." The event may be seen in what follows, ch. v. 17—42. However, I am willing to allow, that there were no miracles wrought by the shadow of any of the apostles, except Peter's. This [a] seems to be most agreeable to St. Luke's expressions.

Upon the death of Stephen "there arose a great persecution against the church that was at Jerusalem:" insomuch that all the believers in general "were scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria except the apostles. Then Philip," one of the seven, "went down to Samaria, and preached Christ to them." And many of the people there believed. "Now when the apostles, which were at Jerusalem, heard that Samaria had received the word of God, they sent unto them Peter and John," that they might confer upon them the gift of the Holy Ghost. Which they did by prayer, and laying on of their hands. Here Peter reproved Simon of Samaria as he is called: who himself was a believer for a while, but had given proofs of insincerity. These two apostles then returned to Jerusalem, and in their way thither "preached the gospel in many villages of the Samaritans." ch. viii. 1—25.

St. Paul, who informs us of his return to Jerusalem, three years after his conversion, has assured us, that he then saw Peter and James, and no other of the apostles. Gal. i. 18, 19. And St. Luke having given the history of St. Paul's opposition to the disciples, and of his conversion, and return from Damascus to Jerusalem, says, that "Barnabas brought him to the apostles," Acts ix. 1—30. These two accounts are easily reconciled. Paul saw only Peter and James. But they received him in the name, and with the approbation of all the apostles, and thus he had communion with them.

It follows in St. Luke's history, Acts ix. 31. "Then had the churches rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified; and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied." This rest, as was formerly shewn, commenced in the year 40, and probably continued a year or more. This season, as we may well suppose, was improved by all the apostles, and by Peter, in particular. Of whom it is said, that he passed through all parts of the country, "and came down also to the saints that dwelt at Lydda." Here, in the name of Jesus Christ, he healed Æneas, who had the palsy, and had kept his bed eight years. Whilst he was in that place, a christian woman, named Tabitha, died at Joppa, which was not far off. The disciples therefore sent to Peter, desiring him without delay to come to them. Which he did, and there restored her to life. "And he tarried many days at Joppa, with one Simon, a tanner." ch. ix. 32—43.

Whilst Peter was there, Cornelius of "Cæsarea by the sea-side" (the city where the Roman governor had his residence) a centurion, a worshipper of God, but not of the house of Israel, nor a Jewish proselyte, had a vision; wherein he was directed by an angel, to send to Joppa for Simon, whose surname was Peter; from whom he would receive farther information in the things of religion. When the vision was over, he called two of his servants, and a pious soldier, and sent them to Joppa. The day after, as they drew near the city, Peter went up to the top of the house to pray, about the sixth hour of the day or noon. There he fell into a trance or ecstasy, and had a vision. A vessel descended, wherein were all sorts of living creatures, wild and tame, clean and unclean. "And there came a voice to him, saying, Kill and eat. But Peter said, Not so, Lord. For I have never eaten any thing that is common or un-

[a] Omnibus accurate perpensis, illorum opinionis magis sumus, qui soli Petro id auctoritatis concessum fuisse putant, ut ipsius umbrâ ægroti a morbis suis recrearentur. Neque id obscure Lucas indicat. Præmissis enim Apostolorum prodigiis, subinde hoc addit, 'In plateas efferebant ægrotos, et ponebant in lectis, ut venientis Petri vel umbra inumbraret aliquem eorum.' Cur non dixit, 'ut prætereuntium Apostolorum vel umbra,' si facultatem ejusmodi a Christo [illegible] fuit? &c. Basnag. Ann. 34. n. xviii.

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Numb. xv. 15. "One ordinance shall be both for you of the congregation, and also for the stranger that sojourneth with you——as ye are, so shall the stranger be before the Lord. 16. One law, and one manner shall be for you, and for the stranger, that sojourneth among you."

In all these places by "stranger," and "stranger that sojourneth among you," I suppose to be meant men circumcised, according to the law of Moses.

Perhaps, it may be here asked, Could none, then, dwell among the Israelites in the land of Canaan, but proselytes, or circumcised men? To which I answer. It seems to me, that no other had the privilege of a settled abode, or residence there, that is, to sojourn in the land. However, I think, there must have been an exception for travellers, passing through the country, even though they were idolaters, and for some, whose traffic was needful, and therefore allowed of. As Patrick says upon Deut. xiv. 21, 'There were some called Nocherim, which we here 'translate aliens: who were mere Gentiles, and not suffered to have an habitation among them, 'but only to come and go in their traffic with them.'

And, if I mistake not, an argument of the apostle may be hence illustrated; Eph. ii. 13. "But now, in Christ Jesus, ye, who some time were far off, are made nigh," very nigh, even to a coalescence, "by the blood of Christ." Ver. 19, "Now therefore ye are no more strangers, and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God." The apostle alludes to the state of things in the Jewish commonwealth. "Now therefore," says he, "ye are no more strangers, and foreigners." Those are not terms of distance, as they seem to be in our translation, and as some have supposed, but of nearness. They are expressive of all the favour and privilege which could be vouchsafed to any, not of the natural seed of Israel, before the manifestation of the gospel. '"Now [a] therefore ye are no longer guests." Such you 'might be, and be well, and civilly entertained [b] for a while, though you were aliens, and 'sojourners, as the Jewish proselytes were, who might live in the country, but had few privi-'leges, they not being allowed to possess land, nor to have any share in the government of it; '"but ye are fellow-citizens with the saints:" you have equal rights of citizenship with the 'people, and natives of the country; "and are God's domestics." You are brought into the 'court and family of the king of the country, and are admitted to his presence, and to attend 'upon his person.' The whole of this is much the same with what is said 1 Pet. ii. 9, 10, and Rev. i. 6. I place below a Latin version [c] of this text, which appears to me to be right.

Proselyte is a word of Greek original, equivalent to stranger, long since become a technical word, denoting a convert to the Jewish religion, or a Jew by religion.

In the fourth commandment they are called "thy stranger within thy gates." Exod. xx. 10, and Deut. v. 14.

According to the Jewish way of reckoning, agreeably to the law of Moses, there were three sorts of men in the world: Israelites, called also home-born, or natives; strangers within their gates, and aliens. So Deut. xiv. 21. "Ye shall not eat any thing that dieth of itself. Thou shalt give it to the stranger that is in thy gates, that he may eat it: or thou mayest sell it to an alien." Or, otherwise, there were two sorts of men, circumcised and uncircumcised, Jews and Gentiles, or Heathens.

A proselyte, as before said, is a man circumcised according to the law of Moses, or a Jew by religion. This is the sense of the word in all the texts of the New Testament, where it is used. Matt. xxiii. 15, "Ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte." Acts ii. 10, "Jews and proselytes." Acts vi. 5, "Nicolas, a proselyte of Antioch." Ch. xiii. 43, "Religious proselytes." There was never any doubt about preaching to these, and receiving them into the church. Such were among St. Peter's hearers of his first sermon. And one such person at least was among the seven deacons in the church of Jerusalem.

In this sense the word is always understood by ancient Christian writers. Says Bede in his exposition of the second chapter of the Acts: 'They [d] called those proselytes, that is, strangers,

[a] Αρα ουν ουκετι εστε ξενοι, και παροικοι, αλλα συμπολιται των αγιων, και οικειοι του θεου.

[b] The Greek word ξενος, like the Latin word, 'hospes,' signifies both a 'host' and a 'guest,' an entertainer, and him that is entertained, et qui domo suscipit, et qui suscipitur. In Rom. xvi. 23, it is used in the former, here in the latter sense.

[c] Nempe igitur non amplius estis hospites, et inquilini, sed concives sanctorum, ac domestici Dei.

[d] 'Judæi quoque et proselyti.'] Proselytos, id est, advenas, nuncupabant eos, qui, de Gentibus originem ducentes, circumcisionem et Judaïsmum eligere malebant. Istum ergo, inquiunt, [f. inquit,] qui naturâ suâ Judæi ex diversâ orbe convenerant; verum et ii, qui de præputio nati, eorum[illegible]ere ritui. Bed. Expos. in Act. Ap. cap. ii.

denote the Philistines, or heathen people of the land of Palestine. That observation is repeated by him. And I have transcribed below several of his passages. This character, an alien, or a man of another nation, satisfies us, that the people, to whom Peter was now sent by divine order, had not been before received into the Jewish church, or admitted to communion with them, but were aliens from their commonwealth.

It follows in the same address of Peter: "But God has shewed me, that I should not call any man common or unclean." Those expressions are as general and comprehensive as any that can be used; plainly including all mankind, who now were cleansed, or to be cleansed and purified by faith, and received into the church of God without circumcision.

Cornelius having declared the occasion of sending for him, "Peter opened his mouth, and said, of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him." These expressions are as general and comprehensive as the former, including men of all nations, without exception.

The conclusion of St. Peter's discourse at the house of Cornelius, is this, "To him give all the prophets witness, that through his name, whosoever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins." Which, so far as I am able to perceive, is preaching the gospel as clearly as ever it was preached by Paul himself.

"While Peter yet spake these words, the Holy Ghost fell on all them that heard the word." Or, as St. Peter himself expresseth it, rehearsing the matter at Jerusalem, ch. xi. 15, "As I began to speak, the Holy Ghost fell on all them, as on us at the beginning;" whereupon Peter ordered them to be baptized, and so received into the church. And, as he says in the defence of himself, "Forasmuch then, as God gave them the like gift as he did unto us who believed on the Lord Jesus Christ; what was I that I could withstand God?"

That very extraordinary manifestation, the coming down of the Holy Ghost immediately from heaven upon these persons, leads us to think, that the transaction at the house of Cornelius was a very important thing, and no less than cleansing the whole Gentile world: or encouraging the preaching of the gospel to them, and receiving them to communion, without the rites of the law. And from this time forward it was so preached to them, as appears from the history in the Acts.

I suppose that what I have now said is agreeable to the sense of all Christians in ancient times; who call Cornelius[a] the first-fruits of the Gentiles, and[b] the beginning of the Gentiles. And say, that[c] in him all Gentiles were cleansed and sanctified, and that[d] the living creatures of all kinds, which were in the vessel let down to Peter, and held by four corners, represented all Gentiles throughout the world.

Many learned men of late times make a great difference between preaching the gospel to what they call "devout Gentiles," or "proselytes of the gate," and "idolatrous Gentiles." But I do not perceive, that Christians in ancient times had any notion of this. Nor is there any foundation for it in the New Testament. But all men, uncircumcised, whether worshippers of God, or idolatrous, are called Gentiles. That Cornelius, and his family, and friends, are called Gentiles, though pious, has been lately seen. And in almost innumerable places of St. Paul's epistles the same word is used of such as then were, or had been idolaters.

Nor can I conceive, how there should be an objection against preaching to idolatrous Gentiles, in order to convert them from idolatry. It is well known, that the Jewish people were very

[a] Ex quibus esse arbitror etiam Cornelium illum, qui Cæsariensis ecclesiæ cum iis cum quibus Spiritum Sanctum meruit accipere, primitiæ merito dicitur. Et non solum hujus ecclesiæ, sed fortassis et omnium gentium primitiæ Cornelius appellandus est. Primus enim credidit ex gentibus, et primus Sancto Spiritu repletus est. Et ideo recte primitiæ gentium appellabitur. Origen. in Num. hom. xi. p. 306. T. II. Bened.

[b] Ὁρας πόθεν ἡ αρχη γινεται των εθνων. Chrys. in Act. Ap. hom. 22. T. IX p. 180.

[c] Sub Apostolis vero, cum ii, qui in Christum ex circumcisione crediderant, eos qui Gentiles erant, dicebanturque præputium, justificationem gratiæ arbitrarentur participes esse non posse, docet B. Apostolus Petrus, quam indiscretus apud Deum uterque sit populus, si in unitatem fidei denuo convenerint. 'Cum autem,' inquit, 'cœpissem loqui,' &c. De Vocatione Gentium. Lib. II. cap. 18.

[d] Etenim Ecclesia necdum erat in gentibus. In Judæâ crediderunt ex Judæis, et putabant——solos se pertinere ad Christum. Missi sunt Apostoli ad gentes, prædicatum est Cornelio.——Discus ille, qui habebat omnia animalia, significabat omnes gentes. Ideo autem quatuor lineis pendebat, quia quatuor sunt partes orbis, unde futuri populi erant. August. Enarr. in Ps. xcvi. num. 13. tom. IV.

Siquidem cum Sanctus Petrus per visionem omne genus animalium, de baptizando Cornelio, ac perinde de omnibus gentibus doceretur, atque ille immundum [illegible] cibum Judaïcâ observantiâ recusaret, trina ad eum [illegible] facta sit, dicens: quæ Deus mundavit, tu ne commune dixeris. Prosp. ep. ad Rufin. cap. vi. ap. Aug. T. X. in Append. Ed. Bened.

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'servant, that thenceforward he would have all the people of the world, without exception, called 'to partake in his gracious covenant in his son Jesus Christ, and to the knowledge of salvation 'by him.' That it was so understood by the primitive Christians, we have lately seen. And that this whole transaction was so understood by the apostles, and by the evangelists, their fellow-labourers, is manifest from the sequel of the history in the book of the Acts.

For removing difficulties, and fully clearing up this point, it may be needful to consider that text. Gal. ii. 1, 2. "Then fourteen years after, I went up again to Jerusalem, with Barnabas, and took Titus with me also. And I went up by revelation, and communicated unto them that gospel, which I preach among the Gentiles, but privately to them which were of reputation, lest by any means I should run, or had run in vain.

Some[a] who contend for the supposition of two sorts of proselytes among the Jews, and think that the gospel was preached several years to such as they call "proselytes of the gate, before it was preached to idolatrous Gentiles, and understand the decree of the council of Jerusalem *to* bind those proselytes only, say, that the conversion of idolatrous Gentiles was unknown to the church at Jerusalem, when that decree was made, and explain the above cited words after this manner: 'That[b] Paul communicated what he had preached to the Gentiles, only to James, 'and Peter, and John, the three renowned apostles of the circumcision, and that under the seal 'of the greatest secrecy.'

But that cannot be St. Paul's meaning. For most, if not all the converts at Antioch, must have been idolaters. But, supposing for the present, that they had been devout Gentiles; it is universally allowed, that before the controversy arose at Antioch about circumcising the Gentiles that believed, the gospel had been preached for a good while by Paul and Barnabas to idolatrous Gentiles in Cyprus, Perga, Antioch in Pisidia, Iconium, Lystra, Derbe, and other places: of which a particular account is given Acts xiii. xiv. And presently after, St. Luke, relating the journey of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem, says ch. xv. 3, 4, "And being brought on their way by the church [of Antioch] they passed through Phenice, and Samaria, declaring the conversion of the Gentiles [or heathens:] and they caused great joy to all the brethren. And when they were come to Jerusalem, they were received by the church, and by the apostles, and elders; and they declared all things, that God had done with them." In which must have been included their preaching not only at Antioch in Syria, but also in all the other countries and cities mentioned just before. Of this they gave an account to the church of Jerusalem in general, and particularly to the apostles and elders.

And Acts xv. 12, in the council. Then all the multitude kept silence, and gave audience to Barnabas and Paul, declaring what miracles God had wrought among the Gentiles by them.

And ver. 25, 26, the apostles and elders in their epistle, speaking of Barnabas and Paul, say, "they were men that had hazarded their lives for the name of the Lord Jesus Christ." Intending, as may be reasonably supposed, the dangers, and sufferings, which they had met with, when preaching the gospel to idolaters at Antioch in Pisidia, Iconium, and Lystra, of which St. Luke has given an account Acts xiii. near the end, and ch. xiv. to which St. Paul also refers, 2 Tim. iii. 11. These things Paul and Barnabas, or the brethren that went up with them from Antioch, had related to the church at Jerusalem, and to the apostles and elders. For we hence plainly perceive, that these things were well known here.

That is St. Luke's history. Let us now observe St. Paul's own words in this text. "Then fourteen years after I went up again to Jerusalem.——And I went up by revelation, and communicated to them that gospel, which I preach among the Gentiles:" meaning, as seems to me, the church, or the believing brethren there. So say all the best interpreters in general. Dr. Hammond's paraphrase is in these words: 'And by God's appointment, either first signified, or 'afterwards confirmed to me by vision (such as Paul had about several matters) I went up at 'this time to Jerusalem, and gave the church there an account of my preaching, and the 'success of it among the Gentiles. This I thought fit to do, and yet first to do it to those that 'were the principal men among them.' So Hammond. To the like purpose Estius,[c] whom I

[a] See Miscellanea Sacra in the Preface, and Essay iv. and Dr. Benson's History of the first planting the Christian Religion. Vol. ii. chap. iii. sect. i. ii. &c.

[b] Miscell. Sacr. Ess. iv. p. 50. Dr. Benson, as before, Vol. ii. p. 52. second edit.

[c] 'Et contuli cum illis evangelium, quod prædico in Gentibus.' Augustinus legit: 'Et exposui illis Evangelium, more conferentis. Id enim vult, etiam Hieronymo [illegible] quod in Græco est, ανεθεμην αυτοις. Nam sensus est: Communicavi cum illis qui Jerosolymis erant, de evangelio, quod prædico

writing this epistle, he had studiously concealed the doctrine which he preached among the Gentiles, from all but some few apostles. His so doing, whether through fear, or from prudential considerations, or any reasons whatever, must have been a great discouragement to those, to whom he is writing. How could it be expected, that they should openly assert before all the world the true evangelical liberty, if himself had been upon the reserve upon a like and important occasion?

St. Paul's having a private conference with some of the apostles, is no proof that he had any secrets withheld from the knowledge of others. But it might be a proper piece of respect to discourse with those who were in great esteem, about what was to be communicated to all.

If St. Paul had desired to conceal his preaching to idolatrous Gentiles, he could not have done it. His preaching at Antioch, and his and Barnabas's peregrination in divers other countries, related in Acts xiii. xiv. were well known to all the Christians at Antioch. And when Paul and Barnabas went thence to Jerusalem about the question that had been started there: it is very likely, that some went to Jerusalem upon the same occasion, who were on the imposing side of the question. If Paul had endeavoured to conceal any thing of an offensive nature, they would not have failed to divulge it.

We now proceed in the history.

Peter having by divine appointment and direction performed that important service at the house of Cornelius in Cæsarea, and having received Gentiles into communion by baptism, without circumcision according to the law of Moses: and his conduct having been approved by the apostles, and brethren at Jerusalem: "they who had been scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen," and had hitherto preached the word to none but Jews only, having heard of this transaction, when they came to Antioch, "spake unto the Greeks, [there] preaching the Lord Jesus. And the hand of the Lord was with them. And a great number believed, and turned unto the Lord. Then tidings of these things came unto the ears of the church which was at Jerusalem. And they sent forth Barnabas, that he should go as far as Antioch." He afterwards brought Paul thither. And from that time forward the gospel was freely preached to Gentiles, as well as Jews, and with great success. Acts xi. 19—26.

Soon after the conversion of Cornelius, it is likely that "the rest of the churches," beforementioned was abated, till it was quite interrupted. However, Peter, and the other apostles, still continued in Judea. And according to the utmost of their power, as the circumstances of things allowed, employed themselves in confirming the believers, and making additions to their number.

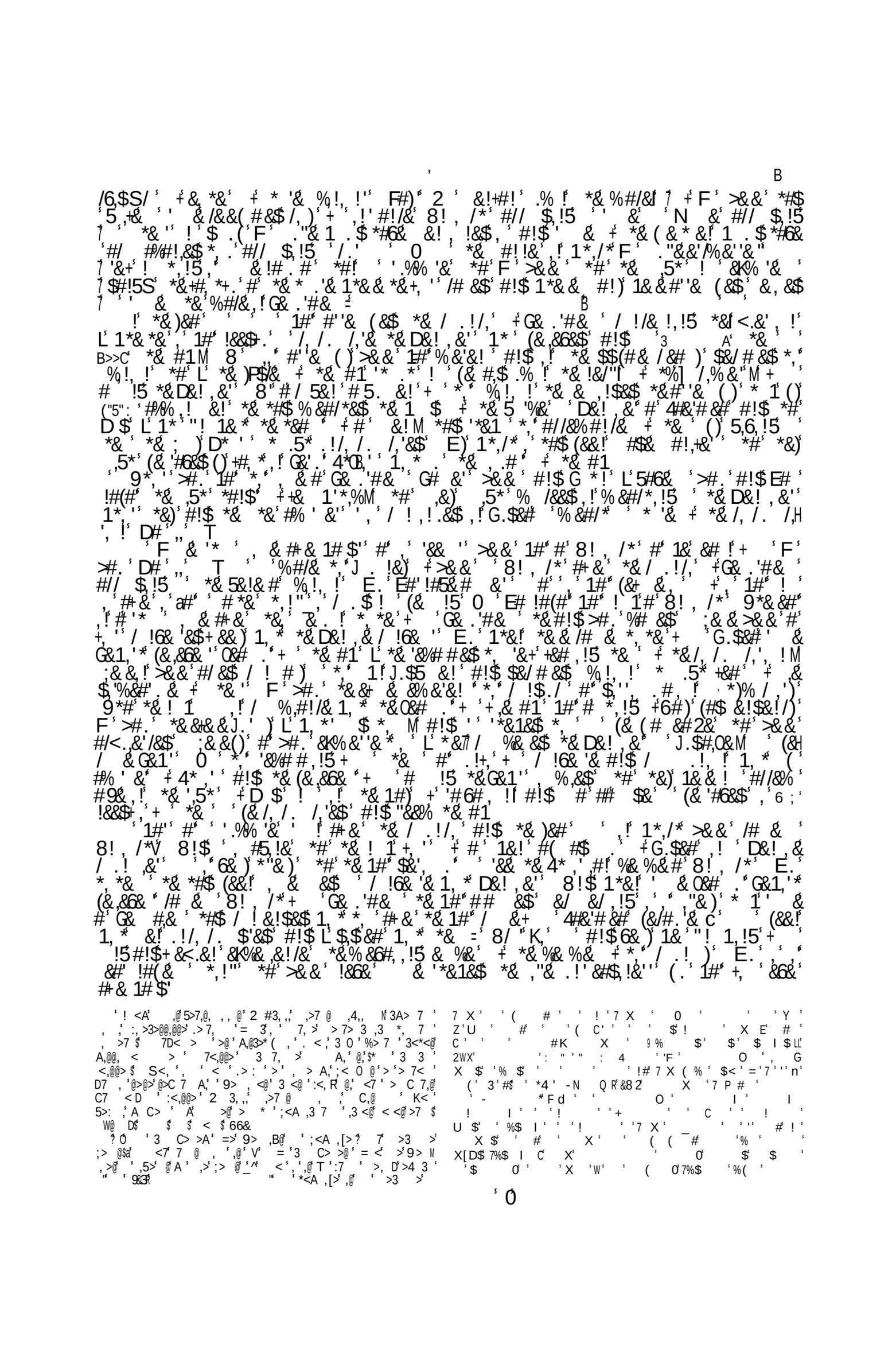
Toward the end of his reign Herod Agrippa became an open persecutor of the believers; "and killed James the brother of John, with the sword. And because he saw it pleased the Jews, he proceeded farther, to take Peter also. [Then were the days of unleavened bread.] And when he had apprehended him, he put him in prison, and delivered him to four quaternions of soldiers, to keep him:" that is, sixteen in all, four of which were by turns to watch him: "intending after Easter to bring him forth to the people." Acts x. 1—4.

The conversion of Cornelius happened, as I suppose, in the year 41 of our Saviour's nativity, according to the vulgar computation. And the Easter, or passover, here mentioned, was probably the passover of the year 44.

"Peter therefore was kept in prison. But prayer was made without ceasing of the church unto God for him." ver. 5. And he was delivered out of prison in a miraculous manner, as related ver. 6—11. The Divine Being did not allow that a period should be yet put to the life of that apostle. One thing very observable in this history is the composure of Peter's mind in a great extremity, and in the near apprehension of death. For it is said ver. 6, "And when Herod would have brought him forth, the same night Peter was sleeping between two soldiers bound with two chains." In that posture the angel found him, who at that instant was sent to assist his escape.

Having informed some of his intimate friends, assembled at the house of Mary, in Jerusalem, of his wonderful deliverance out of prison, "he departed and went to another place." ver. 17. Meaning either another house in Jerusalem, or else some city, or village not far from it. Where, probably, he lived privately, till the death of Herod Agrippa, which happened before the end of that year.

Some have thought that Peter now went to Antioch or Rome. But there is no good



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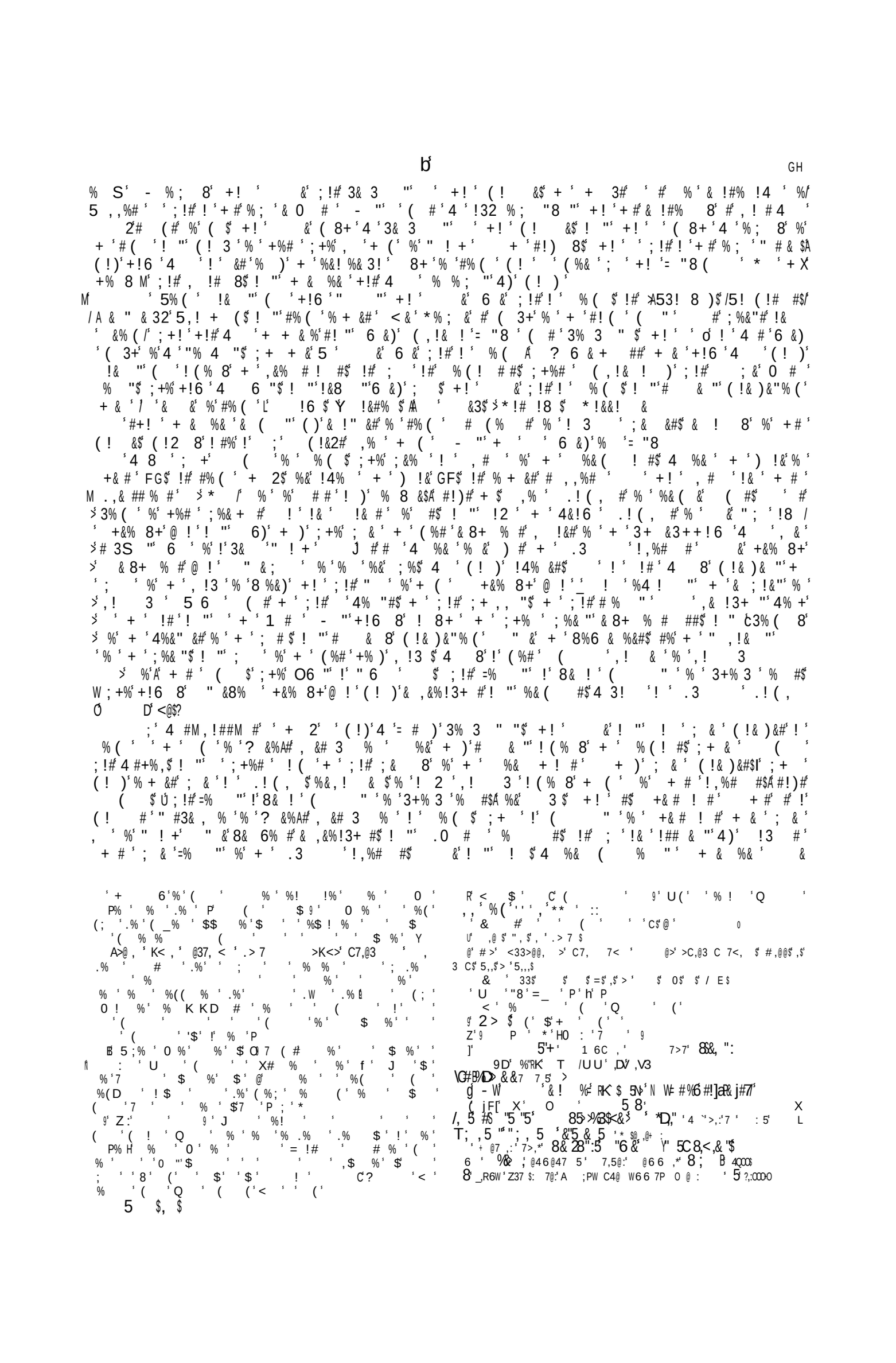

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The writer therefore is the apostle Peter, whose name the epistle bears in the inscription.

So that we are here led to that observation, which Wall placed at the head of his notes upon this second epistle. 'It is,' says [a] he, 'a good proof of the cautiousness of the ancient Christians in receiving any book for canonical, that they not only rejected all those pieces forged 'by heretics, under the names of apostles:——but also, if any good book affirmed by some men, 'or by some churches, to have been written and sent by some apostle, were offered to them, 'they would not, till fully satisfied of the fact, receive it into their canon.' He adds: 'There 'is more hazard in denying this to be Peter's, than there is in denying some other books to be 'of that author, to whom they are by tradition ascribed. For they, if they be not of that apostle, 'to whom they are imputed, yet may be of some other apostle, or apostolical man. But this 'author is either the apostle, or else by setting his name, and by other circumstances, he does 'designedly personate him; which no man of piety and truth would do.' And then he concludes: 'This epistle being written by him but a little before his death, ch. i. 14, and perhaps no 'more than one copy sent; it might be a good while before a number of copies well attested, 'came abroad to the generality of the Christian churches.'

What has been just said is sufficient to confute the opinion advanced by Grotius, that [b] *this* second epistle was written by Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, after James, the Lord's brother. Indeed that opinion cannot be admitted. It is destitute of all authority from antiquity, and is inconsistent with the whole tenour of the epistle itself, or at least with many things in it. As has been well observed by [c] Vitringa, and has been now shewn by us.

Jerom, in his article of St. Peter, in his book of Illustrious Men, as already seen, says: 'Peter [d] wrote two epistles, called catholic: the second of which was by many denied to be his, 'because of its differing in style from the former.' Of [e] this he speaks likewise in his epistle to Hedibia. Basnage [f] says, he is not able to discern such difference of style in the two epistles. However, Dr. Sherlock, now bishop of London, has largely treated of this point in his Dissertation concerning the authority of the second epistle of St. Peter. Who observes, p. 203, 'that 'the first and third of the three chapters, into which this epistle is now divided, agree in style 'with the first epistle. The only difference is in the second chapter, the style of which is no 'more like to that of the other two, than it is to that of the first epistle. The occasion of this 'difference seems to be this, that in the second chapter there is a description of the false 'prophets and teachers, who infested the church, and perverted the doctrines of the gospel. 'Some ancient Jewish writer had left behind him a description of the false prophets of his own, 'or perhaps earlier times. Which description is applied, both by St. Peter and St. Jude, to the 'false teachers of their own times.' It is added by his Lordship, p. 204. 'St. Jerom supposed, 'and others have followed his opinion, that St. Peter made use of different interpreters, to 'express his sense in his two epistles. But had that been the case, the difference of style would 'have appeared in the whole, and not in one part of it only: which is the present case. And I 'see no reason to think that St. Peter did not write both his epistles himself.'

This is the account which his lordship gives of the difference of the style, which all will allow to be ingenious, whether they admit it to be right, or not. For some may think, that [g] all this difference of style arises from the subject treated of in the second chapter.

I conclude therefore, that the two epistles, generally ascribed to the apostle Peter, are indeed his.

[a] Critical Notes upon the N. T. p. 358, 359.

[b] Scriptorem autem hujus epistolæ arbitror esse Simeonem, Episcopum post Jacobi mortem Hierosolymis, ejusdemque Jacobi, cujus epistolam habemus, successorem et imitatorem, &c. Grot. in 2. ep. S. Petri.

[c] Verum quâcumque etiam specie se commendet conjectatio hæc Grotiana, hactenus animum inducere non potui, ut eam probem. Epistola Petri posterior talis est, ut scripta censeri nequeat ab impostore. Est enim gravis, et sancto viro dignissima. Quod si ita est, certissime Petro erit vindicanda, quia præter præfationem, non temere rejiciendam, alia per hanc epistolam sparsa sunt, quæ personam Petri nobis digito quasi monstrant, ut cap. i. 18. iii. 15. Vitring. observat. Sacr. l. 4. cap. 9. num. xlii.

[d] Scripsit duas epistolas, quæ catholicæ nominantur: quarum secunda a plerisque ejus esse negatur, propter styli cum priore dissonantiam. De V. I. cap. i.

[e] Habebat ergo Titum interpretem, sicut et beatus Petrus Marcum; cujus Evangelium, Petro narrante, et illo scribente, compositum est. Denique et duæ epistolæ, quæ feruntur Petri, stylo inter se et charactere discrepant, structuraque verborum. Ex quo intelligimus, pro necessitate rerum diversis eum usum interpretibus. Ad Hedib. Qu. xi. T. IV. P. I. p. 183. al. ep. 150.

[f] Nos styli discrimen deprehendere non possumus. Neque continet aliquid, quod Apostolo sit indignum. Basnag. A. 63. num. iii.

[g] Concerning this see more hereafter in the remarks upon St. Jude's epistle, chap. xxi. near the end.

Mr. Ostervald, of Neufchatel, speaking of the first of these epistles, says: 'It contains very 'weighty instructions, and is one of the finest books of the New Testament.' Of the second he says: 'It is a most excellent epistle, as well as the foregoing, and is written with great strength 'and majesty.'

Certainly, these epistles, and the discourses of Peter recorded in the Acts, together with the effects of them, are monuments of a divine inspiration, and of the fulfilment of the promise which Christ made to him, when he saw him and his brother Andrew employed in their trade, and casting a net into the sea: "Follow me," said he, "and I will make you fishers of men." Matt. iv. 19.

II. Concerning the persons, to whom these epistles were sent, there have been different opinions among both ancients and moderns.

Eusebius, [a] speaking of St. Peter's first epistle, as universally acknowledged, says: 'It is 'inscribed by him to the Hebrews, "scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, 'and Bithynia."' They who are desirous to know Jerom's opinion, may consider what is transcribed from him, Vol. ii. p. 560, 561. For he does not seem to me to have any settled judgment about the persons to whom Peter wrote. Didymus of Alexandria supposed [b] St. Peter's first epistle to have been sent to Jews scattered abroad in several countries; to the same purpose Œcumenius, not only in his argument of the epistle, referred to by me [c] formerly, but also in his commentary [d] upon the beginning of the epistle.

Among the moderns not a few are of the same opinion, as Beza and Grotius in their notes upon the first verse of the first epistle, and Mill [e] in his Prolegomena. Cave says, St. Peter's [f] two epistles were written chiefly to Jewish Christians. Tillemont, speaking of the first epistle, says it [g] is addressed particularly to the converted Jews in those countries, but it speaks also to the Gentiles, who had embraced the faith.

But though some of the ancients, as just seen, say, that St. Peter wrote to the believers of the circumcision, we have in the course of this work observed divers others, who say he wrote to Gentiles: as [h] the author of the calling of the Gentiles, by some supposed to be Prosper of Aquitain: the [i] author of the Divine Promises and Predictions, [k] Junilius. Cassiodorius in one place [l] speaks of Peter's writing to the Gentiles, in another [m] to believing Jews. Augustine has twice said, that [n] Peter wrote to Gentiles. In like manner another author [o] in a sermon joined with his works, who may be supposed to have been his disciple. Gregory, [p] the first bishop of Rome, expresseth himself as if he thought that St. Peter's epistles were sent to all Christians in general, both Jews and Gentiles, in the countries mentioned at the beginning of the first epistle. Bede, in his prologue to the seven catholic epistles, largely cited by us formerly, says, that [q] St. Peter's epistles were sent to such as had been proselyted from Gentilism to Judaism, and after that were converted to the Christian religion. He speaks again to the like purpose at the beginning of his Exposition of St. Peter's first epistle. But the Greek word, rendered by us "strangers," is not equivalent to proselytes: as was observed long ago by [r] Œcumenius upon the place, and since by [s] Basnage.

Mr. Wetstein argues from divers texts, that [t] the first epistle was sent to Gentiles. Mr. Hallet in his learned Introduction to the epistle to the Hebrews observes: 'Some,' says he, 'go upon the supposition, that St. Peter's epistles were written to Jews. But it seems to me 'abundantly more natural to suppose, that they were written to Gentile Christians, if we consider 'many passages of the epistles themselves.' Where [u] he proceeds to allege many passages, and, in my opinion, very pertinently. Some of which will be also alleged by me by and by.

[a] See Vol. ii. p. 371. [b] See p. 478.

[c] This Vol. p. 85.

[d] Τοις εκ περιτομης ουτος επιστελλει, ως ο μακαριος Ιακωβος· αλλ' εκεινος αορισως πασι τοις υπο την οικουμενην κατοικουσιν Ιουδαιοις οπωδηποτε ουσιν. Ουτος δε αφωρισμενως τοις κλιμασι Ποντου κ. λ. Œcum. T. ii. p. 482. C. D.

[e] Num. 60.

[f] Reliquit post se epistolas duas, Judæis Christianis præcipue inscriptas. H. L. T. I. p. 5.

[g] Il l'addresse particulièrement aux Juifs convertis dans toutes cespr ovinces, quoiqu'elle parle aussi aux Gentils qui avoient embrassé la foi. S. Pierre art. 33. Mem. T. I.

[h] This Vol. p. 22. [i] P. 22, 23.

[k] P. 59. [l] P. 61.

[m] P. 62. [n] Vol. ii. p. 587.

[o] The same. [p] This Vol. p. 71. [q] P. 79.

[r] Σημαινει δε το ονομα ου ταυτον τω προσηλυτω, κ. λ. Œcum. vol. II. p. 483. D.

[s] Fallitur egregie Beda.——A quâ se sententiâ revocâsset, si vocem a Petro adhibitam, επιδημος, attendisset, quâ religionis proselytus nunquam designatur. Basn. An. 57. n. iv.

[t] Ad eos, qui ex Gentibus electi sunt, ut Christo et veritati obedirent. Cap. i. 8, 18, 21, 22. ii. 10. iv. 3. Wetsten. N. T. tom. II. p. 681.

[u] See his introduction, p. 23—25.

Dr. Sykes [a] has lately declared himself in favour of the same sentiment, and argued wel for it.

Mr. Basnage supposed that [b] St. Peter's epistles were written to Jews and Gentiles, chiefly the former.

To me it seems, that St. Peter's epistles were sent to all Christians in general, Jews and Gentiles, living in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia: the greatest part of whom must have been converted by Paul, and had been before involved in ignorance, and sin, as all people in general were, till the manifestation of the gospel of Christ.

That St. Peter wrote to all Christians in those countries, is apparent from the valedictory blessing, or wish, at the end of the epistle, 1 ep. v. 14. "Peace be with you all that are in Christ Jesus." Lewis Capellus, who thought that St. Peter's first epistle was written to Jewish believers, allows, that [c] the second epistle was written to all Christians in general, and particularly to Gentiles, induced thereto by the comprehensiveness of the address at the beginning of that epistle: "to them that have obtained like precious faith with us." He should have concluded as much of the first epistle likewise. For they were both sent to the same people, as is evident from St. Peter's own words, 2 ep. iii. 1.

Moreover, the inscription of the first epistle seems to be as general, as that of the second. Let us observe it distinctly.

"To the elect," εκλεκτοις, says Wall upon the place: 'He useth the word εκλεκτοι, choice ones, 'just as St. Paul does the word αγιοι, saints, for the word Christians. And as St. Paul directs 'almost all his epistles "to the saints," that is, the Christians, of such a place; so St. Peter, here, '"to the elect," or choice ones, that is Christians, sojourning in the dispersions of Pontus, Galatia, 'and Bithynia.'

"Strangers," παρεπιδημοις. Good men, though at home, are strangers, especially, if they meet with opposition, trouble and affliction, as those Christians did, to whom St. Peter is here writing. For he speaks of their "trials, and temptations," ch. i. ver. 6, 7. and exhorts them, ch. ii. 11. "as sojourners, and strangers, ως παροικους και παρεπιδημους, to abstain from fleshly lusts." Says Œcumenius upon ch. i. ver. 1, 2. 'He calls [d] them strangers, either on account of their disper-'sion, or because that all who live religiously, are called strangers on this earth, as David also 'says: "I am a sojourner with thee, and a stranger, as all my fathers were." Ps. xxxix. 12.

"Scattered throughout Pontus——or, of [e] the dispersion of Pontus, Galatia:—" so he calls them, not because they had been driven out from their native country, but because he writes to the Christians of divers countries, who also were but a few, or a small number, in every place where they dwelled.

This may suffice for showing, that these two epistles were sent to all Christians in general, living in the countries, mentioned at the beginning of the first epistle.

I shall now show, that these Christians were for the most part of Gentile stock and original.

1 Pet. i. 14. "As obedient children, not fashioning yourselves, according to the former lusts in your ignorance." This might be very pertinently said to men converted from gentilism to Christianity; but no such thing is ever said by the apostles, concerning the Jewish people, who

[a] 'This epistle of St. Peter,' says he, 'was written to the 'strangers scattered through several parts of the Lesser Asia. 'And it is plain, that he meant by them Gentiles converted 'in those parts of the world to Christ. He does not mean 'Jews, but such as were elect, according to the foreknow-'ledge of God the Father.' Such, 'of whose salvation the 'prophets inquired, who prophesied of the grace that should 'come unto them,' ch. i. ver 10; such, 'for whom Christ 'was manifested in these last times, ver. 20; such as were 'λαος εις περιποιησιν, an acquired people, who had not ob-'tained mercy,' ch. ii. 9, 10; 'as sheep going astray, but now 'returned,' ver. 25; as men, "who in the time past of their 'life had wrought the will of the Gentiles," iv. 3. These are 'marks sufficient to describe the people, to whom St. Peter 'wrote.——The Gentiles were 'now begotten in Christ to a 'lively hope.' They were become now what the Jews for-'merly were, "a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an 'holy nation, a peculiar people, &c." The scripture doctrine of the Redemption of Man by Jesus Christ, ch. iii. sect. 252. p. 62. 63; see likewise ch. v. num. 832. p. 306, 307.

[b] Ut nostra fert opinio, ad utrosque scripta est, præcipue tamen ad Judæos, qui sub apostolatum Petri ceciderant. Ad gentes quoque epistolam scriptam fuisse, ex his explorate percipitur: 'Qui quondam eratis non populus, nunc estis populus Dei.' 1 ep. ii. 10. Quæ Ethnicorum præcipue sunt.——Præterea Ethnicorum idololatria his perstringitur: 'Incessimus in nefariis idolorum cultibus,' iv. 3. Basn. ann. 57. num. iv.

[c] Ad posteriorem autem B. Petri epistolam.——Nec fuit ea scripta, quemadmodum prior, solis Judæis τοις εκ διασπορας, sed omnibus in universum fidelibus, tum ex Judæis, tum ex Gentibus, ad Christum conversis. Quod liquet tum ex ver. 1. cap. i. τοις ισοτιμον ἡμιν λαχουσι πιστιν. (quod de Gentibus proprie dicitur) tum ex eo quod cap. iii. 15, 16. dicit Paulum ad eos scripsisse in omnibus suis epistolis. Atqui pleræque omnes Pauli epistolæ scriptæ sunt ad Gentes ad fidem Christi conversas. Capell. Hist. Apost. p. 44.

[d] Εκλεκτοις παρεπιδημοις.] Το παρεπιδημοις, γτοι δια την διασποραν ειπεν, η και ὁτι παντες οι κατα θεον ζωντες παρεπιδημοι λεγονται της γης, ὡς και Δαυιδ φησιν. κ. λ. Œcum. T. II. p. 483.

[e] Εκλεκτοις παρεπιδημοις διασπορας ποντ8.——

had been favoured with Divine revelation, and had the knowledge of the true God. And ver. 20 and 21, he says, that "through Christ they did now believe in God." Therefore they were not worshippers of God, till they were acquainted with the Christian revelation. In like manner ch. ii. 9, St. Peter speaks of those to whom he writes, as "having been called out of darkness into God's marvellous light." Moreover, they once were not God's people. ver. 10. "Which in time past were not a people, but are now the people of God: which had not obtained mercy, but now have obtained mercy." Words resembling those of St. Paul, Rom. ix. 24, 25, where he is unquestionably speaking of Gentile converts.

There are also other expressions, which plainly show, that these persons had been Gentiles, and had lived in the sins of gentilism. ch. i. 18. "Forasmuch as ye know, that ye were redeemed from your vain conversation, received by tradition from your fathers." And ch. iv. 3. "For the time past of our life may suffice us, to have wrought the will of the Gentiles: when we walked in lasciviousness, lusts, excess of wine, revellings, banquetings, and abominable idolatries." St. Peter does not charge himself with such things. But they to whom he writes had been guilty in those respects. And by way of condescension, and for avoiding offence, and for rendering his argument more effectual, he joins himself with them.

Once more, when St. Peter represents the dignity of those to whom he writes, upon account of their Christian vocation, ch. ii. 9. as "a chosen generation, a peculiar people, a royal priesthood:" certainly, the expressions are most pertinent, and emphatical, if understood of such as had been brought from gentilism to the faith of the gospel, as indeed they plainly were. For he there says, they were to show forth the praises of him, who had called them out of darkness into his marvellous light."

To all which might be added, what was hinted before, that the persons to whom Peter writes were, for the most part, the apostle Paul's converts. This must be reckoned probable from the accounts, which we have in the Acts of St. Paul's travels and preaching. Whence we know, that he had been in Galatia, and the other countries, mentioned by St. Peter at the beginning of his first epistle. Moreover he observes, 2 ep. iii. 15, that "his beloved brother Paul had written unto them." We may reasonably suppose, that he thereby intends St. Paul's epistles to the Galatians, the Ephesians, and Colossians, all in those countries, and for the most part gentile believers. Nor do I see reason to doubt, but that Peter had before now seen, and read St. Paul's two epistles to Timothy. And if we should add them, as here intended also, it would be no prejudice to our argument. For those epistles likewise were designed for the use and benefit of the churches in those parts.

To me these considerations appear unanswerable. I shall therefore take notice of but one objection only, which is grounded upon ch. ii. 12. "Having your conversation honest among the Gentiles: that whereas they speak against you as evil-doers, they may by your good works, which they shall behold, glorify God in the day of visitation."

Upon the first clause in that verse Beza says, that [a] this place alone is sufficient to show, that this epistle was sent to Jews. But, I think not. From St. Paul may be alleged a text of the like sort, 1 Cor. x. 32. "Give no offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentiles, [και ελλησι] nor to the church of God." It might be as well argued from that text, that the Corinthians were by descent neither Jews nor Greeks, as from this, that the persons to whom St. Peter wrote, were not originally Gentiles. In the text of St. Paul, just alleged, by Jews and Gentiles, or Greeks, are intended such as were unbelievers. So it is likewise in the text of St. Peter, which we are considering: as is apparent from the latter part of the verse, above transcribed at large. St. Peter had a right to distinguish those, to whom he writes, from the Gentile people among whom they lived: as he had at the beginning of his epistle called them elect, or choice ones, and strangers, and they likewise went by the name of Christians, as we perceive from ch. iv. 16.

St. Peter's two epistles then were sent to all Christians in general, living in those countries: the greatest part of whom had been converted from gentilism, or heathenism.

III. Our next inquiry is, concerning the place where these epistles were written.

At the end of the first epistle St. Peter says: "The church that is at Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you." Which text, understood literally, has been thought by some to denote Babylon in Assyria, or Babylon in Egypt. By others it is interpreted figuratively, and

[a] Inter Gentes, εν τοις εθνεσιν.] Vel unus hic locus tribubus illis dispersis proprie fuisse inscriptam hanc epistolam convincit. Bez. in loc.

supposed to denote Jerusalem, or Rome. So that there are four opinions concerning the place where this epistle is dated. All which must be considered by us.

1. Pearson by Babylon supposes to be meant[a] a town, or city, of that name in Egypt. But it seems to me, that[b] little can be said for this opinion. Babylon in Egypt is an obscure place. It was a frontier town, or strong castle, with a garrison, as it is described by[c] Strabo: in whose time, the reign of Tiberius, was quartered there one of the three Roman legions, appointed to keep the Egyptian people in order. In such a place, as may be supposed, there[d] were but few Jews, and not many inhabitants of any sort, beside soldiers. This opinion likewise is altogether without the authority of ancient Christians. If St. Peter had written an epistle in Egypt, in all probability, it[e] would have been dated at Alexandria. But there is not in early antiquities any intimation, that[f] the apostle Peter was at all at Alexandria, or in any part of Egypt. If St. Peter had been at Babylon in Egypt, and had founded a church there, it would have been a church of great renown among Christians: whereas[g] there is not for the first four centuries any notice taken of a church, or bishop in that place.

Le Clerc, who[h] follows Pearson, says, in his notes upon 1 Pet. v. 13. 'Thereby[i] is to be understood, not Babylon, which lay on the east side of the Euphrates, and where Peter never was, 'but a city in Egypt, so called, and lying not far from the place where now is Cairo.' But what proof is there of Peter's ever having been in Egypt, more than of his having been in Assyria?

2. Lewis Capellus conjectured, that[k] by Babylon is to be understood Jerusalem. But it is a mere conjecture, quite destitute of foundation in antiquity. And therefore, *in my opinion*, no more to be received, than the preceding interpretation.

3. Divers other learned men think, that by Babylon is meant Babylon in Assyria. So [l] Beza, [m] Lightfoot, [n] Basnage. Cave, who supposeth,[o] the first epistle of St. Peter to have been written at Babylon in Assyria, thinks, that[p] his second epistle was written at Rome.

They who reject this opinion, say, that[q] the Assyrian Babylon was at that time almost deserted. On the contrary, they who embrace it, say, there[r] were multitudes of Jews in that

[a] Explodatur figurata, admittatur literalis expositio. Non opus erit, ut in Assyriam nos conferamus, si nudo urbis nomine standum esse arbitremur. Alia enim erat urbs Babylonis nomine insignita, eaque Judææ multo vicinior, a Babyloniis, post dira Prophetarum vaticinia, Ptolomæorum permissu condita et habitata. Pearson. de Succ. Rom. Episc. Diss. i. num. vii. &c.

[b] Duas enim vetus terrarum orbis habuit Babylones, alteram clarissimam illam Chaldæorum regiam, alteram castellum quoddam Ægypti a Babyloniis conditum. Posteriorem hic nominari, nemo crediturus fuisse videtur, nisi fama fuisset vulgata, prioris Babylonis ætate nihil superfuisse, certe nullos prorsus ei fuisse incolas. Heumann. Nova Sylloge Dissertat. P. II. p. 106.

[c] Αναπλευσαντι δ' εστι Βαβυλων φρουριον ερυμνον——νυνι δ' εστι στρατοπεδον ενος των τριων ταγματων των φρουρουντων την Αιγυπτον. Strab. l. 17. p. 807. al. p. 1160.

[d] Abundâsse Judæis Ægyptiacam Babylonem, vix probabile videtur, propter et constitutum in eâ civitate Romanorum præsidium, cum signis et aquilis suis, quæ Judæis odio erant, et vicinitatem Alexandriæ, in quâ libentius degebant. Basnag. Ann. 46. num. xxvii.

[e] Si Petrus in Ægyptiacâ Babylone versatus est, cui probabile fiet, non petivisse Alexandriam, civitatem totius orbis secundum Romam nobilissimam, magnoque Judæorum numero frequentem; cum Alexandriæ in viciniâ exstaret Babylon, et moris esset Apostolorum, aliquâ in regione vestigium ponentium, metropoles adire ut majus theatrum haberet evangelii prædicatio, quæ inde veluti ex fonte manabat urbibus provincialibus irrigandis. Id. ibid.

[f] Quod vero in Ægypto unquam versatus fuerit, ne levissima quidem antiquitatis umbra obtendi potest. Cav. de Petro H. L. p. 6.

Quis vero Veterum dixit, Petrum se Alexandriam contulisse? Hoccine dissimulâssent tot eruditi scriptores, quos Alexandrina peperit ecclesia? Basnag. ib.

[g] Liquet omnes ecclesias apostolicas magnæ existimationis fuisse Veteribus. Hinc illud Tertullianum: 'Percurre ecclesias Apostolicas, apud quas ipsæ adhuc cathedra Apostolorum suis locis præsident.' Proindeque ecclesia, quæ Memphiticâ Babylone fuit, apostolicis esset inferenda, et multo honore cumulata fuisset, utpote a Petro fundata. Jam vero tam obscura fuit Babylonica illa ecclesia, ut labentibus quadringentis amplius annis, in antiquitatis monumentis nullo vestigio reperiatur: nullâ fuit episcoporum successione, nullâ Martyrum passione nobilis. Quod de ecclesiâ apostolicâ, et in Imperio Romano constitutâ, vix cogitatione fingi potest. Basn. ubi supra.

[h] Vid. ejus H. E. anno. 61. num. vii. et Annot. ad Hammondi Præmonitionem in 1 Petri epistolam.

[i] Il faut entendre, non la Babylone qui étoit à l'orient de l'Euphrate, et où S. Pierre n'a jamais été; mais une ville d'Egypte, qui se nommoit ainsi, et qui n'étoit pas loin du lieu ou est bâti le Caire. Le Clerc. sur 1. ep. de S. Pierre. v. 13.

[k] Ego potius conjicerem Jerosolymæ fuisse scriptam, et Jerosolymam a Petro fuisse dictam figurate Babylonem; quod tum temporis Jerusalem non esset amplius urbs, sed spiritualis quædam Babylon, in quâ ecclesia Dei captiva quasi tenebatur, et gravi servitute premebatur, quâtenus pridem a Judæis persecutionem pati cœperat. Capp. Hist. Ap. p. 42.

[l] Babylona proprie accipio pro celebri illâ Assyriæ urbe, in quâ tum esset Petrus, circumcisionis Apostolus. Bez. in 1 Pet. v. 13.

[m] See his sermon upon 1 Pet. v. 13. Vol. ii. p. 1141—1147. and many other places in his works.

[n] Basn. ann. 46. num. xxvii.

[o] Verum ego priorem sententiam, tamquam longe verisimiliorem, amplector, tum quod in Babylone Parthicâ magna esset Judæorum frequentia, &c. Cav. in Petro. H. L. p. 8.

[p] Epistola secunda Romæ, ut videtur, paullo ante mortem scripta. Id. ibid.

[q] An urbem illam S. Petrus adire maxime concupivit, quam Prophetarum vaticinio, et justo Dei judicio percussam esse novit? Pearson ubi supr. sect. iv. Paullatim igitur defecit Babylon, a Regibus primo, deinde a populo deserta. Ib. num. v.

[r] In Assyriâ, ubi Babylon, immensa fuit Judæorum mul-

country. Which may be true. For there were many Jews in most countries. But it would have been more to the purpose to produce some evidence from antiquity, that Peter was in that country. The primitive Christians had in their hands St. Peter's first epistle. And it was universally received as his. And it is dated at Babylon. And yet ecclesiastical history affords no accounts, that this apostle was in Assyria or Chaldea. Is not this a proof, that [a] there was not any very ancient tradition, that he was in that country? We just now observed passages of Origen, Epiphanius, Gregory Nazianzen, Jerom, Chrysostom, relating to St. Peter's travels. But none have mentioned Babylon as a place where he travelled and preached the gospel.

Says Mr. Beausobre: 'As[b] Peter was the apostle of the Jews scattered abroad among the 'Gentiles, St. James having stayed in Judea, he went to Babylon, where a great number of the 'Israëlites had remained.' But may I not take the liberty to ask a question, and say, who assigned to these apostles those several provinces, with such limitations? St. James stayed in Judea. It is allowed. We are certain of it from the history in the Acts. Nevertheless he did not confine his regards to the Jews in the land of Israel. For he wrote an epistle, addressed "to the twelve tribes scattered abroad." And if Peter also was an apostle, chiefly, of the circumcision; it was not of those only, who were in Gentile countries, but of those likewise who were in Judea: where, as I apprehend, he spent the greatest part of his life, even after our Saviour's ascension.

Mr. Beausobre says, 'Peter went to Babylon, where a great number of Israelites had remained.' That is, he imagined, that he did so. And it was fit for him so to do. As Basnage, in a passage[c] cited not long ago, says: 'There was a multitude of Jews in Assyria, where was 'Babylon. Nor could he any where more successfully execute his apostolical commission.' And because we imagine that Peter might very fitly preach the gospel in Assyria, we conclude that he went thither. But such reasonings, if calmly considered, are of no weight. It would be much better to allege some ancient testimonies, in behalf of St. Peter's journey into Assyria, or Parthia.

Mr. Wetstein thinks that St. Peter's first epistle was written in the country of Babylon, in Mesopotamia. As there is somewhat new in his argument, I place below[d] a large part of it. In particular, he says, that when a person writes to the people of several cities, or countries, it is natural to begin with that which is nearest to him. So does Paul, Col. iv. 3. and St. John in Patmos, Rev. i. and ii. The like order, says he, is also accurately observed by St. Peter, if he wrote from Mesopotamia, not if we suppose him to have written from Italy or Egypt.

But such observations, though ingenious and plausible, are not demonstrative and decisive, even when they are just and right. Which cannot be said of this. For supposing St. Peter to have been in Mesopotamia, the country nearest to him would be Cappadocia, as lying more eastward and more southward than the two first named. Certainly Pontus and Galatia were farther off from Mesopotamia than Cappadocia. The truth is: St. Peter begins at the north, and so goes round. And that way of beginning does as well suit Rome, as Babylon, so far as I can see.

Beside all this, there offers an argument, which appears to me decisive. If the Assyrian

titudo, quos sub Petrinum cecidisse apostolatum, certum, exploratumque est: ut nusquam gentium provinciam administrare suam felicius potuerit. Basnag. ann. 46. num. xxvii.

[a] Sunt qui in dictâ Petri epistolâ Babylonis nomine non Romam, sed Babylonem ipsam, quæ caput fuit Assyriorum, designari contendunt. Verum hi omnium veterum patrum testimonio refelluntur. Certe qui Petrum Babylone sedisse volunt, ostendant nobis oportet successionem episcoporum, qui Babylonis ecclesiam post Petrum administrârunt.——Quæ (malum!) impudentia est, id quidem quod nemo veterum dixit, temere affirmare, Petrum scilicet sedem fixisse Babylone; id vero quod veteres omnes scriptores disertissime prodiderunt, pertinaciter negare! Vales. Annot. in Euseb. l. 2. cap. 15. p. 33.

Negant enim, Petrum Romæ fuisse; quod testatur antiquitas. Affirmant autem Babylone fuisse, vel in Ægypto, vel in Chaldæâ; quod nulla prodit historia. Est in 1 Pet. v. 13.

[b] Comme il étoit l'Apôtre des Juifs dispersés parmi les Payens, S. Jacques étant demeuré en Judée, il alla à Babylone, et dans les provinces voisines, où il étoit resté un bon nombre d'Israëlites. Hist. de Manich. l. 2. ch. 3. T. I. p. 181.

[c] See note [r]

[d] Cur Babylon in Italiâ potius, aut Ægypto, quam in Mesopotamiâ, sit quærenda, causam non video. Veteres quidem Romam intelligunt.——Quod recentiores observant, Babylonem proprie dictam, quo tempore Petrus hæc scribebat, habitatam non fuisse, verum est. At (præterquam quod et Stephano Byzantino et Lucano constat, etiam Seleuciam eo tempore nomine Babylonis fuisse appellatam) possumus Babylonem interpretari non urbem, sed totam regionem.——Huic observationi addo aliam, quæ licet mihi nunc primum in mentem venerit, suum tamen apud me pondus habet. Nimirum ubi de pluribus vel provinciis vel urbibus loquimur, vel ubi ad plures scribimus, ordini naturæ convenientius et simplicius videtur, ut incipiamus non ab eâ, quæ loquentibus vel scribentibus est remotissima, sed proxima. Hunc ordinem servavit Paulus Col. iv. 13 et Joannes ex Patmo. Apoc. i. et ii. Hunc ordinem accurate servavit etiam Petrus, si scripsit ex Mesopotamiâ, minime autem, si vel ex Ægypto, vel ex Italiâ, eum scripsisse existimemus. Wetsten. in 2 Pet. v. 13. T. II. p. 697, 698.

Babylon was not now subject to the Romans, but to [a] the Parthians: which I suppose to be allowed by all: it cannot be the place intended by St. Peter. For the people, to whom he writes, were subject to the Romans. And at the time of writing this epistle he must have been within the territories of the same empire, 1 epist. ii. 13, 14. "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the king," or rather emperor, as formerly shewn, "as supreme: or unto governors sent [from Rome] by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well." Again, ver. 17. "Honour the king:" or rather, the emperor. If St. Peter had not now been within the Roman territories, he would have been led to express himself in a different manner, when he enforced obedience to the Roman emperor.

This argument appears to me very obvious. And yet I do not know that it has ever been thought of by any before. Which makes me almost suspect the validity of it: though I cannot discern where the defect lies.

St. Peter requires subjection to governors sent by the emperor: undoubtedly meaning from Rome. I suppose that way of speaking might be properly used in any part of the empire. But it might have a special propriety, if the writer was then at Rome: where indeed, in all probability, Peter then was.

4. So that we are now come to the fourth opinion concerning the date of this epistle. Which is, that by Babylon St. Peter figuratively means Rome. This is the opinion of [c] Grotius, and [d] Whitby, and [e] Valesius, and all the learned writers of the Roman communion in general.

They have, confessedly, in their favour the testimony of antiquity; which is no small advantage.

Eusebius having given an account of St. Mark's gospel, and of its having been written at the request of St. Peter's hearers at Rome, adds: 'and [f] it is said, that Peter mentions this 'Mark in his first epistle, which, they say, he wrote at Rome: and that himself calls that city 'Babylon figuratively in those words: "The church that is at Babylon, salutes you, as does 'Mark my son."'

This interpretation some suppose Eusebius to ascribe to Papias. But [g] Spanheim denies it. And perhaps it is not certain. Whether Papias said so or not it was the prevailing opinion in the time of Eusebius.

Jerom in his book of Illustrious Men, in his article of St. Mark, transcribes the just cited passage of Eusebius, but expresseth himself more positively. 'Peter [h] makes mention of this 'Mark in his first epistle, figuratively denoting Rome by the name of Babylon. "The church 'which is at Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you, as does Mark my son."'

Bede, [i] by Babylon understood Rome, as did [k] Œcumenius. However, it may be here properly recollected, that [l] formerly we saw an author, Cosmas of Alexandria, in the sixth century, who hereby seems to have understood Babylon in Assyria.

This opinion concerning the place of writing this epistle is much confirmed by the general tradition of the ancients, that St. Mark's gospel was written at Rome, at the request of Peter's

[a] Vid. Strab. l. 16. p. 1081. in al. p. 745.

[b] See Vol. i. p. 48.

[c] De Babylone dissident veteres et novi interpretes. Veteres Romam interpretantur, ubi Petrum fuisse nemo verus Christianus dubitabit; novi Babylonem in Chaldæâ. Ego veteribus assentior. Nam quod Romam Babylonem vocavit, non in hoc tantum serviit, ut si deprehenderetur epistola, non posset inde sciri, quibus in locis viveret. Verum etiam.——congruentias plurimas inter Babylonem et Romam vide, Orosii ii. 2, 3, 4. Grot. ad 1 Pet. v. 13.

[d] See him upon 1 Pet. v. 13.

[e] Romam Petrus figurate Babylonem vocavit, vel ob magnitudinem et potentiam, vel propter impietatem.——Potest etiam alia ratio hujus cognominis afferri, quod scilicet, ut Babylonii Judæos in servitutem redegerant, sic Romani tunc Judæos ditioni suæ subjecissent. Sunt qui in dictâ Petri epistolâ Babylonis nomine non Romam, sed Babylonem ipsam, quæ caput fuit Assyriorum, designari contendunt. Verum hi omnium veterum patrum testimonio refelluntur. Vales. Annot. ad Euseb. H. E. l. 2. c. 15. p. 33.

[f] Τὸ δὲ Μαρκὸν μνημονεύειν τὸν Πέτρον ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐπιστολῇ, ἣν καὶ συντάξαι φασὶν ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ῥώμης· σημαίνειν τε τοῦτ' αὐτὸν τὴν πόλιν τροπικώτερον Βαβυλῶνα, προσειπόντα διὰ τούτων· Ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτὴ, καὶ Μᾶρκος ὁ υἱός μου. Eus. H. E. l. 2. c. 15.

[g] Atqui primus omnium Eusebius narrationi de Marco hæc subjungit: 'Esse, qui dicerent Romam figurate Babylonem appellari.'——Nec tamen Papiæ ipsi adscribi eam interpretationem, quidquid vulgo sentiant, Valesio ipso verba hæc a prioribus sejungente, supra demonstratum est. Vid. P. III. num. xii. Spanhem. Diss. de ficta Profect. Petri ad Rom. Part iv. num. ii. tom. II. p. 375.

[h] Meminit hujus Marci et Petrus in epistolâ primâ, sub nomine Babylonis figuraliter Roman significans: salutat vos quæ in Babylone est coëlecta, et Marcus filius meus. De V. I. cap. viii.

[i] Babylonem typice Romam dicit, videlicet propter confusionem multiplicis idololatriæ, &c. Bed. expos. 1 Pet. v. 13.

[k] Βαβυλῶνα δὲ τὴν Ῥωμὴν διὰ τὸ περιφανὲς καλεῖ, ὁ καὶ Βαβυλῶν πολλῷ χρόνῳ ἐσχήκει. Œcum. in loc. tom. II. p. 526. A.

[l] See this Vol. p. 53 and 55.

hearers, and that Mark here mentioned is the evangelist. Nor is this contradicted by Cosmas, but confirmed by him. For he expressly says, 'that [a] Mark, the second evangelist, wrote his gospel at Rome by the direction of Peter.'

They [b] who reject this interpretation, affect to slight Papias: whereas there is no good reason for it. If he said so, certainly his testimony would be of some value. But we do not clearly perceive that this was in Papias. However, it is said by Eusebius. It was then a common opinion. Nor did he know of a better.

Others insinuate likewise, that [c] the reason why Jerom was willing to confound Rome with Babylon, was, that he was out of humour with the people of Rome; which seems to me to be groundless. Jerom only transcribes what he had found in Eusebius. They who reject the accounts of those two learned ancients should by all means produce some evidence that Peter was in Mesopotamia. We have good assurance that St. Mark's gospel was written at Rome, and that Peter preached and suffered martyrdom there. His two epistles therefore, probably, were written in the same city, a short time before the period of his life.

Mill varies. In his note upon the place he is for Babylon in Egypt. But in his Prolegomena [d] he is for Rome, and argues well enough for that opinion. I suppose that to be his final determination.

It may be best for me now to conclude this argument with a part of Whitby's note upon *1 Pet.* v. *13*, which is very agreeable also to the note of Estius upon the same text. 'That 'Babylon is figuratively here put for Rome, is an opinion so early delivered by Papias, and 'which afterwards so generally prevailed (as we learn from Eusebius, Jerom, and Œcumenius) 'that I subscribe to the note at the end of this epistle, εγραφη απο Ρωμης, "it was written at 'Rome," styled also "Babylon" by the author of the Revelations, ch. xvii. and xviii. For the 'apostle, at the time of writing it, must be at Rome, figuratively, or at some city, properly 'called Babylon. Now as it is uncertain whether St. Peter ever was at Babylon in Chaldea, or 'in Egypt, and improbable that he made any considerable stay there: so it is very improbable 'he should do it when near his end. At Rome and Antioch, where he confessedly resided, 'church history is copious in giving an account of his successors in those sees. But who can 'shew any thing of this nature, with reference to either of those Babylons? &c. &c.'

IV. The only thing remaining to be observed by us is the time of writing these two epistles. Which I think to be the year 63, or 64, or at the latest 65. I suppose Paul to have left Rome in the spring of the year 63. St. Peter was not then come thither. If he had been there, he would have been mentioned by St. Paul in some of his epistles, written near the end of his imprisonment at Rome. However, not very long after St. Paul was gone, St. Peter might come thither. Here, I suppose, he preached for a while freely, and with great success. And it appears to me probable, that both these epistles were written at Rome, not long before the apostle's death.

That he was old, and near his end, when he wrote the second epistle, is apparent from ch. i. 14. And that the first epistle to the same Christians had not been written long before, may be argued from the apology which he makes for writing this second epistle to them: ch. i. ver. 13—15. "Wherefore I will not be negligent to put you always in remembrance of these things, though ye know them, and be established in the present truth. Yea I think it meet, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to stir you up by way of remembrance. Knowing, that shortly I must put off this my tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ has shewed me. Moreover, I will endeavour, that you may be able after my decease to have these things always in remembrance."

It is not unlikely, that soon after the apostle had sent away Silvanus with the first epistle,

[a] P. 51, and 179.

[b] Quod si, ut Rufinus interpretatur, teste Papiâ nititur, infirmo sane tibicine fultum est. Nec temere ad tropum in nominibus urbium aut regionum est recurrendum, nisi ubi propria vocis significatio locum habere non potest. Wetsten. N. T. tom. II. p. 697.

[c] C'est une imagination de Papias, que les anciens ont adopté avec trop de facilité, et que S. Jérome auroit rejettée avec mépris, si, dans la mauvaise humeur où il étoit contre Rome, il n'eût été bien aise de la confondre avec Babylone. Beaus. Hist. Manich. l. 2. ch. 3. T. I. p. 181.

[d] Romæ eam scriptam fuisse, notant ex traditione Veterum Eusebius, Hieronymus in Catalogo, et alii permulti. Hanc enim Babylonis nomine designatam voluit Petrus, ceu communi tum temporis apud Judæos suos appellatione: quæ quidem et in hunc usque diem apud eos obtinet. Abarbinel, aliique recentiores Judæi, commentantes in prophetias de Babylone, ad Romam istas referunt; quod, sicut a Babyloniis olim in servitutem redacti fuerint, ita postea jam a Romanis, &c. Proleg. num. 59, 60.

some came from those countries to Rome, where was a frequent and general resort from all parts, bringing him informations concerning the state of religion among them: which induced him to write a second time for the establishment of the Christians, among whom he had laboured. And he might well hope that his last words, and dying testimony to the doctrine, which he had received from Christ, and had taught for many years with unshaken steadfastness, would be of great weight with them.

V. I have now gone through the four inquiries proposed at the beginning of this article. I shall here add only a few remarks upon 1 Pet. v. 13. "The [a] church that is at Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you. And so does Mark, my son."

The word "church" is not in the original, but is inserted in the translation. The same word is supplied in [b] Œcumenius, and [c] in the Latin, and other ancient versions, with the approbation of [d] Grotius, and many others. But Mill [e] in his notes upon this text, where he understands the word Babylon literally, of a city of that name in Egypt, argues, that thereby is intended St. Peter's wife, or some honourable Christian woman, of the city of Babylon, where he then was. Which conjecture is countenanced by [f] Wall.

Dr. Heumann proceeds farther. First, he says, that [g] by "Mark my son," we are to understand Peter's own son, which he had by his wife. And [h] then by "elected together with you," is to be understood an excellent Jewish woman of Babylon in Assyria, whom, with many others, Peter had there converted to the Christian faith, and afterwards married: his first wife, mentioned Luke iv. 38, by whom he had Mark, being dead.

But it appears to me very unlikely that St. Peter should send salutations to the Christians of several countries from a woman, not named by him. Beza says well, that [i] St. Peter omits the noun, "church," as is often done with regard to words of common use. What was the sense of Christians in former times, appears from Œcumenius, and the versions taken notice of above. The same sense appears in [k] the Complexions of Cassiodorius, and [l] the Exposition of Bede.

With regard to St. Mark, Œcumenius says, 'that [m] Peter calls him "his son" according 'to the spirit, not according to the flesh. Him he permitted to write the gospel. But some, 'as he adds, have presumed to call Mark son of Peter according to the flesh, arguing from 'Luke's history, in the Acts of the apostles: where Peter, having been delivered out of prison 'by an angel, is said to have "come to the house of Mary, the mother of John, whose surname 'was Mark," as [n] if he had then gone to his own house, and his lawful wife.'

That is a wrong deduction from the words of Acts xii. 12. But we hence perceive, that those people supposed Mark the evangelist to have been the same as John surnamed Mark.

[a] Ασπαζεται ὑμας ἡ εν Βαβυλωνι συνεκλεκτη, και Μαρκος ὁ υἱος μου.

[b] Ασπαζεται ὑμας ἡ εν Βαβυλωνι εκκλησια συνεκλεκτη.

[c] Εκκλησια præfigunt Lin. [in margine. manu recentiori:] Œcumen. Vulg. Syr. Arab. Æthiop. ex interpretamento Mill. in loc.

[d] Ad vocem συνεκλεκτη, et Syrus, et Arabs, et Latinus, addunt nomen ecclesiæ, recte. Nam et ad ecclesiam scribit, et hæc, et illa, pariter Deo electa, id est, a mundo segregata. Grot. in loc.

[e] Nempe pro indubitato sumitur, ecclesiam Babyloniorum hic intelligi. Atqui vero, si de ecclesiâ hic sermo, quum nulla ejus mentio facta sit in præcedentibus, aperte dixisset Petrus εκκλησια εν Βαβυλωνι.——Mihi quidem vehemens suspicio est, per την εν Βαβυλωνι συνεκλεκτην, intelligi hic Petri uxorem, fidei simul susceptæ, vitæ, laborum, sociam; quæ Babylone Ægyptiacâ tunc, cum hæc scriberentur, egerit.——Si dicas, illud ἡ εν Βαβυλωνι denotare potius feminam aliquam, quæ fixam sedem habuerit in Babylone, nihil equidem repugno. Esto ἡ εν Βαβυλωνι sive uxor Petri, sive etiam opulenta quædam ac illustri loco nata femina apud Babylonios, quæ Apostolum hospitio exceperit; certe nihil hoc loco de ecclesiâ Babyloniorum. Mill. in loc.

[f] 'The word "church" is not in the Greek, but put in 'by the translators, as understood in the Greek.——Dr. Mill 'thinks it to mean Peter's wife, who, being now at Babylon 'with her husband, did salute those Christians to whom the 'epistle was written. And then the reading of the words 'will be: "She who is your fellow-Christian at Babylon, 'saluteth you."' Wall, p. 357.

[g] Similem errârunt errorem, qui quem 'filium suum' hic loci nominavit Petrus, eum non naturalem ejus fuisse filium, sed spiritualem arbitrati sunt.——Maneat nunc, Petrum de filio sibi ex conjuge nato loqui; quem facile ex hoc ipso loco cognoscimus fuisse socium paternorum itinerum, et simul συνεργον εν Χριστω. Heum. ubi supr. p. 110.

[h] Relinquitur igitur, ut statuamus, loqui Apostolum de uxore suâ, Babylone natâ, ac tum, cum ibi versaretur Petrus, unâ cum aliis utriusque sexûs Judæis in ecclesiam Christi traductâ. Hoc enim sibi volunt hæc verba: ἡ εν Βαβυλωνι συνεκλεκτη.——Quis nunc non videat, Petrum hanc νεοφυτον, singulari haud dubie pietate et prudentiâ conspicuam, duxisse in matrimonium, comitemque postea habuisse sacrorum itinerum? Ex quo sequitur, priorem uxorem, cujus Lucæ iv. 38, mentio, e quâ susceperat Marcum, fuisse exstinctam. Heum. ibid. p. 112, 113.

[i] Ecclesiæ nomen omittit, ut in vocabulis communi usu tritis fieri solet. Bez.

[k] Salutationes quoque ecclesiæ, quam de Babyloniâ, id est, de seculi istius confusione, dicit electam, et Marci filii sui piâ institutione transmittens. Cassiod. in loc.

[l] Expos. in 1 Pet. cap. v.

[m] Μαρκον δε υἱον κατα πνευμα καλει, αλλ' ε κατα σαρκα. Œcum. T. II. p. 526, A.

[n] ——ὡς εις την ἑαυτε οικιαν επανελθοντα, και την νομιμην συζυγον. Ib. B.

And I would also farther observe here, by the way, 'that Œcumenius [a] computes Silvanus, 'by whom St. Peter sent this epistle, and who is mentioned chap. v. 12, to be the same who is 'several times mentioned by St. Paul in his epistles, particularly 1 Thess. i. 1. 2 Thess. ii. 1.' Who likewise, very probably, is the same as Silas, often mentioned in the Acts.

Œcumenius there calls Silvanus "a most faithful man, zealous for the progress of the gospel." Indeed all must be sensible that he was an excellent man, who from generous principles attended the apostles of Christ in the journies undertaken by them in the service of the gospel. His deputation from the apostles and elders, and church of Jerusalem, with their letter to the Christians at Antioch, is very honourable to him. Acts xv. 27, 32. His stay there, and Paul's choosing him for his companion in his travels, when he and Barnabas separated, farther assure us of his just sentiments concerning the freedom of the Gentiles from the yoke of the law, and of his zeal for promoting true religion.

CHAP. XX.

THE THREE EPISTLES OF ST. JOHN.

I. *Their genuineness shewn from Testimony and internal Characters.* II. *The time of writing the first of these Epistles.* III. *The people to whom it was sent.* IV. *Observations upon the second Epistle.* V. *Upon the third.* VI. *The time when they were written.*

I. I HAVE already written the history of St. John, one of Christ's twelve apostles, and an evangelist. I have also observed what is needful concerning the gospel written by him. We are now to consider his epistles.

The regard shewn to them by the ancients, may be soon perceived by recollecting briefly what has been largely alleged by us from them in the several volumes of this work.

St. John's first epistle is referred to by Polycarp, Vol. i. p. 332, is quoted by Papias, p. 338, 340, 341, and is referred to by the martyrs of Lyons, p. 362. His first and second epistles are quoted by Irenæus, p. 370, 371. They were also received by Clement of Alexandria, p. 395, 403. And, says Origen, 'John, beside the Gospel and Revelation, has left us an epistle 'of a few lines. Grant also a second and a third. For all do not allow these to be genuine,' p. 532. Dionysius, of Alexandria, receives John's first epistle, which he calls his catholic Epistle, η επιστολη η καθολικη. He likewise mentions the other two, as ascribed to him, Vol. i. p. 635. The first epistle was received by Cyprian, and probably, the other two likewise, Vol. ii. p. 25, 26. The second epistle is quoted by Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, Vol. ii. p. 302. Eusebius says, 'Beside his gospel his first epistle is universally acknowledged by those of the 'present time, and by the ancients: but the other two are contradicted:' that is, doubted of by some, p. 370. See also p. 384. All the three epistles were received by Athanasius, p. 400, by Cyril of Jerusalem, p. 410, by the council of Laodicea, p. 415, by Epiphanius, p. 417, 419. All three were received by Jerom, Vol. ii. p. 548, but the two last were doubted of by some in his time, p. 553. All three were received by Rufinus, p. 573, by the third council of Carthage, p. 575, by Augustine, p. 579, 587, 588, and by all those authors who received the same canon of the New Testament that we do. They are in the Alexandrian manuscript, this Vol. p. 45. All three are also in the catalogues of Gregory Nazianzen, Vol. ii. p. 470, and of Amphilochius, p. 473. But this last observes, that some received one of them only. And indeed it is acknowledged, that but one epistle of St. John is received by the Syrian churches, p, 482, 483, 488. Nor were any more received by Chrysostom, p. 602. 607. Venerable Bede, near the beginning of the eighth century, in his Exposition of the second epistle, says, 'Some [b] have

[a] Πιστος υπερβαλλοντως ὁ Σιλουανος ούτος, και περι το κηρυγμα ευθυμως αγωνιζομενος, ειγε και Παυλος αυτὸ μνημονευει, και συνεργον αυτον μετα Τιμοθεε εν ταις επιστολαις παραλαμβανει Παυλος, λεγων, και Σιλουανος και Τιμοθεος. Œcum. t. p. 525. D.

[b] Quidam putant, hanc et sequentem epistolam non esse Joannis Apostoli, sed cujusdam presbyteri Joannis, cujus sepulcrum usque hodie monstratur in Epheso. Cujus etiam Papias, auditor Apostolorum, et in Hierapoli Episcopus, in opusculis suis sæpe meminit. Sed nunc generalis Ecclesiæ

'thought this and the following epistle not to have been written by John the apostle, but by 'another, a presbyter of the same name, whose sepulchre is still shewn at Ephesus, whom also 'Papias mentions in his writings. But now it is the general consent of the church, that John 'the apostle wrote also these two epistles: forasmuch as there is a great agreement of doctrine 'and style between these and his first epistle, and there is also a like zeal against heretics.' They who are desirous to see more quotations of ancient writers, may consult the table of principal matters in the last volume, in St. John, Catholic Epistles, and Authors, who had the same canon of the N. T. with that which is now generally received: which article may be found under Canon of the scriptures of the N. T.

All the three epistles are now generally received as St. John's in these parts of the world. And with good reason, as seems to me. Said Origen: 'he has also left an epistle of a very 'few lines. Grant also has a second and a third.' That is very right. One epistle was received by all, as certainly genuine. And it is not worth the while to contend about the other two, when they are so very short, and resemble the first in sentiment, phrase, and manner of writing, as is well observed by [a] Mill. And of the second epistle, which consists of only thirteen of our verses, eight may be found in the first, either in sense or expression. The title of elder, at the beginning of these two epistles, affords no just exception. It [b] is a very honourable character, well becoming John as an apostle, and now in years, residing in Asia, as superintendent of all the churches in that country. And St. Peter speaks of himself in the same character, in his epistle universally acknowledged, ch. v. 1.

Dr. Heumann supposeth, that [c] here is a reference to St. John's great age, at the time of his writing these two epistles. And he thinks that St. John was then as well known by that title as by his name. The elder therefore is as much, as if he had said, the aged apostle. And he refers to Wolfius, and others, who had before said the same, or what is to the like purpose.

The want of a name at the beginning is no objection. It is rather an argument that they are his: that being agreeable to St. John, who prefixes not his name to that epistle, which is unquestionably his.

And say Beausobre and Lenfant in their preface to the second and third epistles: 'It is 'certain, that the writer of the third epistle speaks with an authority, which the bishop of a 'particular church could not pretend to, and could not suit John the elder, even supposing him 'to have been bishop of the church of Ephesus, as the pretended apostolical constitutions say he 'was appointed by John the apostle. For if Diotrephes was bishop of one of the churches of 'Asia, as is reckoned, the bishop of Ephesus had no right to say to him, as the writer of this 'epistle does, ver. 10, "If I come, I will remember his deeds which he does." That language, 'and the visits made to the churches, denote a man, who had a more general jurisdiction, than 'that of a bishop, and can only suit St. John the apostle.'

II. That may suffice for shewing the genuineness of the three epistles. Let us now make some remarks upon each of them, beginning with the first. Concerning which there are two inquiries that may be proper: the time when, and the persons to whom it was written.

Grotius thought this [d] epistle to have been written in Patmos before the destruction of Jerusalem. Hammond and Whitby likewise were of opinion, that it was written before that

consensus habet, quod has quoque epistolas Joannes Apostolus scripserit, quia reverâ multam verborum et fidei similitudinem cum primâ ejus epistolâ ostendunt, et simili zelo detestantur hæreticos. Bed. Exp. in 2 ep. Joan.

[a] Epistolas autem istas habere auctorem Joannem——ex eo plane constat, quod in istis omnibus eadem passim sint ῥήματα, idem genus et character dictionis. Secundæ, certe ὀλιγοστιχὲ, (neque enim continet ultra tredecim versus ex hodiernis nostris) octo quidem versiculorum cum sensus, tum ipsæ ῥήσεις, exstant in epistolâ primâ.——Epistola autem tertia, ejusdem omnino coloris ac characteris cum secundâ, per omnia sapit Joannem Apostolum. Mill. Proleg. num. 153.

[b] Quod aliqui Joanni cuidam alteri, Presbytero vulgo dicto, adscriptas velint has duas epistolas, ii neutiquam vident, quam fortiter contra ipsos militet illud ὁ πρεσβυτερος κατ' ἐξοχην: quod privato homini, vel etiam Episcopo, haudquâquam conveniat——imo vero Apostolo nostro peculiariter adaptatum et accommodatum erat: utpote qui jam plusquam nonagenarius fuerit, omnibusque provinciæ Asiaticæ ecclesiis præsederit. Mill. Ibid. num. 153, 154. Vid. et Lampe Prolegom. in Joan. l. i. cap. 7. num. viii.

[c] Deinde articulo ὁ docet Joannes, nomen hoc sibi eum nemine commune esse, adeoque viso τῳ πρεσβυτερῳ titulo statim scriptorem harum literarum agnovisse.——Nihil proinde restat, quam ut statuamus, a Joanne isto titulo indicari ætatem suam provectissimam, morisque tum fuisse, eum appellitari honoris ac reverentiæ causâ 'Senem,' sive 'Seniorem,' vel etiam 'Senem Apostolum.'——Græca proinde hæc, 'Ο Πρεσβυτερος Γαΐῳ, melius reddi Latine non possunt, quam hoc modo: Grandævus Apostolus salutem dicit Caio.——Heuman. Comm. in Joan. Ep. iii. ap. Nov. Syllog. Diss. P. i. p. 279, 280.

[d] Puto autem scriptam, ut alibi dixi, ex Patmo hanc epistolam, non multo ante excidium Hierosolymitanum. Grot. Pr. in 1 ep. Joan.

great calamity befel the Jewish nation. Dr. Benson [a] is inclined to place it in the year of our Lord 68, of Nero 14, that is, after the Jewish war was broke out, and not long before the destruction of Jerusalem, Mill, [b] and Le Clerc, [c] who follows him, place this epistle in the year 91 or 92. Basnage [d] speaks of this epistle at the year 98, and Baronius [e] at the year 99. Beausobre and Lenfant in their preface to this epistle express themselves after this manner: 'Although we cannot say any thing certain concerning the time when St. John wrote this 'epistle, we may be satisfied, that it was near the end of the first century, when the apostle was 'far advanced in age.' Du Pin [f] says, it is not known, when it was written, but most probably, near the end of the apostle's life. Mr. Whiston [g] thought this, and the other two epistles of St. John, to have been written not long after each other, about the year of Christ 82, or 83. Mr. Lampe [h] supposeth this first epistle to have been written after the Jewish war, before St. John's exile in Patmos, and, probably, some good while before it. Consequently, he and Mr. Whiston do not differ greatly about the time of this epistle.

I must likewise say, though the exact time is not known, I am of opinion, it was not written, till after the Jewish war was over. My reason is, that the arguments alleged for proving it to have been written sooner are not satisfactory. And in examining them, perhaps, some things may occur, affording hints of a later date.

One argument is taken from ch. ii. 18, "it is the last time," or hour: meaning, as [i] some interpreters think, the last hour of the Jewish state and constitution. Nevertheless, there [k] are learned men, who do not assent to that interpretation. Grotius himself owns, that [l] the phrase is sometimes used concerning the world, or mankind in general, as well as the Jews. And Mr. Lampe, who supposeth the phrase to relate to the divine judgment upon the Jewish people, says, it [m] might be used not only at the time when it was inflicting, but also after it was accomplished. Which he supposes to be meant by those expressions, ch. ii. 8, "the darkness is past, and the true light now shineth:" [though [n] Wolfius thinks no such thing there intended.] And therefore, he says, he [o] does not acquiesce in the reasons alleged by Grotius and Hammond, to prove that this epistle was written before that event.

Let me add here also a part of Wall's note upon ch. ii. 18, which to me appears not amiss. 'The saying of St. John, "it is the last time," is spoken as a great many such sayings of St. 'Paul, and the other apostles, had been, according to the general charge given by Christ to 'the apostles, and to all other Christians, to live in a continual expectation of the judgment. 'They that interpret it otherwise, of the destruction of Jerusalem, as Grotius, and Hammond, 'are forced to suppose this epistle to have been written just before that destruction, about the 'year 69.——Nor are St. John's words here like those of any one that was foretelling that 'event: but rather of one that was speaking of the present state of the Christian religion.'

Again, it is argued, that [p] the apostle might refer to the calamities of the Jewish people in those words, ch. ii. 17. "The world passeth away and the lust thereof." But those are only general expressions, representing the uncertainty of all earthly things. And therefore afford not any argument, that the apostle had therein a regard to affairs in Judea. For, if he had, his expressions would have been more distinct and particular.

[a] Preface to St. John's first Epistle, sect. iv.
[b] Proleg. num. 148—150.
[c] H. E. an. 91. num. i. [d] Ann. 98. num. iv.
[e] Ann. 99. num. vii—x.
[f] Diss. Prelim. I. 2. ch. 2. sect. xi.
[g] Commentary upon St. John's three Catholic Epistles, p. 14.
[h] Acquiescimus igitur hactenus in judicio clarissimi Ensii de Canone N. T. p. 270. Scriptæ tamen creduntur Joannis epistolæ ante exilium in Patmum insulam. Neque est ratio, ob quam non statueremus, eas diu ante illud tempus fuisse conscriptas. Lampe Prol. cap. 7. num. iv. note (*h*).
[i] 'Ultima hora' (id est, ultimum tempus), ubi ad Judæos sermo est, significat tempus, proximum excidio urbis, ac templi, et reipublicæ Judæorum. Grot. annot. in 1 ep. Jo. ii. 18.
[k] Vid. Wolff. Prolegom. in 1 ep. Joann. p. 243, 244. Conf. eund. ad 1. ep. cap. ii. ver. 18.
[l] Nomen, 'horæ extremæ' modo totum humanum genus respicit, modo populum Judaïcum, ex quo erant Apostoli, et non pauci Christianorum. Grot. in loca quædam N. T. de Antichristo: speciatim in 1 ep. Jo. cap. ii. Opp. tom. III.
[m] Alii maturius, aut brevi ante, aut saltem circa excidium Hierosolymitanum scriptum esse existimant, qui nobis maxime ad verisimilitudinem accedere videntur. Probabile enim est, per εσχατην ὡραν intelligi tempus judicii divini in Judæos. cap. ii. 18. ejusque consummationem spectare verba cap. ii. 8. Lampe Prol. l. 1. c. 7. n. iv. p. 106.
[n] —— sed non video, quomodo imminens illud judicium argumentum esse possit, quo Apostolus ad inculcandum et urgendum amorem mutuum uti voluerit. Tenebræ omnino inferunt pristinam et Judæorum et Gentilium conditionem, qer quam non solum erroribus, sed et vitiis ita erant immersi, ut υἱοι σκοτες appellari potuerint. Wolf. Curæ in 1 Jo. ii. 8.
[o] Grotius et Hammondus ante excidium Hierosolymitanum scriptam esse suspicantur; quod tamen loca adducta non evincunt. Licet enim excidium illud in actum datum esset, dici tamen etiamnum poterat, quod hora illa ultima venerit. Id. ib. note (*h*).
[p] Unde etiam per 'mundum transeuntem cum suis cupiditatibus' ad idem excidium Reipublicæ Judaïcæ respicere Evangelista potuit. Lampe ib. p. 106.

Thirdly, an argument is also brought from ch. ii. 13, "I write unto you, fathers, because ye have known him that is from the beginning." Whereby St. John has been supposed by some to intend some aged Christians, who had seen Jesus Christ upon earth. Which is more likely to have been the case of some in the year 68, about thirty-five years after Christ's ascension, than many years afterwards. To which I answer, that by "him that is from the beginning," probably is intended God the Father, not Jesus Christ. It is equivalent to [illegible] words said of others, in the same verse. "I write unto you, little children, because ye have known the Father." But it would not sound so well to say: "I have written unto you, fathers, because ye have known the Father." See also ver. 14.

Fourthly, it is [b] argued to the like purpose from ch. ii. 7. "I write no new commandment to you, but an old commandment, which ye had from the beginning." But thereby may be meant no more than the commandment, which ye had from the beginning of your being Christians: or from the time when you were first converted to the Christian religion, whenever it was. And, as [c] Wolfius observes, none of those to whom St. John wrote, in any part of his life, were very far distant in point of time from the first preaching of the gospel.

Since therefore there are no expressions in the epistle, declaring the time of it, or clearly referring to the calamities attending the downfall of the Jewish state, it appears to me probable, that it was not written till a good while after that event, about the year of Christ 80, or later.

III. We are next to consider to whom this epistle was sent.

And here I observe: as the writer does not at the beginning prefix his name, nor anywhere else mention it in the epistle, so neither does he describe or characterize the persons to whom he writes by the name of their city, or country, or any such thing.

The first expression of address is that in ch. ii. 1. "My little children, these things write I unto you, that ye sin not." And the epistle concludes with these words: "Little children, keep yourselves from idols." And he several times calls the Christians, to whom he writes, "little children," as ch. ii. 12, 18; iii. 7, 18; iv. 4; v. 21. Our Lord spoke to the disciples in a like manner, John xiii. 33, and xxi. 5. It is a tender and affectionate appellation, denoting paternal authority, love and concern. As an apostle, it might be used by St. John in any part of life. Nevertheless it seems to imply, together with apostolical authority, advanced age.

Some have thought that this epistle was written to Parthians or Jewish believers in that country. We have seen several ancient Latin authors who speak of it as inscribed to Parthians. So [d] Augustine, [e] Cassiodorius, and [f] Bede. I have already spoken of this, and have referred to divers learned moderns [g] whose opinions deserve to be taken notice of. I shall now add Mr. Whiston's thoughts relating to this point, taken from his commentary upon St. John's epistles, published in 1719. 'None of these three epistles of St. John,' says he, p. 5, 6, 'were 'written to the Parthians, as some later Latin writers have supposed: but rather to the Chris-'tians or churches of Asia, near Ephesus. This he argues from the perfect silence of all true 'antiquity, as to St. John's ever preaching in Parthia: and from the account which we have in 'Eusebius from Origen, that Parthia was St. Thomas's province, and Asia St. John's: as also 'from the account in the Recognitions ix. 29, that Thomas really preached the gospel in Par-'thia, without a syllable of St. John thereto relating. All which,' says he, 'makes it plain 'that this pretended direction of any of St. John's epistles to the Parthians stands upon no good 'authority at all. And it is not improbable, that the occasion of this error was barely a false 'reading in some ancient manuscript, where προς παρθους was read for προς παρθενας: "to the 'Parthians," for "to the virgins:" which latter inscription might easily be applied to the first 'epistle. For as it is chiefly addressed to young Christians, yet uncorrupted, both as to fleshly 'and spiritual fornication, such as in St. John's Revelations are called παρθενοι, "virgins:" so 'was the second epistle anciently affirmed by some to be written "to the virgins:" as we learn

[a] 'Nôstis Deum, qui Senex Dierum.' Dan. vii. 9, 13, 22. Dat cuique ordini quæ ipsi conveniunt. A primâ ætate novistis Deum, hujus mundi opificem. Is autem is est, qui Christum misit, eumque pro se audiri voluit. Grot. ad ver. 13.

[b] Accedit, quod ad fratres scribat, qui præceptum a principio audiverant. cap. ii. 7. Per quod intelligi debet principium prædicationis evangelicæ. A quo igitur non nimium removeri debent illi, quos Apostolus alloquitur. Lampe ubi supra. p. 106.

[c] Quod ad alteram rationem attinet, nullus eorum, qui Joannis ætate ad Christi cognitionem adducti sunt, ab originibus evangelii nimium removebitur, sive illi ante, sive post excidium Hierosolymitanum eo pervenerint. Omnes enim sub originibus ejus eam adepti censeri debent, quippe quibus Joannes, ut αυτοπτης earum, testis et præco, adfuerit. Wolf. ubi supr. p. 244.

[d] Vol. ii. p. 587.

[e] This Vol. p. 61.

[f] P. 79.

[g] Vol. ii. p. 557.

'from Clement of Alexandria, in Cassiodorius:' that is, from Clement's Adumbrations upon the catholic Epistles, translated by order [a] of Cassiodorius. For there [b] the second epistle of St. John is said to be written to virgins.

And before, at p. 4, of the same Commentary, Mr. Whiston observes, 'St. John says nothing 'in his first epistle, by which we can directly gather, to whom it was sent: though it seems 'most probable to belong to his own Asiatic churches.'

As I have quoted Clement, I must not omit the observation of Lenfant and Beausobre: 'Clement [c] says, that the second epistle of John was directed to virgins, undoubtedly intending 'by the means of this lady. But there is nothing in the epistle, which suits virgins, more than 'other Christians.'

Mr. Lampe says, 'This [d] first epistle is written to believers, as is abundantly manifest from 'the whole scope of the epistle. We also,' says he, 'easily admit, that Jewish believers are 'especially regarded. Nevertheless we think that St. John directed it to all believers of his 'time in general: forasmuch as there appears not in it any expression of limitation.'

Du Pin says, 'Though [e] there is no inscription, it appears from the beginning of the second 'chapter, that it is addressed to many Christians. And there is no proof that it is sent to 'Jews rather than to Gentiles.'

On the other hand, Dr. Benson [f] thinks, 'that the apostle wrote this epistle to the Jewish 'Christians in Judea and Galilee.'

But the former opinion appears to me more probable. For 1. It is always called a catholic epistle. So it was called by Dionysius of Alexandria, as before seen, as well as by later writers. 2. It really appears to be so. For there are not in it any expressions of limitation. 3. There could be very little occasion for that admonition to believers in Judea, in the year 68, after the war was broke out, which is in ch. ii. 15; "Love not the world, nor the things that are in the world." That admonition is rather suited to people, who were supposed to be in easy circumstances, and are in danger of being ensnared by the allurement of prosperity. 4. Nor has the concluding exhortation of the epistle, "keep yourselves from idols," any special suitableness to believers in Judea: but is much more likely to be directed to Christians living in other parts of the world.

Œcumenius in his comment upon the last verse of this epistle says, it [g] was written to the whole church in general. And in the proëm to his commentary upon the second epistle he [h] calls the first a catholic epistle. And he says, 'that [i] epistle is not written to a certain person, 'nor to the churches of one or more places, as the blessed Peter's to the Jews in their disper- 'sion, nor as James's before him, to the twelve tribes of the Jewish people. But he writes to 'all the faithful in general, whether assembled together or not. For which reason there is no 'inscription to that epistle, as there is to the other two.'

To me therefore it seems, that this epistle was designed for the churches in Asia under St. John's inspection, and for all other Christians, into whose hands it should come. Or in other words, it was designed for all Christians in general, especially those under the apostle's inspection, and nearest to him, without excepting the believers in Judea, or in any other country whatever.

Nor am I aware of any thing in the epistle, that should lead us to think Jewish believers in particular to be intended, except what is in ch. ii. 2, where by "our," some have understood Jewish Christians, and by "the whole world," Gentiles. But the coherence does not require that interpretation. In the preceding verse is first mentioned that general address, "my little children," which occurs several times afterwards. He there says: "These things write I unto

[a] See Vol. i. p. 403, 404.

[b] Secunda Joannis epistola, quæ ad virgines scripta est, simplicissima est. Scripta vero est ad quamdam Babyloniam, Electam nomine.' Adumbr. in ep. 2. Joan.

[c] As before, p. 584.

[d] Ad fideles eum scripsisse, abunde patet ex scopo epistolæ, cap. i. 4. totoque ejus argumento. Facile etiam admittimus, speciatim fideles ex Hebræis intui. Universis tamen credentibus sui temporis Joannem hanc epistolam destinâsse putamus, quia nulla restrictionis occurrit mentio. Lamp. ibid. num. iii. 105.

[e] Dissertat. sur la Bible, l. 2. ch. 2. sect. xj.

[f] See his preface to St. John's first epistle, sect. iv.

[g] —— φαμεν ευ, ὡς επειδαν εκκλησια ὁλη ταυτα εγραφεν. κ. λ. Œcum. T. II. p. 602. B.

[h] Ib. p. 605. B.

[i] —— Ου γαρ προς ὡρισμενον εγραψε προσωπον, ουδε προς εκκλησιαν τοπων τινων, ὡσπερ εποιησεν ὁ μακαριος Πετρος αφωρισμενως προς τας εν τη διασπορα επισημαινομενος Ιεβδαιοις γραφειν· και, προτετε, ὁ θειος Ιακωβος ταις δωδεκα φυλαις—— αλλα παση πιστοις κοινον ποιουμενος τον λογον εκκλησιαζεσι και μη εκκλησιαζουσι, τον της προσγραφης παρελιπε λογον. Id. p. 606. B, 607. A.

you, that ye sin not." Having delivered that earnest exhortation for avoiding all offensive harshness, he soon afterwards joins himself with those to whom he writes, adding: "And if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous. And he is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only," 'that is, mine and yours, to whom I am now 'writing, who already believe in Jesus, and have done so for a good while: "but also for the sins 'of the whole world:" that is, of all men, of every nation and people, rank and condition, in every 'part and age of the world, who shall believe and repent.' Here is nothing to limit what the apostle says to Jewish Christians. And that this apostle does frequently join himself with those to whom he writes, with a like view to that above-mentioned, must be evident to all who read this epistle with attention. See ch. i. 6—10. ii. 3. iii. 14, 18—22.

However, for the sake of such as are really inquisitive, I shall here subjoin the note of Œcumenius upon those words: "not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world." 'This' 'he said, either because he wrote to Jews, and intended to shew, that the benefit of repentance 'was not restrained to them, but extended to Gentiles also: or else, that the promise was not 'made to the men of that time only, but likewise to all in future times.'

IV. St. John's second epistle is thus inscribed: "The elder to the elect lady, and her children." Which has been differently understood by ancients and moderns: whose opinions may be seen in [b] Wolfius, and in Dr. Benson's preface to the second and third epistles of St. John, and briefly in Beza, whom [c] I transcribe below.

Some have hereby understood the Christian church in general. So [d] Jerom. But that, as Beza well observes in the place just transcribed, is a way of speaking of which no like instance can be found. And it is inconsistent with what is said in the conclusion of the epistle, where the writer speaks of coming to see her, and sends her the salutations of the children of her elect sister.

Cassiodorius here [e] understood a particular church.

Mr. Whiston [f] says: 'St. John's second epistle was not written to a particular lady, but to a 'particular church: and not improbably to the church of Philadelphia.' Which last I take to be said without any good foundation.

Œcumenius, in his comment upon the last verse of this epistle, says: 'Hence [g] some argue 'that this epistle was sent not to a woman, but to a church. About which,' he says, 'he does 'not choose to dispute.' But in his introduction, or comment upon the beginning of the epistle, he says, 'St. [h] John did not scruple to write to a faithful woman: forasmuch as "in Christ Jesus 'there is neither male nor female."' And before, he speaks [i] of this epistle being written to a particular woman.

In the Adumbrations of Clement of Alexandria, as we now have them in Latin, this [k] epistle is said to be written to a Babylonian woman, or virgin, named Electa.

[a] Τουτο δε ειπεν, ητοι ὁτι προς Ιουδαιους εγραφε, και ινα μη μονοις εκεινοις περικλειση τα της μετανοιας, αλλα και προς τα εθνη εξαπλωση ταυτην· η ὁτι μη τοις κατ' εκεινο καιρον ἡ επαγγελια μονον, αλλα και τοις μετεπειτα πασι. Œcum. in 1 ep. Joan. p. 565.

[b] Wolf. Prolegom. in ep. Joann. ii. p. 320—326.

[c] 'Electæ Dominæ.' Nonnulli 'Electæ' nomen proprium esse volunt. Quod non probo. Dicendum enim esset κυρια Εκλεκτη, 'Dominæ Electæ.' Alii hoc nomine volunt Ecclesiam Christianam in genere significari. Quibus repugnat primum, quod hoc dicendi genus sit prorsus inusitatum. Deinde, quod in extremis duobus versibus diserte pollicetur, se ad eam et filios ipsius venturum, additque filiorum sororis salutem, quam et ipsam 'electam' vocat. Puto igitur inscriptam esse epistolam præstanti alicui feminæ, quarum nonnullæ ecclesias suis opibus passim sustentabant; et 'electam' illam vocari, id est, 'eximiam,' additâ Dominæ appellatione ——sicut Lucas Theophilum, et Paulus Festum κρατιστον, id est, 'potentissimum,' vel 'præstantissimum,' compellant. Neque enim ab ejusmodi honestis titulis Christiana Religio abhorret, quâtenus quidem justum ac fas est. Perinde est igitur acsi scriptum esset: Eximiæ ac præstanti dignitate Dominæ. Atenim cur nomen proprium non addidit? Nempe satis inter se noti ac familiares erant. Quamobrem etiam ne nomen quidem suum exprimendum putavit. Bez. in Joann. ep. secund.

[d] Legimus in Carminum libro——'Una est columba mea.' ——Ad quam scribit idem Joannes epistolam: 'Senior electæ dominæ, et filiis ejus'——Ad Ageruch. ep. 91. al. 11. T. IV. p. 745.

[e] Joannes senior, quoniam ætate provectus, electæ dominæ scribit ecclesiæ, filiisque ejus, quos sacro fonte genuerat. Cassiod. in ep. Jo. ii.

[f] As before, p. 469.

[g] Δια δε τα προσρηναι, ασπαζεται σε τα τεκνα της αδελφης σε της εκλεκτης, βουλονται τινες βεβαιειν, ὡς α προς γυναικα ἡ επιστολη, αλλα προς εκκλησιαν· περι ὡ ουδεν τω βουλομενω διενεχθειην. Œcum. T. II. p. 612.

[h] Προς δε γυναικα γραφων πιστην ουδεν υπεστειλατο, ὁτι εν Χριστω Ιησου ουκ αρρεν ουδε θηλυ οιδε. Ib. p. 606. C.

[i] ——καθοτι και πρεσβυτερον εαυτον εν ταυταις γραφει, και προς γυναικα, και ἑτερον Γαϊον, ἑνα και αυτον, ὡσπερ και την γυναικα μιαν. Id. p. 605. B.

[k] Secunda Joannis epistola, quæ ad virgines scripta est, simplicissima est. Scripta vero est ad quamdam Babyloniam, Electam nomine. Significat autem electionem ecclesiæ sanctæ. Clem. A. ed. Potter, p. 1011.

And of late many learned men, whose [a] arguments I place below, choose to read this inscription thus: "To the lady Electa," or "Eclecta." But in my opinion the conclusion affords an objection. For it is not very likely that two sisters should both have one and the same name. So it may be sometimes: but very seldom, as I imagine. This was a difficulty with [b] Wolfius, and [c] Tillemont.

D[illegible]umann supposeth, that [d] this woman's name was Kuria, or Kyria, and renders the inscription after this manner: "To the elect Kyria." Which opinion is embraced by [e] Dr. Benson. But [f] Wolfius is not quite satisfied with it.

Tillemont has observed, that [g] in the Synopsis of Athanasius κυρια seems to be taken for a proper name. But that is not clear. The expression is ambiguous, and may be as well rendered: 'the [h] elder writes to a lady, and her children,' as to Kyria, and her children. So [i] likewise thought Wolfius.

Before I proceed I must detain the reader, whilst I observe, that the article of the Synopsis, quoted by Tillemont, is exactly the same with the hypothesis, or argument, prefixed to St. John's second epistle in [k] the second tome of Œcumenius. However, I do not suppose it to be really Œcumenius's. I allow it to be a part of the Synopsis, generally thought to have been composed by Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria in the fifth century, as [l] formerly shewn.

Œcumenius himself seems to me to have supposed this epistle to have been sent [m] to a Christian woman, whose name is not known. However in one place, in his prologue, he has these expressions: 'He [n] calls her "elect," either from her name, or on account of the excellence of her virtue.'

Finally, then, others understand this inscription agreeably to our own translation: "The elder to the elect lady and her children." This [o] has hitherto been the common opinion, and is favoured by [p] Beza, [q] Mill, [r] Wall, [s] Wolfius, [t] Le Clerc, and others. And Tillemont, in the place before referred to, says: 'The second epistle of St. John is inscribed to εκλεκτη κυρια. St. 'Jerom translates the word κυρια by Dominæ, lady. And it is difficult to translate otherwise in 'the fifth verse, where St. John repeats the same word.'

It is not easy for me to decide in such a variety of opinions, each one of which is supported by great patrons. The arguments for a proper name, either of Eclecta, or Kyria, are plausible, and specious. But it is an object of some moment that this notion was little, if at all, known to the ancients. If it had, they would not have supposed that St. John here writes to the church of Christ in general, or to some Christian church in particular. The Latin Adumbrations of

[a] Epistola secunda scripta est ad quamdam Babyloniam, Electam nomine, ut legas in Adumbrationibus ad hanc epistolam, quæ feruntur sub nomine Clementis Alexandrini. Nomen enim proprium feminæ esse Electam, recte observârunt viri doctissimi, perinde ut Εκλεκτος viri nomen est apud Herodianum. Eamdem Joannes κυριαν vocat, quemadmodum Latini feminas honestas vocabant dominas, sive domnas. Et Nazianzenus ep. iv. Κυρια τη μητρι. Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. 5. tom. III. p. 343.

Εκλεκτη quoque literâ majusculâ scribitur apud Wechelium, et in editione R. Stephani, quam secutus est Millius, quamvis ipse eo nomine Christianam feminam indicari existimet. Wolf. in 2 ep. Jo. p. 323.

Electus cubicularius fuit Imp. Commodi genere Ægyptius, &c. Wetsten. ad Joan. ep. 2. p. 729.

[b] Electam proprii nominis vocabulo vix habuerim, per comma 13, ubi matronæ hujus soror itidem εκλεκτη appellatur. Quod ut illius ætatis moribus non respondet, ita soror illa εκλεκτη, tamquam Christiana, commode vocari poterat. Wolf. ib. p. 325.

[c] Et on trouve de la difficulté à croire qu' εκλεκτη en soit un, [nom propre] parceque S. Jean. ver. 13. le donne aussi à la sœur de cette dame, n'étant pas ordinaire que deux sœurs aient le même nom; et parcequ'il auroit dû être devant κυρια plutôt qu' après. S. Jean, l' Evangeliste. note xiv. Mem. T. I.

[d] Heuman. Pœc. T. II. p. 421—427. et T. III. p. 14. &c.

[e] See his preface to the second and third epistles of St. John, sect. iv.

[f] Posterius hoc argumentum me etiam adducit, ut nec Cyriæ nomen proprium hic agnoscam. Ita enim Apostolus scripturus erat: Κυρια τη εκλεκτη, quemadmodum ver. 1, epistolæ tertiæ: Γαιῳ τῳ αγαπητῳ. Simili scribendi ratione utitur Paulus. Rom. xvi. 5, Ασπασεσθε Επαινετον τον αγαπητον μου. Vid. etiam ib. ver. 8. et 12. et. 13. Wolf. ib. p. 325.

[g] Néanmoins Saint Athanase met γραφει κυρια, και τοις τεκνοις αυτης, par où il paroît avoir pris le mot de κυρια pour un nom propre. Mem. Ec. T. I. S. Jean l'Evangeliste. note xiv.

[h] Ταυτην ὡς πρεσβυτερος γραφει κυρια και τοις τεκνοις αυτης. Athan. Synops. S. S. T. II. p. 190. ed. Bened.

[i] Mihi quidem id ex phrasi istâ non admodum liquet. Wolf. ib. p. 323.

[k] Œcum. T. II. p. 603.

[l] Vol. ii. p. 403, 404.

[m] Δυο δε τη εκλεκτη ταυτη επιμαρτυρει, κ. λ. Œcum. tom. II. p. 606. D.

[n] Εκλεκτην δε η απο τυ ονοματος, η απο της περι την αρετην φιλοτιμιας, καλει. Id. p. 606. B.

[o] Alii utramque vocem pro appellativâ habent, matronæque nomen simili silentio tectum censent, quo suum Joannes ipse texit. Hæc communior fere est sententia. Wolf. ib. p. 324.

[p] See before note [c] p. 430.

[q] Prolegom. num. 151.

[r] Critical Notes upon the N. T. p. 378.

[s] Ubi supra. p. 326.

[t] Quoique ce mot puisse être un nom propre——il est assez vraisemblable que c'est ici un nom appellatif, qui signifie, que c'étoit une Dame Chrêtienne, à qui S. Jean, écrivoit, et qui étoit connue à ceux qui lui devoient rendre cette lettre, &c. Le Clerc Remarques sur la 2 ep. de S. Jean.

Clement of Alexandria, as they are called, are not very material. The passage of the Synopsis, quoted by Tillemont, is ambiguous. Œcumenius has just mentioned the opinion, that Electa might be the name of the person to whom St. John wrote. But he does not seem to adhere to it, as has been observed by Estius.[a] Nor is there any notice taken of this interpretation by Jerom, or Cassiodorius, or Bede, authors in which it would be very likely to be found, if it had been known in ancient times. And why it should not have been known, if there is any foundation for it, would not be easily shewn. That Jerom did not take κυρίᾳ to be a proper name, appears not only from the Latin version of this epistle, but likewise from his book of the Interpretation of Hebrew names: where, as formerly [b] observed, there are no proper names collected out of the second epistle of St. John, though there are out of his other two epistles, and indeed from all the seven catholic epistles, excepting only this one of St. John's second epistle.

V. The third epistle of St. John is thus inscribed: "The elder to the beloved Gaius." There [c] seem to be two of this name mentioned in the Acts, and St. Paul's epistles. In the disturbance at Ephesus, it is said: "Having caught Gaius and Aristarchus, men of Macedonia, Paul's companions in travel, they rushed with one accord into the theatre." Acts xix. 29. And among the same apostle's fellow-travellers, who accompanied him in his journey toward Jerusalem, is mentioned "Gaius of Derbe," xx. 4. There is another Gaius, who appears to have been an inhabitant of Corinth. 1 Cor. i. 14. Rom. xvi. 23. I see no reason to think that Gaius, or Caius, to whom St. John writes, was one of them. He seems to have been an eminent Christian, who lived in some city of Asia, not far from Ephesus, where St. John chiefly resided after his leaving Judea. For at ver. 14, the apostle speaks of "shortly coming to him." Which he could not well do, if Caius lived at Corinth, or any other remote place. Grotius thought him to be a good Christian, who [d] lived in one of the churches or cities mentioned in the Revelation.

Mr. Whiston [e] supposes Caius to have been bishop of Pergamos. Mill [f] was inclined to be of the same opinion. But this is said only upon the ground of the pretended Apostolical Constitutions, which in this case are of no authority at all.

Dr. Heumann [g] in his Commentary upon this epistle of St. John has some curious and uncommon observations. He [h] does not choose to trouble himself with inquiring who Caius was: the knowledge of which he thinks, would be of no great use. It is sufficient that we know him to have been a good Christian. Nevertheless he appears to slight the opinion just mentioned that [i] he was bishop of Pergamos. And he argues likewise, that [k] he is different from those of the same name mentioned in the Acts, or St. Paul's epistles. And indeed it cannot be thought strange, that in the times of the apostles, there were several Christians of this name: which seems to have been as common a name among the Greeks and Romans, as any name whatever.

Dr. Heumann says, that [l] Diotrephes, mentioned by St. John ver. 9, and said, to "love to have the pre-eminence," was not a heathen magistrate, nor a heretic, nor a bishop, but a deacon in the church to which he belonged. Upon which I observe, it was easy to shew that Diotrephes was not a heathen magistrate.

Dr. Heumann seems likewise to have proved, that [m] Diotrephes was not a heretic. For, as he

[a] 'Electæ.' Non liquet, an hoc sit nomen proprium mulieris, ad quam scribitur epistola, an commune; id quod potius existimandum videtur; quoniam in fine epistolæ etiam soror ejus vocatur 'electa.' Non solent autem in eâdem familiâ duæ proles esse cognomines. Posse sumi tamquam commune, Œcumenius suâ expositione ostendit, et recte. Videtur fuisse mulier nobilis sive genere, sive opibus.——Alioqui poterat vocare filiam.——Sed moris est apud bene moratas gentes, infirmiorem sexum titulis et aliis decentibus modis honorare. Est. in Joan. ep. ii. ver. 1.

[b] See Vol. ii. p. 549.

[c] Gaius quidam inter comites ejus nominatur in tumultu Ephesino Act. xix. 29. qui Derbæus videtur dici Act. xx. 4. Habebat etiam Corinthi hospitem Gaium. Rom. xvi. 23. quem ipse baptizaverat. 1 Cor. i. 14. An hi sint iidem inter se, aut cum Gaio Joannis, quis dispiciet? Beda, Pseudo-Dexter, Dorotheus, aliique, affirmant.——Id quoque novum procreare dubium potest, quod Gaius Paulinus Corinthi sedem ac domicilium habuerit, noster vero proculdubio in Asiâ habitaverit, brevi ab Apostolo visitandus, de cujus extra Asiam post excessum Neronis itineribus tota antiquitas silet. Lampe Proleg. in Joan. l. 1. cap. 7. num. xii.

[d] Vixit hic Caius in aliquâ ecclesiarum, quarum mentio in Apocalypsi. Grot. in 3. ep. Joan. ver. 1.

[e] Commentary upon St. John's Epistles, p. 14, 15, 16.

[f] Alteram vero illam ad Gaium, ecclesiæ Pergamensis Episcopum, ab ipso Joanne (si quid Apostolicarum Constitutionum auctori credimus) ordinatum. Mill. Prol. num. 152.

[g] Commentarius in Joan. Ap. epistolam tertiam. Ap. Nov. Syllog. Dissertation. P. I. p. 276—328.

[h] Ibid. 277.

[i] Millius, Constitutionibus Apostolicis credulus, Caium hunc ecclesiæ Pergamenæ Episcopum scribit in Prolegomenis suis ad N. T. Eamdem amplexum esse sententiam Guil. Whistonum in suo in hanc epistolam commentario, quis mirabitur? Ib. p. 277. in notis.

[k] P. 277, 278. [l] Ibid. p. 306, 307.

[m] Nunc, ille Diotrephes quis fuerit, investigandum venit.

argues, if Diotrephes had been a corrupter of the true Christian doctrine, it would have been the duty of the apostle to caution Christians against familiar converse with him, in like manner as he does in the tenth and eleventh verses of his second epistle. Moreover, in that case, the apostle would have signified his errors, and would have directed men to beware of the leaven of Diotrephes. But this he has not done. He only reproves his pride, want of hospitality, and a perverse contempt, not of the apostle's doctrine, but of his direction for receiving strangers. He also quotes [a] Calovius, as speaking to the like purpose.

And the late Mr. Mosheim, who, as I suppose, had not seen Dr. Heumann's Dissertation, and gives a very different account of this epistle in several respects, allows, that [b] Diotrephes was not a heretic. So likewise argued Mr. Lampe [c] before either of them.

But I cannot say that Dr. Heumann has proved Diotrephes not to have been a bishop. For I *think*, that every thing said of him in this epistle implies his being president, or chief director of things in the church to which Caius belonged. However, we will consider his arguments.

In the first place he says, the [d] principal reason why learned men have thought Diotrephes to be a bishop, is because they have understood those words at ver. 10, "and casteth them out of the church," of excommunication. But those words, he says, are capable of another sense. They seem rather to mean, that by ill treatment he forced those strangers to leave the church, to which they had applied for relief, and to go elsewhere.

But granting this interpretation to be right, Diotrephes might nevertheless be a bishop. For that ill treatment might be owing to an abuse of his episcopal power and authority.

Again, says Dr. Heumann, the [e] fault of Diotrephes lay in seeking pre-eminence; which shews he was not a bishop: for then he would have had pre-eminence. Nor does a man seek what he has already.

But I cannot perceive that observation to be very material. For a bishop may shew improper love of power and pre-eminence by arbitrary proceedings in the society over which he presides, and by an arrogant behaviour toward neighbouring bishops or superintendents, his equals, and, perhaps, in some respects, his superiors.

Finally, not to take notice of any other arguments of this kind, Dr. Heumann thinks, that [f]

Erasmus 'novæ heresis auctorem' vocat in Paraphrasi. Ac *ita jam olim sensit Beda*——Verum recte Buddeus hanc sententiam respuit. Quod si enim corruptor doctrinæ apostolicæ fuisset Diotrephes, apostoli fuisset avocare Christianos a familiari cum ipso consuetudine; id quod fecit hæreticis in secundæ suæ epistolæ versu decimo et undecimo. Fuisset item apostoli, notare ipsius errores, et, ut a fermento Diotrephis caveatur, præcipere. Jam vero id non facit, sed superbiam duntaxat ejus notat, et inhospitalitatem, et protervam non doctrinæ Joannis, sed præcepti ejus de liberalitate in pios exules exercendâ, contentionem. Ib. p. 302, 303.

[a] Etiam Calovius ad h. l. hac de causâ negat Diotrephen fuisse hæreticum. 'Si hæreticus fuisset,' inquit, 'gravius sine dubio acturus adversus eum, et Caium, aliosque, de seductione ipsius cavendâ moniturus fuisset Joannes.' Quod argumentum accepit a Cornelio a Lapide, cujus pene omnes sunt annotationes, quas ad hanc Joannis epistolam exhibet Calovius. Heuman. ib. p. 303 note (z).

[b] Nullam igitur Diotrephes religionis dogmatibus injuriam inferebat, sed iniquus tantum erat, et ultra modum rigidus dignitatis suæ custos. Moshem. de Reb. Christianor. p. 176, 177.

[c] De causâ rixæ et contentionis inter Diotrephen et Joannem in diversa abeunt interpretes. Bartholomæus Petri: 'Credibile est,' inquit, 'fuisse quempiam ex illis Judæis titulo tenus Christianis, qui Christi fidem ita suscipiendam putabant, ut simul servaretur lex cæremonialis Mosis.'——Sed optime observat Calovius, si Joannes id innuisset, quod tum sine dubio acturus adversus eumdem, et Caium aliosque, de seductione ipsius cavendâ moniturus esset. Nullius sane dogmatis, sed factorum tantum perversorum, Diotrephes incusatur. Lamp. Prol. l. 1. cap. 7. sect. xiv.

[d] Alii igitur Diotrephen fuisse illius ecclesiæ episcopum crediderunt, hoc potissimum usi argumento, quod excommunicâsse scribatur pios exules. Verum infra docebimus, 'ejicere ex ecclesiâ,' hic non esse excommunicare, atque adeo affingi Diotrephi excommunicationem judicio præcipiti. Ib. 303.

[e] Ac vel verbum φιλοπρωτευων demonstrat nobis, eum haud fuisse episcopum: episcopus enim est ὁ πρωτευων in ecclesiâ. Atqui quod quis jam habet, non expetit. Ib. p. 303, 304.

[f] Jam cum clarissime cognoscamus, nec hæreticum, nec episcopum, nec presbyterum, nec ethnicum scilicet reipublicæ rectorem, fuisse Diotrephen, via satis aperta est ad personam ejus inveniendam. Statim enim mentem nostram hæc subit quæstio: An forte fuit illius ecclesiæ diaconus, hoc est, bonorum ecclesiasticorum administrator? Hoc enim officium certis hominibus jam initio Christianæ Ecclesiæ demandatum fuisse, ex Act. vi. notum est. Ac sane facilis nunc et perspicuus nobis videtur totus hic locus noster. Præerat scilicet ærario ecclesiastico Diotrephes. Erat ejus pauperibus inde erogare pecunias. Advenas autem fratres ideo non sublevabat, quod vix ecclesiæ illius pauperibus alendis satis videretur suppetere. Id causatus, alio discedere, aliorum auxilium implorare, jubebat: imo, dum nihil ipsis suppeditabat, cogebat hoc ipso eos εκ της εκκλησιας, ex illâ ecclesiâ, excedere, atque ita erat εκβαλλων αυτες εκ της εκκλησιας. Erant, qui exulibus his ex ærario dari aliquid volebant. Verum non audiebat hos providus scilicet œconomus, sed suam sequi sententiam cupiebat cæteros Christianos omnes. Atque ita erat φιλοπρωτευων (sive, ut Petrus loquitur, κατακυριευων) αυτων. Quid? Tam prudens et justus sibi videbatur œconomus, ut ne Joannis quidem Apostoli præcepto morem gereret, ratus scilicet, eum, si hic esset, ærarique rationes haberet cognitas, aliter sensurum. Bonum doctorem esse Joannem, non negabat: bonum eum esse œconomum, prudentemque in politicis rebus consiliatorem, id vero negabat. Imo eo temeritatis provehebat, ut ludibria maledicta effutiret in virum sanctissimum, et fortasse 'senem' appellaret, cætera

Diotrephes was deacon, and had the charge of the stock or treasure of the church to which he belonged, and therefore he was not bishop.

But neither do I see the force of this argument. For Diotrephes might have the disposal of the church-stock, and yet be bishop. For in ancient times it was a part of the bishop's office and care, to see that the revenues of the church were managed and disposed to the best advantage. This appears from [a] Justin Martyr, and [b] Cyprian. They who desire to see more proofs, may consult [c] Bingham. Since then we allow Diotrephes to have had a right to concern himself in the disposal of the church-stock, it need not affect Dr. Heumann's main argument, whether he was bishop or deacon.

To me, then, it seems, that Diotrephes was bishop in this church, and that Caius was a man in a private station, of good substance, and a liberal disposition. St. John says, ver. 9. "I wrote unto the church:" or rather [d] I would have written unto the church, and at the same time to Diotrephes: "but Diotrephes, who loveth to have the pre-eminence, receiveth us not." For that reason St. John sent this letter to Caius.

Let us now consider what was the case to which St. John refers in this epistle, and what was the fault of Diotrephes. Concerning this there have been various sentiments of learned men. Grotius supposed [e] these strangers here spoken of to be believing Jews, whom Diotrephes, a Gentile would not receive, because they were Jews, or because they were for joining the rites of the law with Christianity. To the like purpose [f] Le Clerc, and [g] Beausobre. This opinion is much disliked by [h] Dr. Heumann. Mr. Mosheim [i] likewise argues against it, as an opinion quite destitute of foundation in antiquity.

Others think that Diotrephes was a Jew, and zealous for the law, and that he would not receive these strangers, converts from among the Gentiles, because they did not take upon them the observation of the rites and ceremonies of the law of Moses. This opinion is mentioned by [k] Lampe. But he argues well against it.

And indeed both these opinions were confuted before, when we shewed that Diotrephes was not a heretic, or that there is no reason to think him so.

It has been of late a common opinion among learned men, that [l] St. John here speaks of some, particularly Jews, who had gone out into the world to propagate the Christian religion. Who had acted upon a generous and disinterested principle, refusing to take any thing from those among whom they laboured, and whom they had converted to the Christian faith. And they think that St. John commends Caius for encouraging such teachers, and blames Diotrephes for not receiving and helping them. But that opinion appears to me without foundation. For I see nothing that should lead us to think preachers here spoken of, but only strangers in want.

Ver. 5. "Beloved," says St. John to Caius, "thou doest faithfully whatsoever thou doest to

quidem summe venerabilem, sed hoc certe in genere 'delirum.' Ib. p. 306, 307.

[a] Οἱ ευπορουντες δε και βελομενοι, κατα προαιρεσιν εκαστος την εαυτου, ὁ βελεται διδωσι· και το συλλεγομενον παρα τῳ προεστωτι αποτιθεται, και αυτος επικουρει ορφανοις τε και χηραις —— και τοις παρεπιδημοις ὡσι ξενοις, κ. λ. Apol. 2. p. 99. A. Par. 1636.

[b] ——et stipendia ejus episcopo dispensante perciperent. Cypr. ep. 41. al. 38.

[c] Antiquities of the Christ. Church. B. I. ch. iv. sect 6.

[d] Scripsissem forsitan ecclesiæ. Vulgat. Vid. et Cleric. H. E. A. D. 92. num. ii. Vid. et Grot. in loc.

[e] Is vero ex illo erat hominum genere, qui Judæos, quamquam Christum professos, si legis ritus observabant, (quod in Judæâ Christiani faciebant ad hæc usque tempora, ut Sulpicius nos docet), ad suos cœtus non admittebant. Grot. in ep. 3. ver. 9.

[f] Nolebat autem Christianos circumcisos ab incircumcisis, seu Gentilibus, in ecclesiam admitti. Cleric. ib.

[g] Son nom est Grec. Ce qui fait juger, qu'il étoit Payen d'origine; et c'est peut-être pour cela qu'il ne vouloit pas qu'on reçut les Chrêtiens d'entre les Juifs, fort méprisés par les Gentils. Préf. sur ii. et iii. ep. de S. Jean, p. 585. Voyez aussi la remarque sur l'ep. iii. ver. 9.

[h] Heuman. ubi sup. p. 303. note (*a*).

[i] Eam (causam) viri docti quærunt in conditione eorum, quos beneficiis et amore ecclesiæ excludebat. Diotrephen nempe suspicantur origine fuisse Ethnicum, illos vero, quos recipere nolebat, Judæos. Ex quo efficiunt, insitum Ethnicorum animis contemptum Judæorum tantum apud eum potuisse, ut sanctissimum amoris præceptum violaret. In hac conjecturâ, ut verum fatear, nihil est, quo moveri queat aliquis consideratus et rerum Christianarum non imperitus. Nam, ut omittam, omnibus eam præsidiis destitutam esse, si nomen Diotrephis excipias, quod Græcum est——ut taceam, nusquam aliquid memoriæ proditum extare, unde pateat, tam immani Judæorum odio et despicientiâ Christianos ex Græcis flagrâsse, ut in fratribus eos habere nollent, et omni amoris fructu spoliarent, &c. Moshem. De Reb. Christian. ante Const. M. p. 175.

[k] See before, p. 433. note [c]

[l] Tertiam epistolam scripsit Gaio cuidam——Hominis liberalitatem laudat, qui præcones quosdam evangelicos, e Judæâ gente, qui a Gentilibus nihil accipere voluerant, opibus suis adjuvisset. Cleric. ubi supr.

Diotrephen duplici nomine S. Joannes objurgat: primum ideo, quod imperium sibi arrogaret in ecclesiâ——deinde propterea quod durum se ac inhumanum fratribus bene de religione Christianâ promeritis exhiberet. Egressi erant quidam ex cœtu, cujus membrum Diotrephes erat, ad propagandam inter vicinas gentes religionem Christianam, &c. Moshem. ib. p. 175.

he brethren, and to strangers:" 'that is, to the members of the church to which he belonged, and to strangers who came to the city where he dwelt: whom he had received civilly, and courteously, and relieved generously if they were in want.'

Ver. 6. "Which have borne witness of thy charity before the church." 'Some such persons, 'or some members of that church, had been at the place where St. John resided. And before 'this church they declared his good temper and liberality.' "Whom if thou bring forward on 'their journey, after a godly sort, thou shalt do well." 'And it will be very commendable in 'you, if after this any other such persons should come to your city, you shall act in a like 'manner to them also, receiving them kindly, and forwarding them in their way. This will be 'very becoming your Christian profession.'

Ver. 7. "Because that for his name's sake they went forth taking nothing of the Gentiles."

We learn from Bede, that [a] there were in ancient times two interpretations of these words. 'For the name of Christ they went forth to preach the gospel. Or for the faith of Christ, and 'the profession of his name they had left their native country, or had been expelled from it.' This [b] is the sense for which Dr. Heumann contends, and therefore often calls these strangers exiles.

He supposeth these strangers to have been Gentile converts, who had forsaken their native country, or had been driven out of it, destitute of all things.

However this place may be understood partly otherwise: 'That we, who are Christians 'ought to help these strangers in their difficulty, especially because they have not sought for 'relief among unbelieving Gentiles: though some even of them might have been disposed to 'give them assistance.'

Grotius [c] explains the place in that manner. The same sense is likewise in Estius. Whose [d] note upon this text I shall now transcribe at large, it being well suited to illustrate this epistle.

Ver. 8. "We therefore ought to receive such, that we might be fellow-helpers to the truth." 'It should be an allowed maxim, that we are to show kindness to such: otherwise we do not 'act the part of Christians, who ought to encourage those who have a zeal for truth.'

Ver. 9. "I wrote to the church." Or, "I should have written to the church," and therein to Diotrephes. "But Diotrephes, who loveth to have the pre-eminence among them, receiveth 'us not." 'I know he would not pay a regard to my directions.'

Ver. 10. "Wherefore, if I come, I will remember his deeds, which he does." That is, 'I [e] 'will remind him of his actions, and reprove and admonish him, in order to his amendment, of 'which I do not despair.' "Prating against us with malicious words." He proceeded so far, as to speak of the apostle in a petulant manner. Perhaps, he said, that though St. John did well in giving out general rules for the practice of piety; yet he had no right to intermeddle in particular cases, concerning which every one should judge for himself. "And not content therewith, neither doth he himself receive the brethren, and forbiddeth them that would, and casteth them out of the church." 'Nor is that all. For he not only refuses to receive and entertain 'these brethren, but he also discourages those who would relieve and entertain them. And thus 'he obligeth these strangers to leave your church, and go elsewhere.'

[a] Duabus autem ex causis pro nomine Domini sunt profecti, aut ad prædicandum videlicet nomen ejus proprie sponte venientes, aut propter nominis sancti fidem et confessionem a civibus seu contribulibus suis patriâ expulsi. Bed. in 3. Joann. Ep.

[b] Nam exules illi Christiani e patriâ suâ cum egressi sunt, nihil quidquam suorum bonorum acceperunt ab hostibus suis Ethnicis, sed coacti sunt abire sine ullo vitæ subsidio. Heuman. ubi supr. p. 327.

[c] Μηδεν λαμβανοντες απο των εθνων.——In manuscripto απο των εθνικων.——Potuerant in istâ calamitate adjuvari misericordia των εξω, 'extraneorum.' Sed maluerunt omnia Christianis debere. Grot. ad ver. 7. 'Nos ergo.' Nos Christiani ubique locorum οφειλομεν απολαμβανειν——Manuscriptus, υπολαμβανειν τοιουτους: id vero est, opitulari. Id. ad ver. 8.

[d] Quod ait Apostolus, 'istos profectos pro nomine Jesu Christi,' potest bifariam exponi, ait Beda, videlicet, aut ut prædicaturi evangelium ejus sponte sint profecti ad Gentiles convertendos, aut ut propter fidem et confessionem nominis Christi per contribules suos patriâ fuerint expulsi. Similiter, quod sequitur, 'nihil accipientes a gentibus,' ambiguum est, an de gentibus ad fidem Christi jam conversis accipiendum sit, an de nondum conversis. Et uterque sensus suâ nititur probabilitate. Illo modo sensus est, quod hi, quamvis annuntiâssent, et deinceps forent annuntiaturi gentibus evangelium seu fidem Christi, essentque jam complures gentilium eorum prædicatione conversi, nihil tamen ab iis exigere, vel accipere voluerint necessariæ sustentationis, hac scilicet de causâ, ne quod offendiculum darent evangelio Christi——De gentibus autem non conversis si sermo sit, tunc significatur, quod isti peregrini, quamvis egerent, quâcumque tantum ex causâ, nihil tamen ab hujusmodi gentilibus accipere, nedum petere, voluerint; ne ii scandalizarentur, et longius a Christianâ religione averterentur. Dixissent enim: Ecce nulla est caritas inter Christianos——Utraque expositio bene probabilis est. Nec satis liquet, utra sit præferenda. Est. in 3. Joan. ver. 7.

[e] Certe nihil aliud sibi vult Apostolus, quam se more suo mollissimum, placidissimumque in modum admoniturum esse Diotrephen peccati sui, rectamque eum revocaturum in viam. Heum. ib. p. 309.

By these last words most interpreters understand St. John to say, that Diotrephes excommunicated, or cast out of the church, "the brethren," members of it, who were for receiving these strangers. But Dr. Heumann says, that [a] by the persons whom Diotrephes cast out of the church, must be understood these strangers, not the members of the church. For, as plainly appears, Caius was not excommunicated, though he had done what was opposed by Diotrephes. Nor need it be supposed, that all the strangers, here spoken of, were obliged to leave that place, or society. Diotrephes, it is true, discouraged their reception, and some might remove elsewhere. Others of them, however, might continue their abode there, encouraged by Caius, and some other pious members of this church, who did not submit to the reasons, or the orders of Diotrephes.

In this interpretation it is supposed, that "casting out of the church" refers not to the persons last mentioned, who would receive these strangers, but to "the strangers," whom Diotrephes would not have to be received. And Beausobre says, the [b] place may be so understood. Dr. Heumann blames him for not saying that [c] it ought to be so understood.

There have been various conjectures of learned men concerning the reasons of Diotrephes's conduct, which I do not choose to take notice of now. Dr. Heumann supposeth, that Diotrephes had the disposal of the revenues of the church. There came to the place strangers, who needed relief. But Diotrephes opposed the distribution of any of the common stock, and also discouraged such as were willing to assist them with their own. For all which, as may be supposed, he assigned some reasons. This appears to me to have been the whole of the affair.

But whether these strangers were Jews, or Gentiles, I cannot say. There might be some of both. Grotius [d] and Lampe [e] think they were Jews, who had been driven out of Palestine, or had been reduced to want by the general and grievous calamity of that country, and had come into Asia with hopes of relief, and for the sake of a settlement. Heumann, as before seen, says they were Gentiles. For certain they were Christians. And St. John, I think, says, that we ought to receive such, whether they be of Jewish or Gentile stock, "that we may be fellow-helpers to the truth:" 'that we also may serve the interests of truth, for the sake of which these 'persons have suffered the loss of all things.'

Ver. 11. "Beloved, follow not that which is evil, but that which is good." Here the apostle exhorts Caius to persist in his good conduct, and to be upon his guard, not to be influenced by any bad examples.

In the twelfth verse he recommends to him Demetrius, by whom, as may be supposed, this letter was carried.

In the 13th and 14th verses he sends salutations, and speaks again of coming to the place where Caius dwelled, and of "speaking with him face to face." Which I suppose he did.

And I please myself with the supposition, that his journey was not in vain. I imagine, that Diotrephes submitted, and acquiesced in the advices and admonitions of the apostle. Of this I

[a] Universi videlicet, qui hanc tractârunt epistolam, sibi persuaserunt, describi his verbis illud pœnæ ecclesiasticæ genus, quod excommunicatio vocari solet. Facile quidem poterat hic error agnosci. Nam primo, Caium, id, quod fieri nolebat Diotrephes, facientem, ab ipso non fuisse excommunicatum, in propatulo est.——Sed age, rem totam intueamur propius. Initio igitur considerandum, quosnam ecclesiâ ejecerit Diotrephes. Ab omnibus, si Beausobrium excipimus, hoc refertur ad propinquius, τȣς βȣλομενȣς, hoc est, eos, qui volebant exules hospitio excipere. Cum vero jam graves attulimus causas, cur non credi possit hos excommunicatione ejecisse ecclesiâ, sequitur, ut statuamus, hæc verba, εκ της εκκλησιας εκβαλλει, pertinere ad remotius, ad fratres exules. His scilicet, dum nec ipse ex ærario aliquid impertiebat, et aliis quoque, ut nihil ipsis darent, suadebat ac persuadebat, hoc ipso migrare eos cogebat alio, atque ita 'e suâ expellebat ecclesiâ.' Non erat igitur nostro loco necesse excommunicationem tribuere Diotrephi. Sed satis evidens est, id eum effecisse, quod omissam priorum exulum receptionem necessario consequebatur, ut videlicet exirent ecclesiâ, aliamque peterent, opum pariter et misericordiæ abundantiorem.——Apparet hinc etiam facile, cum volentes exulum misereri κωλευειν hic dicitur Diotrephes, non credi eum debere id vetuisse pro imperio, sed allatis duntaxat causis, cur fieri id non oportebat, multos ab hoc pietatis officio revocâsse.——Atque hoc ipsum nos admonet, verbo, εκβαλλειν, non necessario significari, omnes illos exules reverâ abire coactos, sed id etiam recte usurpari de conatu Diotrephis id efficiendi. Heuman. ibid. p. 310—313.

[b] 'Les chasse de l' église.' Cela se peut rapporter ou aux frères, ou à ceux qui les reçoivent, ou aux uns et aux autres. Sur ver. 10.

[c] Hic enim in Gallicâ suâ N. T. versione animadvertit, hæc verba etiam ad remotius referri posse, hoc est, ad fratres exules. Debebat vero indulgere meditationi, nec id relinquere dubium et incertum. Heum. ib. p. 311. note (*p*).

[d] Ὑπερ τȣ ονοματος αυτȣ εξηλθον· id est, a Judæâ ejecti sunt per Judæos incredulos ob Christum. Grot. ad ver. 7.

[e] Unde colligimus, peregrinos hos, quorum causam Joannes tam impense egit, fuisse Judæos ex Palæstinâ cum eo profugos, qui pro se aliisque, per totalem regionis illius devastationem ad summam egestatem redactis, opem ecclesiarum Asiæ florentium implorabant. Lamp. Proleg. l. 1. c. 7 num. xvi.

have no certain assurance. However I may add: that neither does any one else know the contrary.

VI. Concerning the time of writing these two epistles, nothing can be said with certainty. Mill [a] placeth them about the same time with the first, in 91 or 92. Whiston [b] likewise supposeth that they were all three written about the year 82, or 83. I imagine that St. John was somewhat advanced in age, and that he had resided a good while in Asia, before he wrote any of these epistles. Consequently, I am disposed to think that these two were not written sooner than the first. And as it was before [c] argued, that the first epistle was written about the year 80, these two may be reckoned to have been written between the years 80 and 90.

CHAP. XXI.

ST. JUDE AND HIS EPISTLE.

I. *His History.* II. *Testimonies to the Genuineness of the Epistle.* III. *To whom it was sent.* IV. *The Time when it was written.*

I. The writer describes himself in this manner at the beginning of the epistle. ch. i. ver. 1. "Jude [d] the servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James." Those two characters lead us to think that he was one of those called the Lord's brethren, and that he was an apostle. Our Lord's brethren, as enumerated in Matt. xiii. 55, are "James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas." In Mark vi. 3. "James, and Joses, and Judas, and Simon." And in the catalogues of the apostles are these. Matt. x. 3. "James the son of Alpheus, and Lebbeus, whose surname was Thaddeus. Simon the Canaanite." Mark iii. 18. "James the son of Alpheus, and Thaddeus, and Simon the Canaanite." Luke vi. 15, 16. "James the Son of Alpheus, and Simon Zelotes, and Judas the brother of James." Acts i. 13. "James the son of Alpheus, and Simon Zelotes, and Judas the brother of James."

Thus he appears to have been sometimes called Judas, at other times Thaddeus, or Lebbeus. As I do not inquire into the meaning and origin of these names, I refer to [e] others. I only observe, that it was no uncommon thing among the Jews for a man to have different names, as Simon, sometimes called Simeon, at other times Peter, or Cephas. And Thomas was also called Didymus.

"Jude, servant of Jesus Christ." He does not thereby deny himself to be an apostle. St. Paul does not always take upon himself that character at the beginning of his epistles. It is wanting in his two epistles to the Thessalonians, in the epistles to the Philippians and to Philemon. The epistle to the Philippians begins in this manner; "Paul and Timothy, servants of Jesus Christ, to all the saints in Christ Jesus, which are at Philippi."

It follows. "And brother of James:" meaning James, sometimes called the Lord's brother, and son of Alpheus, one of the twelve apostles. And he does fitly so style himself, as that James was the eldest brother, and was of note among the apostles, after our Saviour's ascension, and in great repute among the Jewish believers. As appears from Acts xii. 17. xv. xxi. 18—25, and Gal. i. 19. ii. 9.

We have no account of Jude's vocation to the apostleship. Nor is there any thing said of him particularly in the gospels, except what is related in John xiv. 21, 22, 23, in the account which that evangelist has given of our Lord's most excellent and affectionate discourses with the disciples a short time before his last sufferings. "He that hath my commandments, and keepeth

[a] Proleg. num. 151.
[b] As before, p. 427.
[c] See above, p. 428.
[d] Ιουδας, Ιησου Χριστου δουλος, αδελφος δε Ιακωβου.
[e] See Lightfoot's Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations upon St. Matthew, Vol. II. p. 176. Witsii Comm. in ep. Judæ. num. ii. Cave's Life of St. Jude, in English. Dr. Benson's Preface to this epistle, sect i.

them, he it is that loveth me. And he that loveth me, shall be loved of my Father. And I will love him, and will manifest myself to him. Judas saith unto him, not Iscariot: Lord, how is it that thou wilt manifest thyself to us, and not unto the world? Jesus answered, and said unto him: If a man love me, he will keep my words. And my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him."

This disciple still had the common prejudice concerning the kingdom of the Messiah. And he asks our Saviour with surprise, how he could speak of manifesting himself to a few only, when he was about to set up an universal monarchy in great power and splendour? Our Lord tells him (what he might have known before) that his kingdom, as Messiah, was spiritual, a kingdom of truth and righteousness: and that the blessings and privileges of it were peculiar to good men, who obeyed the precepts of true religion, which had been taught by him. Such would be accepted, and approved by himself, and by his heavenly Father, in whose name he had spoken. This they would all know, when he should come again among them, after his resurrection, and when the gift of the Spirit should be bestowed upon them, and others his followers.

As there is little said of Jude in the history of our Saviour before his resurrection, so St. Luke in the Acts has inserted nothing particularly concerning him after it. However it is unquestionable, that he partook of the plentiful effusion of the Holy Ghost at the pentecost next after our Lord's ascension: and that he joined with the other apostles in bearing an open testimony to our Lord's resurrection at Jerusalem: and that he had a share with them in the reproaches and other sufferings, which they endured upon that account.

It may be also reasonably supposed, that for a while he preached the gospel in several parts of the land of Israel, and wrought miracles in the name of Christ. But what they were, we cannot say, because they are not recorded by St. Luke, nor any other credible historian near the time.

As his life seems to have been prolonged, it may be also reckoned very likely, that he afterwards left Judea, and went abroad, preaching the gospel to Jews and Gentiles in other countries. But we have no account of his travels that can be relied on. Some have said, that he preached in Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Persia: and that he suffered martyrdom in this last mentioned country. But of these things there remains not any credible history.

Indeed, it may be questioned, whether St. Jude was a martyr. It was formerly observed by[a] us, that Heracleon, a learned Valentinian, as cited by Clement of Alexandria, reckons[b] among apostles, who had not died by martyrdom, Matthew, Philip, Thomas, and Levi. And it was then said, that by Levi, Heracleon probably meant Lebbeus, that is, Judas. Which is allowed by[c] Dodwell, and some other learned writers, to whom we then referred. Nor does Jerom, in his article of St. Jude, in his catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, say any thing of his having died a martyr.

Jerom, in his commentary upon the tenth chapter of St. Matthew, where is the catalogue of the apostles, says, 'that[d] the apostle Thaddeus, called by the evangelist Luke, "Jude the brother 'of James," was sent to Edessa to Agbarus king of Osröene. But Eusebius, in his account of 'that affair says, that 'Thomas, one of the twelve, sent to Edessa, Thaddeus, one of Christ's 'seventy disciples, to preach the gospel in those countries.' And in the preceding[f] chapter, where he speaks of Christ's seventy disciples, he reckons Thaddeus, who went to Edessa, one of them. Whence it came to pass, that Jerom called him an apostle, and reckoned him one of the twelve, is[g] not easy to say. But I imagine, that what he says in his commentary upon St. Matthew, is an inaccuracy, owing to his writing in haste. This conjecture receives confirmation hence, that in the article of St. Jude, in the catalogue above-mentioned, he says nothing of that journey.

Before I proceed any farther, I must take notice of[h] a Dissertation of the learned Theodore Hasæus: in which he argues, that Judas, called Lebbeus, and Thaddeus, is the same as Levi, of whose call St. Mark, ch. ii. 13—17, and St. Luke, ch. v. 27—32. give an account.

[a] See before, p. 158. note [h]

[b] Ου γαρ παντες οἱ σωζομενοι ὡμολογησαν την δια της φωνης ὁμολογιαν, και εξηλθον· εξ ὡν Ματθαιος, Φιλιππος, Θωμας, Λευις, και αλλοι πολλοι. Heracl. ap. Clem. A. Str. l. 4. p. 502.

[c] Diss. Iren. i. num. xxiv.

[d] Thaddæum apostolum ecclesiastica tradit historia missum Edessam ad Abgarum regem Osroënæ, qui ab Evangelistâ Lucâ Judas Jacobi dicitur. In Matt. T. IV. p. 35. in.

[e] H. E. l. i. cap. 13. p. 32.

[f] Cap. 12. p. 31. A.

[g] Vid. Vales. Annot. in loc. p. 21.

[h] Theodori Hasæi de Levi a Christo ad Apostolatum vocato: ad loca Marci ii. 14. seq. Luc. v. 27. seq. Disquisitio, quâ eum non, ut vulgo putatur, Matthæum, sed Judam Thaddæum esse ostenditur. Ap. Biblioth. Brem. Cl. v. Fascic. iii. num. vi. p. 475, &c. Bremæ. 1721.

He supposeth, that St. Matthew, ch. ix. 9—13. gives an account of his own call to be an apostle, and that St. Mark and St. Luke give an account of the call of another publican, named Levi, or Lebbeus, or Judas.

Upon which I observe:

1. That is a very forced interpretation. The whole history, and all the circumstances of it, shew, that one and the same person is spoken of by all the three evangelists. And the coherence renders it indubitable. The same things precede and follow in those several evangelists; as may be perceived by any one, who compares them.

2. So far as we can find, it has been the opinion of the most ancient and learned Christian writers, that Matthew and Levi are two names of one and the same man. So thought[a] Eusebius. So likewise[b] Jerom in several places of his works: which shews it was his settled opinion and that he never hesitated about it. The[c] compiler of the Apostolical Constitutions says the same expressly. Victor of Antioch, in his commentary upon St. Mark, says, that[d] Mark and Luke, when they give an account of his call at the receipt of custom, designedly use a name by which he was not so well known as that of Matthew. Jerom speaks to the like purpose in a passage, already[e] transcribed. It is very likely, that Victor had seen that observation in more ancient writers: and possibly in Origen, in[f] whose preface to his commentary upon the epistle to the Romans, as we now have it in Latin only, is somewhat equivalent. However, he plainly says, that Matthew and Levi are only two names of one and the same man.

3. Hasæus argues, that[g] Levi is never said in the gospels to have been also called Matthew, nor is Matthew said to be otherwise called Levi.

To which I answer, there was no necessity that we should be told this. It is allowed, that Thaddeus, and Lebbeus, and Judas, are names of one and the same apostle. And[h] it was also so understood by ancient Christians: some of whom I have quoted below. Nevertheless St. Luke has never told us, that Judas was surnamed Thaddeus, or Lebbeus. Nor has St. Matthew, or St. Mark said, that Thaddeus, or Lebbeus was also called Judas.

These observations, as seems to me, are sufficient to confirm the common opinion. However I will add a thought or two of less moment

4. St. Matthew, in the catalogue of the apostles, placeth himself in this manner, ch. x. 3. "and Matthew the publican: και Ματθαιος ο τελωνης. May it not be hence argued with probability, that he was the only publican among the apostles, and that there was no other?

5. If we were to form a conjecture concerning the employment, that was followed by Jude, before he was an apostle, it[i] would be that of an husbandman. In the Apostolical Constitutions the apostles are made to say: 'Some of us are fishermen, others tent-makers, others husbandmen.' Undoubtedly several of the apostles were fishermen. But by the latter part of the sentence no more may be meant, than that there was among them one tent maker, even Paul, and one husbandman, intending, perhaps, St. Jude. For Hegesippus, as quoted by Eusebius,

[a] Vid. Dem. Ev. l. 3. cap. v. p. 119, &c. cited in this work Vol. ii. p. 357, &c.

[b] Primus omnium Matthæus est Publicanus cognomento Levi, qui evangelium in Judæâ Hebræo sermone edidit. Hieron. Prol. in Matt. T. IV. in citat supra Vol. ii. p. 550.

Cæteri evangelistæ propter verecundiam et honorem Matthæi noluerant eum nomine appellare vulgato, sed dixerunt Levi. Duplici quippe vocabulo fuit. Id. in Matt. cap. x. tom. IV. P. I. p. 30.

Matthæus, qui et Levi, ex Publicano Apostolus. De V. I. cap. 3.

[c] Περι δε αναγνωσων εγω Ματθαιος, ο και Λευις, ο ποτε τελωνης, διατασσομαι. Const. Ap. l. 8. c. 22.

[d] Est autem Levi hic idem omnino cum Evangelistâ Matthæo. Et quidem Marcus et Lucas nomen, quod illi familiare erat, primævâ appellatione obnubunt, &c. Victor in S. Marc. ap. Bib. PP. Lugd. T. IV. p 375. B. Citat. Vol. ii. hujus operis p. 550.

[e] See note

[f] Prima nobis quæstio de nomine ipsius Pauli videtur exsurgere, cur is qui Saulus dictus est in Actibus Apostolorum, nunc Paulus dicatur.——Invenimus igitur in scripturis aliquantos binis, alios etiam ternis usos esse nominibus.——sed nec evangelia quidem hunc renuunt morem. Nam et Matthæus ipse refert de se, quod, cum transiret Jesus, invenit quemdam sedentem ad telonium, nomine Matthæum. Lucas vero de eodem dicit, quia, cum transiret Jesus, quemdam vidit publicanum, nomine Levi, &c. Origen. in ep. ad Rom. tom. II. p. 458. Basil.

[g] Nam observabam, Matthæum nunquam dici Levin, vel Levin vicissim appellari Matthæum, &c. Has. ubi supra. p. 477.

[h] Thaddæum Apostolum——qui ab Evangelistâ Lucâ Judas Jacobi dicitur, et alibi appellatur Lebbæus, quod interpretatur corculus. Credendumque est eum fuisse trinominem; sicut Simon, Petrus, et filii Zebedæi, Boanerges, ex firmitate et magnitudine fidei nominati sunt. Hieron. in Matt. x. T. IV. p. 35. in.

Ην γαρ ετερος Ιουδας ο Λεββαιος, ο και επικληθεις Θαδδαιος, ον Ιακωβε φησιν ειναι ο Λουκας, λεγων, Ιουδας Ιακωβε. Chrys. in Matt. hom. 32. al. 33. tom. VII. p. 369.

Vid. et Hesychii Quæstiones. Diff. xiv. ap. Coteler. Monum. Gr. tom. III. p. 11.

[i] Vid. Cav. H. L. in S. Juda.

writes, 'that [a] when Domitian made inquiries after the posterity of David, some grandsons of 'Jude, called the Lord's brother, were brought before him. Being asked concerning their 'possessions and substance, they assured him, that they had only so many acres of land, out of 'the improvement of which they both paid him tribute, and maintained themselves with their 'own hard labour. The truth of what they said was confirmed by the callousness of their hands. 'Being asked concerning Christ, and his kingdom, of what kind it was, and when it would appear, 'they answered, that it was not worldly and earthly, but heavenly and angelical: that it would 'be manifested at the end of the world: when coming in great glory he would judge the living 'and the dead, and render to every man according to his works. The men being mean, and 'their principles harmless, they were dismissed.'

Hence some may argue, that St. Jude himself had been an husbandman. And from this account, if it may be relied upon, we learn, that this apostle was married, and had children.

That may suffice for the history of St. Jude.

II. In the next place I am to observe the evidences of the genuineness, and canonical authority of the epistle ascribed to him.

Somewhat relating to this point has been already said in the fifteenth chapter, concerning the Catholic epistles in general. To which chapter therefore the reader is referred, though I may here transcribe some things from it, for shewing the authority of this epistle in particular.

It should be remembered, that Eusebius having enumerated the books of scripture, universally received from the beginning, and among them the first epistle of Peter, and the first epistle of John, he adds: 'And [b] among the contradicted, but yet well known to the most [or approved 'by many] are that called the epistle of James, and that of Jude, and the second of Peter, and the 'second and third of John.' So that in his time this epistle was well known, and received by many, though not by all.

This epistle is no where expressly cited by Irenæus, who wrote about the year of Christ 178. Whether he has at all referred to it, was considered formerly. And the reader is referred to what was then [c] said.

Clement of Alexandria flourished about the year 194. Eusebius giving an account of his works, says 'that [d] in his Institutions, Clement had given explications of all the canonical scrip-'tures, not omitting those which are contradicted. I mean the epistle of Jude, and the other 'catholic epistles.'

That work, entitled Institutions, is lost. But we have in Latin a small treatise or fragment, called Adumbrations, supposed to be translated from the Institutions. Here are notes upon the epistle of Jude: in which is an observation concerning the modesty of the writer: 'that [e] Jude 'who wrote a catholic epistle, did not style himself at the beginning of it, brother of the Lord, 'though he was related to him, but "Jude the servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James."'

Which observation serves to shew whom Clement took to be the writer of this epistle. He supposed him to be one of them, who are called the Lord's brethren. Matt. xiii. 55. Mark vi. 3. and an apostle. See Luke vi. 16. In that Adumbration follow brief remarks upon almost every verse of the epistle, except the last, or twenty-fifth verse.

It might be observed likewise, that in that place Clement declares his opinion concerning those called the Lord's brethren, that they were children of Joseph.

This epistle is also quoted expressly by Clement in two of his works, which remain entire, the Pedagogue or Instructor, and the Stromata, or Miscellanies.

In the Pedagogue he speaks to this purpose: "I will [f] that ye should know," says Jude, "that God having once saved the people out of Egypt, afterwards destroyed them that believed not. And the angels, which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he [g] has reserved in everlasting chains under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day." And afterwards, he emphatically describes the characters of those who are judged. "Woe unto them, for they have

[a] Ετι δε περιησαν οι απο γενους του κυριου νιωνοι Ιουδα, του κατα σαρκα λεγομενου αυτου αδελφου, ους εξηλατορευσαν, ως εκ γενους οντας Δαβιδ. Euseb. H. E. l. 3. cap. xx.

[b] See before, p. 276.

[c] See Vol. i. p. 371.

[d] —— μη δε τας αντιλεγομενας παρελθων· την Ιουδα λεγω και τας λοιπας καθολικας επιστολας. H. E. l. 6. cap. 14. in.

[e] Judas, qui catholicam scripsit epistolam, frater filiorum Joseph, extans valde religiosus, quum sciret propinquitatem Domini, non tamen dixit, se ipsum fratrem ejus esse. Sed quid dixit? 'Jacobus, servus Jesu Christi,' utpote Domini, 'frater autem Jacobi.' Adumbrat. in epist. Judæ. p. 1007. ed. Oxon.

[f] Pæd. l. 3. p. 239.

[g] —— δεσμοις αϊδιοις υπο ζοφον αγριων [al. αγιων] αγγελων τετηρηκεν.

walked in the way of Cain, and run greedily in the error of Balaam for reward, and perished in the gainsaying of Core."——Jude, ver. 5, 6, and 11.

In his Stromata, Clement writes to this purpose: 'Of[a] these, and the like heretics, I think, Jude spoke prophetically in his epistle: "Likewise also these dreamers," and what follows to, "And their mouth speaketh great swelling words:" that is, from ver 8. to ver. 16. And that manner of quoting shews, that the epistle was in the hands of many people, or of all Christians in general, to be consulted by them.

I have been thus prolix in rehearsing these passages of Clement. For they appear to me a sufficient proof of the antiquity, and genuineness of this epistle: or that it was written by Jude, one of Christ's twelve apostles. However I would also refer those of my readers, who are willing to look back, to Clement's testimony to this, and to the other catholic epistles, as formerly observed in[b] his chapter.

In Tertullian, about the year 200, is but one quotation of this epistle. But it is very express 'Hence[c] it is, says he, that Enoch is quoted by the apostle Jude.' Intending the 14th verse of the epistle, and making no doubt, that the writer was an apostle.

In Origen, about the year 230, are divers plain quotations of St. Jude's epistle.

In his Commentaries upon St. Matthew, which we still have in Greek, having taken notice of the words of Matth. xiii. 55, 56.——beside other remarks, he says, 'that[d] James is the same 'whom Paul mentions in the epistle to the Galatians, as having been seen by him.' Gal. i. 19. He also observes a passage, said to be in the Antiquities of Josephus, relating to the same James. Then he adds: 'And[e] Jude wrote an epistle, of few lines indeed, but full of the powerful words 'of the heavenly grace, who at the beginning says: "Jude the servant of Jesus Christ, and 'brother of James."' These passages are of use to shew us whom Origen took to be the writer of this epistle.

Again, in the same Commentaries. 'And[f] in the epistle of Jude: "To them that are "beloved [or sanctified] in God the Father, and preserved in Jesus Christ, and called."'

Once more, in the same Greek Commentaries upon St. Matthew's gospel, having quoted 1 Pet. i. 12. he says: 'But[g] if any one receives also the epistle of Jude, let him consider what will 'follow from what is there said: "And the angels, which kept not their first estate, but left 'their own habitation, he has reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of 'the great day."'

This epistle is also quoted in those works of Origen, which we now have only in a Latin translation. But forbearing to take farther notice of them here, I refer to the account formerly given at large of Origen's testimony to the scriptures, in[h] the first volume of this work.

Upon the whole we perceive, that there were some in his time, who doubted of, or denied the authority of this epistle. But himself, as seems to me, admitted the genuineness and authority of it. For he quotes it expressly, without hesitation, as written by Jude, one of the Lord's brethren, and brother of James, consequently apostle. And he says, that it was "full of the powerful words of the heavenly grace."

I have not observed any notice taken of this epistle[i] in the writings of Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, about the year 248, and afterwards.

It is quoted by the anonymous author against the Novatian heretic, who wrote about the year 255. But he does not name St. Jude. His words are: 'As[k] it is written: "Behold he 'cometh with ten thousands of his angels, to execute judgment upon all," and what follows,' that is, the 14th and 15th verses of the epistle.

[a] Επι τουτων, οιμαι, και των ομοιων αιρεσεων προφητικως Ιουδας εν τη επιστολη ειρηκεναι· Ομοιως μεντοι και ουτοι ενυπνιαζομενοι· ὁ γαρ ὑπερ τη αληθεια επιβαλλεσιν· εως, και το σωμα αυτων λαλει ὑπερογκα. Strom. l. 3. p. 431. A. B.

[b] See Vol. i. p. 403—405.

[c] Eo accidit, quod Enoch apud Judam Apostolum testimonium perhibet. De Cultu Fem. l. 1. cap. 3. p. 172. A.

[d] Ιακωβος δε εστιν ουτος, ὁν λεγει Παυλος ειδειν εν τη προς Γαλατας επιστολη, ειπων· κ. λ. Comment. in Matt. p. 223. C. Heut. p. 463. B. T. 3. Bened.

[e] Και Ιουδας εγραψεν επιστολην, ολιγοστιχον μεν, πεπληρωμενην δε των της αρανιου χαριτος ερρωμενων λογων, ὁστις εν τω προοιμιω ειρηκεν· Ιουδας, Ιησου Χριστου δουλος, αδελφος δε Ιακωβου. Ibid. p. 223. D. al. p. 463. D.

[f] Και εν τη Ιουδα επιστολη, τοις εν θεω πατρι ηγαπημενοις και Ιησου Χριστω τετηρημενοις κεκλητοις. Ib. p. 332. A. al. 607. C.

[g] Ει δε και την Ιουδα προσοιτο τις επιστολην, ὁρατω τι επεται τω λογω δια τος; Αγγελους τε μη τηρησαντας. κ. λ. Ib. p. 488. E. al. p. 814. C.

[h] Ch. xxxviii. Vol. i. p. 541.

[i] See Vol. ii. p. 26.

[k] Sicut scriptum est: Ecce venit cum multis millibus nuntiorum suorum, facere judicium de omnibus, &c. Ap. Cyprian. in App. p. 20. Vid. et hujus operis Vol. iii. p. 35.

Eusebius flourished about the year 315. I have already transcribed from him a [a] passage concerning the catholic epistles, and among them concerning St. Jude's, which ought to be recollected here. There is another taken from him, at [b] the beginning of this article. And I shall here put down again a third passage transcribed above in the chapter of [c] the epistle of St. James. Where having given an account of the martyrdom of St. James, he says: 'Thus [d] 'far concerning James, who is said to be the writer of the first of the epistles called catholic. 'But it ought to be observed, that it is spurious [that is contradicted] forasmuch as there are 'not many of the ancients, who have made mention of it: as neither of that called Jude's, 'which likewise is one of the epistles called catholic. However we know, that [e] these also are 'commonly used [or publicly read] in most churches together with the rest.'

That passage needs no comment. This epistle was generally received in the time of Eusebius, though not by all.

Lucifer of Cagliari in Sardinia, about 354, has [f] quoted almost the whole of this epistle. He quotes it expressly, as written [g] by the excellent apostle Jude, brother of the apostle James.

I need not particularly mention more authors. For after the time of Eusebius, seven catholic epistles were generally received by all Christians, Greeks, and Latins. St. Jude's epistle therefore, as well as the rest, was received by Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, Didymus of Alexandria, Jerom, Rufinus, the third council of Carthage, Augustine, Isidore of Pelusium, Cyril of Alexandria and others, whose names may be seen in the alphabetical table in the last volume, under the article of seven catholic epistles. But [h] it was not received by the Syrians.

And it may not be amiss to observe here, that we have found this epistle oftener quoted by writers who lived before the time of Eusebius, than the epistle of St. James.

Of the authors above named there are two, of whom I would take some farther notice.

Epiphanius, about 368, in his heresy of the Gnostics, expressly 'cites [i] the catholic epistle 'of the apostle Jude, brother of James, and of the Lord, written by inspiration.' This epistle is received by Jerom, as written by the apostle Jude, as may be recollected by those who have read his chapter in the last volume of this work. Where, [k] in his letter to Paulinus, he says, 'The apostles James, Peter, John, Jude, write seven epistles, of few words, but full 'of sense.'

And in the chapter of St. Jude, in his catalogue of Ecclesiastical writers, he says: 'Jude [l] 'brother of James, left a short epistle, which is one of the seven called catholic. But [m] because 'of a quotation from a book of Enoch, which is apocryphal, it is rejected by many. However 'at length it has obtained authority, and is reckoned among the sacred scriptures.'

There is some inaccuracy in Jerom's manner of expression. For a book to be at the same time rejected by the most, or many, and to be reckoned among the sacred scriptures, are inconsistent. But it might have been properly said: 'that whereas it had been rejected by many, 'because of a quotation from an apocryphal book; it had at length obtained authority, and 'was reckoned among the sacred scriptures.'

Many learned men [n] have carefully considered this difficulty. But as the ancients overcame it, and at length admitted the authority of this epistle, perhaps it might have been passed over as a thing of no great consequence. Indeed, if there is a credible testimony to any book, or epistle, that it was written by an apostle, such a passage need not cause much hesitation. Origen has an observation in one of his Latin tracts. 'St. Paul [o] says: as Jannes and Jambres with-

[a] See p. 366, of this volume. [b] P. 440.

[c] P. 385. [d] H. E. l. 2. c. 23. p. 66. C.

[e] Ὁμως δε ισμεν και ταυτας μετα των λοιπων εν πολλαις δεδημοσιευμενας εκκλησιαις. Ibid.

[f] See Vol. ii. p. 450.

[g] Cum exhortetur Judas, gloriosus Apostolus, frater Jacobi Apostoli, &c. Ap. Bib. PP. T. IV. p. 227. C—E.

[h] See Vol. ii. p. 488, 489. This Vol. p. 53, 54.

[i] Ὡς και περι τουτων, οιμαι, εκινηθη το αγιον πνευμα εν τω αποστολω Ιουδα, λεγων δε εν τη υπ' αυτου γραφειση καθολικη επιστολη. Ιουδας δε εστιν ουτος, ὁ αδελφος Ιακωβου και κυριου λεγομενος. H. 26. n. xi. p. 92. D.

[k] Vol. ii. p. 548. [l] P. 561.

[m] Et quia de libro Enoch, qui apocryphus est, in cà assumitur testimonium, a plerisque rejicitur. Tamen auctoritatem vetustate jam et usu meruit, et inter sanctas scripturas computatur. De V. I. cap. iv.

[n] Beausobre and Lenfant in their Preface to the epistle of St. Jude. Dr. Benson in his Preface to this epistle, sect. i. and many others.

[o] Item quod ait, 'sicut Jamnes et Mambres restiterunt 'Mosi,' non invenitur in publicis scripturis, sed in libro secreto, qui suprascribitur Jamnes et Mambres. Unde ausi sunt quidam epistolam ad Timotheum repellere, quasi habentem in se textum alicujus secreti. Sed non potuerunt. In Matt. Tract. 35. p. 193. tom. II. Basil. Et in hoc opere Vol. i. p. 558.

'stood Moses. This is not found in the public scriptures, but in a secret book, entitled Jannes 'and Jambres. For which reason some have been so daring, as to argue against that epistle 'of Timothy, though in vain.' For certain such an objection could be of little weight against so well attested a writing as St. Paul's second epistle to Timothy. Nor ought it to weigh much in this case.

I might conclude here. But for the sake of some, shall add the two following observations.

1. It is not certain that St. Jude cites any book. He only says, that [a] "Enoch prophesied, saying, The Lord cometh with ten thousand of his saints." Which [b] might be words of a prophecy, preserved by tradition, and inserted occasionally in divers writings. Nor is there good evidence, that in St. Jude's time there was extant any book entitled Enoch, or Enoch's Prophecies, though there was such a book in the hands of Christians in the second and third centuries. Moreover St. Jude might ascribe to Enoch what it is reasonable to believe was the import of his prophecy.

I transcribe here an observation, which I have met with: 'St. Jude [c] in his epistle, from 'the circumstances of the men and the manners of the people to whom Enoch preached, 'gathered what might be the sum of Enoch's preaching, in this sort. "Behold the Lord cometh." 'How? As at the giving of the law, "with thousands of his angels, to give judgment against 'all men, and to rebuke all the ungodly among them of all their wicked deeds, which they 'have ungodly committed, and of all their cruel speakings, which wicked sinners have spoken 'against him." Upon which words the Greeks, not knowing the course of the Hebrews in 'their feigned speeches, imagined, that Enoch left a book of his preaching behind him.'

Grotius [d] has somewhat to the like purpose.

And J. H. Heidegger [e] approved of this manner of interpretation. He supposes St. Jude to refer to the words of Moses. Gen. v. 22 and 24; "And Enoch walked with God." Coccеius, also, as [f] cited by Witsius, argued not very differently, though Witsius did not fully approve of it.

I shall add a thought or two confirming that method of interpretation. St. Peter, 2 ep. ii. 5, calls Noah, "a preacher of righteousness:" referring, I suppose, to the history in Genesis, though it is not expressly said there. And at ver. 7, 8, he says of Lot, that "he was vexed with the filthy conversation of the wicked: and that dwelling among them, in seeing and hearing, he vexed his righteous soul from day to day, with their unlawful deeds." These things are not expressly said in the book of Genesis. Nevertheless I make no question but the apostle

[a] Verum quidquid et vetustis patribus et recentioribus quibusdam videatur, non potest ullo mihi pacto probari, Judam Apostolum ex libro scripto temporibus ejus extante, tritâque prophetiâ suum illud vaticinium deprompsisse. Nam primo id Judas non testatur. Qui simpliciter habet, προεφητευσε. Prophetiam scriptis ab eo consignatam esse non dicit. J. H. Heidegger. Hist. Patr. Exercita. x. de Prophetiâ Enochi. sect. v. tom. I. p. 271.

At neque dicit Judas Henochum ita scripsisse; neque in libro, qui Henochi dicitur, prophetiæ hujus vel vola vel vestigium reperitur. Imo credibile est, Judæ ætate suppositium hunc librum ne quidem in rerum naturâ fuisse, sed a putido et portentoso nescio quo Cabbalistâ Græcanico, vel ab hæretico, et sciolo aliquo Christum professo, sub Henochi nomine procusum esse. Witsius in ep. Jud. num. xli. p. 502.

[b] Alii denique verisimilius arbitrantur, habuisse Judam ex notâ et confessâ eo tempore traditione, quam veram esse Spiritu magistro cognovit, cignamque judicavit, quam suâ hac epistolâ consecraret æternitati. Cui sententiæ ego quoque hactenus acquiesco. Wits. ubi supr. num. xli. p. 503.

[c] The General Review of the Holy Scriptures, p. 39, by Thomas Hayne, London, 1640, folio.

[d] Solebant Rabbini et angelis et magnis hominibus tribuere ea verba, quæ verisimiliter dicere potuerunt. Tale illud quod de Enocho habebimus, et illud quod Heb. xii. 21. et Actor. vii. 20, &c. Grot. ad S. Jud. ver. 9.

Solebant, ut modo dixi, Rabbini et angelis et viris magnis tribuere ea dicta, quæ dixisse poterant. Id. ad ver. 14.

Quod tunc Enoch aut dixit, aut dicere potuit, imminente diluvio, idem Judas ad ingentem illam internecionem, quæ Judæis contumacibus imminebat, referre commode potuit. Id. ib. ad ver. 15.

[e] Distinguendum accurate est inter fundamentum prophetiæ, et ejus formulam. Fundamentum quod attinet, est illud totam εγγραφον.——Alterum est, quod scriptum reperitur, 'Enochum cum Deo ambulâsse.' Ex eo Judæ proclive fuit conficere Enochum non pro se tantum quæsivisse Deum, sed etiam alios proposito terrore ultimi judicii ab impietate et injustitiâ deterruisse: neque potuisse cum Deo ambulare, vel pii viri officio defungi, nisi judicium Domini venturi cum myriadibus angelorum hominibus suæ ætatis annuntiaret. Cum igitur non potuerit non loqui de judicio Domini superventuro impiis, et ii, de quibus S. Judas loquitur, sint ultimi temporis, conficit, Enochum diu ante diluvium de iis prophetâsse.——Porro quod formulam attinet prophetiæ, cujus fundamentum ita in Scripturis ostendimus, illam ex iis verbis contexuit Judas, in quorum virtute eam latere per συνεσιν πνευματικην, 'intelligentiam spiritualem,' probe scivit. Heid. ubi supra. num. x. p. 277.

[f] Celeberrimus Coccejus conjectat Judam ex historiâ Mosaïcâ collegisse. 'Nam,' inquit, 'prophetâsse Henochum, 'satis constat ex sacris literis. Ambulavit enim cum Deo. 'Ergo cum Deo fecit, defectoribus se opposuit, verbis sine 'dubio in Spiritu Sancto dictis, et opere.——Porro Judas talia 'Henochum prophetâsse testatur, quæ optime et pathetice ei 'attribuuntur in prosopopœiâ.' Quæ quidem non male mihi animadversa videntur; attamen non validum satis firmamentum continere, cui Judæ allegatio commode inædificetur. Nam Judas formulam prophetiæ Henocho adscribit, quæ ex Mose disci non potest. Wits. ib. num. xli. p. 502, et 503.

refers to what is there said, and deduceth these things thence, and not from an apocryphal, or any writing whatever.

There is no necessity therefore to suppose, that St. Jude quoted a book called Enoch, or 'Enoch's prophecies.'

2. Allowing St. Jude to quote such a book, he gives it no authority. It was no canonical book of the Jews. That is certain. Consequently, if there was such a book among them, it was apocryphal. But though it was so, there might be in it some right things. These St. Jude might take, without approving the whole of it. To this purpose [a] Jerom has argued largely, and very well, in his commentary upon the epistle to Titus, upon occasion of St. Paul's quotation of Epimenides. Tit. i. 12. And Cave says, 'It [b] is no more strange, that St. Jude should 'quote an apocryphal book, than that St. Paul should put down Jannes and Jambres for the 'two magicians of Pharaoh that opposed Moses. Which he must either derive from tradition, 'or fetch from some uncanonical author of those times, there being no mention of their names 'in Moses' relation of that matter.'

As I have said so much about this text, I am induced to take notice of some other like things in this epistle.

Says St. Jude, ver. 8 and 9. "Likewise also these filthy dreamers defile the flesh, despise dominion, and speak evil of dignities. Yet Michael, the archangel, when contending with the devil, he disputed about the body of Moses, dared not [chose [c] not] to bring against him a railing accusation, but said: The Lord rebuke thee."

Origen, in the third century, supposed, that [d] St. Jude might refer to a book, called the Assumption, or Ascension of Moses, though it was not a book of authority. But indeed, there is no good reason to think, that there was any such book extant in the time of St. Jude. It is more probable that it was forged afterwards. Some therefore have imagined, that St. Jude took this passage from some more valuable Hebrew author, of whom however we have no knowledge.

But to me it is apparent, that St. Jude refers to the vision in Zech. iii. 1—3. "And he shewed me Joshua the high-priest, standing before the angel of the Lord," and "Satan standing at his right hand to resist him. And the Lord" [that is, "the angel of the Lord," before mentioned] "said unto Satan: The Lord rebuke thee." And what follows. The text of St. Jude is parallel with 2 Pet. ii. 11, "Whereas angels, which are greater in power, bring not railing accusation before the Lord." Here also is a plain reference to the vision in Zechariah. The thing itself, and that circumstance, "before the Lord," answering to the expression in Zechariah, "standing before the Lord," or "before the angel of the Lord," put it, as seems to me, beyond question.

Campegius Vitringa [e] has some curious observations upon this text of St. Jude. Instead of "the body of Moses," he would read "the body of Joshua." That is ingenious. Nevertheless the common reading may be right, and may be explained very agreeably to the passage of Zechariah. For, according to an interpretation of that vision, formerly [f] taken from Ephrem the Syrian, Joshua, the high-priest, there denotes the Jewish people. Whom St. Jude might call "the body of Moses," as Christians are called "the body of Christ" by St. Paul.

[a] Qui autem dicunt totum librum debere sequi eum qui libri parte usus sit, videntur mihi et apocryphum Enochi, de quo Apostolus Judas in epistolâ suâ testimonium posuit, inter Ecclesiæ scripturas recipere, et multa alia, quæ Apostolus Paulus de reconditis est loquutus. Possumus enim hoc argumento dicere: quia apud Athenienses ignotum Deum colere se dixit, quem illi in arâ annotaverant, debere Paulum et cætera, quæ in arâ scripta fuerant, sequi, et ea quæ Athenienses faciebant facere, quia cum Atheniensibus in culturâ ignoti Dei ex parte consenserat. Hieron. in Tit. T. IV. p. 421.

[b] Life of St. Jude, in English, p. 205.

[c] Michaël autem εκ στολμησε, non 'sustinuit,' non induxit animum, impingere illi notam maledicti, id est, ultionem maledicendo sumere. Non quod timuerit diabolum, sed quod ex decoro omnia agere voluerit. Wits. Comm. in Ep. Judæ ver. 9. p. 480.

[d] See Vol. i. p. 541. a citation from Origen's books of Principles.

[e] Probabile nobis videtur, Judam scripsisse περι τε Ιησε σωματος, et hodiernam lectionem esse a manu imperitioris bibliographi, qui, cum nihil in Scripturis memorabile legisset de 'corpore Josuæ,' sed contra ex Historiâ Sacrâ intellexisset, quid circa 'corpus Mosis' singulare accidisset, nec interea de loco Zachariæ cogitaret, Josuæ nomen in illud Mosis commutavit. Sed quam certum est, Judam his verbis respexisse locum illum Zachariæ, tam quoque certum est, non scripsisse, Michaëlem disputâsse cum Diabolo de 'corpore Mosis.'—— Imo ex eâdem ratione liquidissime patet, Judam, quæ hic habet 'de corpore Mosis,' non desumpsisse ex apocrypho aliquo Judaïci ingenii, in quo hanc fabulam offendisset. Respexit Judas, ut jam dixi, ad locum Zachariæ, et inde recte evicit, Satanæ, potentissimi angeli, ab ipso principe angelorum Michaële in judicio in ipsum proferendo magnam habitam esse rationem: ac proin multo minus 'potestates' et 'glorias,' hoc est, potentissimos principes, licet malos, nobisque adversos, a nobis esse vilipendendos. Campeg. Vitring. Observ. Sacr. l. 4. cap. ix. n. 35. p. 1003, 1004.

[f] See Vol. ii. p. 486.

1 Cor. xii. 20, 25, 27; Eph. i. 23, and iv. 12, 16; Col. i. 18. The same interpretation was proposed some while ago, and well supported in a Dissertation of a learned writer, who was not acquainted with Ephrem.[a]

Once more. St. Jude says, ver. 6. "And the angels, which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he has reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day." To which there is a parallel place in 2 Pet. ii. 4. The learned writer, above quoted, observes, that[b] neither here have these apostles a reference to any Jewish apocryphal book: but to some text of sacred scripture, or of the Old Testament. But he then deferred shewing the place. Nor do I know that these texts ever came in his way afterwards. I wish they had. For I also am much inclined to believe, that in all these places the apostles referred to passages of the Old Testament.

This may assist us in forming a judgment concerning the opinion[c] of the bishop of London, that St. Jude in his epistle, and St. Peter in the second chapter of his second epistle, copied, or imitated some Hebrew writer, who had left behind him a description of the false prophets of his own, or former times. Which indeed is ingenious, and plausible. Nevertheless I think, such conjectures ought not to be presently received as certain. St. Peter, and St. Jude, and all the Christians in general of their time, had before them the scriptures of the Old Testament. Many of the cases referred to by these apostles are evidently found there, such as Cain, Korah, Balaam, the people of Sodom. And why should not the other instances be taken thence likewise? If they are, I presume, the argument would be more forcible with all, than otherwise it would have been. Nor does the resemblance of style in St. Peter and Jude afford a conclusive argument that they both borrowed from some one Jewish author. The similitude of the subject might produce a resemblance of style. The design of St. Peter and St. Jude was to condemn some loose and erroneous Christians, and to caution others against them. When speaking of the same sort of persons, their style and figures of speech would have a great agreement. And certainly I think that the apostles needed not any other assistance in confuting and exposing corrupt Christians, than their own inspiration, and an acquaintance with the ancient scriptures of the Jewish church.

III. We are now to consider to whom this epistle was sent.

Witsius says, it[d] was written to all Christians every where, but especially to Christians converted from Judaism: forasmuch as St. Jude refers to Jewish writings and traditions. Moreover he wrote to the same Christians to whom Peter wrote, who were such as had been Jews. To the like purpose[e] Estius.

Hammond[f] says, the epistle was written to the Jews scattered abroad, who believed the Christian religion, to secure them against the errors of the Gnostics.

Dr. Benson[g] thinks that St. Jude wrote to Jewish Christians, as his brother James had done, and most probably, to the Jews of the western dispersion.

Let us now observe the inscription of the epistle in the writer's own words. "Jude, the servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James, to them that are sanctified by God the Father, and preserved in Jesus Christ, and called," ver. 1. And ver. 3, "Beloved, when I gave all diligence to write unto you of the common salvation: it was needful for me to write unto you, and exhort you, that ye should earnestly contend for the faith, which was once delivered unto the saints."

[a] See Bib. Raisonnée, tom. XXXI. P. II. art. i. p. 243—269.

[b] Quid Petrus et Judas per alterum illud exemplum 'angelorum,' qui 'peccaverunt, principio et domicilio suo derelicto,' intenderint, et ad quam partem Historiæ Sacræ respexerint, (ad Historiam enim Sacram respexisse certum est) nunc prætermitto, aliâ forsitan occasione commodiore indicandum. Id. ib. num. 35.

[c] See his Dissertation concerning the authority of the second epistle of St. Peter. And here in this Volume, p. 416.

[d] Epistola hæc Christianis quidem universim, et potissimum Hebræis scripta est.——Ii quibus scripta est epistola, illis designantur epithetis, quæ sine Gentium distinctione Christianis omnibus competunt; quamvis credibile sit, potissimum eos spectari, qui ex Israëlitis in Christo crediderant. Iis enim sæpiuscule argumentis utitur, quæ ex Judæorum libris, vel etiam traditionibus, desumpta sunt. Videnturque prorsus iidem esse cum illis, quos Petrus posteriore suâ epistolâ compellat. Wits. Comment. in ep. Jud. sect. viii. p. 460.

[e] Porro verisimile est, ad eosdem scriptam esse, ad quos scripsit B. Petrus, id est, ad eos præcipue, qui ex circumcisione crediderant.——Id ipsum indicant illa verba versûs 5. 'Commonere autem vos volo, scientes semel omnia.' Nam id aptissime Judæis dicitur, a primâ ætate imbutis cognitione historiæ sacræ. Est. Argum. in Ep. Jud.

[f] Videtur autem, sicut epistolæ Jacobi et Petri, scripta fuisse ad Judæos dispersionis, Christianam Religionem amplexos, ut confirmarentur contra pravas doctrinas Gnosticorum, qui tunc temporis exorti sunt. Hammond. Admonit. in ep. Judæ. Ex versione Clerici.

[g] Preface to this ep. sect. ii. p. 446. See also his paraphrase of ver. 1.

These expressions, as seems to me, lead us to think, that the epistle was designed for the use of all in general, who had embraced the Christian religion. And if St. Jude writes to the same people, to whom St. Peter wrote, that is a farther argument for this supposition. For that St. Peter wrote to all Christians in general, in the countries named at the beginning of his first epistle, was shewn [a] formerly.

IV. We now come to the last point, the time of writing this epistle. Here I shall observe the opinions of several.

Dr. Benson's opinion is, 'that [b] this epistle was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, 'a few weeks, or months, after the second epistle of St. Peter: forasmuch as the state of things, 'as represented in both these epistles, is very much the same.'

Mill's conjecture is, that [c] this epistle was written about the year of Christ 90. But, as he says, there are no clear evidences of the exact time when it was written.

Dodwell, [d] whom Cave [e] follows, argues, that this epistle was written soon after the destruction of Jerusalem, in the year 71, or 72. But the reasonings of those learned men are far from being conclusive.

Lenfant and Beausobre were of opinion, that [f] this epistle may be placed with great probability between the year 70, and the year 75.

Witsius thinks it [g] was written in this apostle's old age, and in the last age of the apostles of Christ, and when few, or perhaps none of them, were living, besides St. *John*.

To the like purpose [h] Estius.

Œcumenius in his note upon ver. 17, 18, of this epistle. "Remember the words which were spoken before of the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ: that they told you there should be mockers in the last time."—'Meaning,' says he, 'by 'Peter in his second epistle, and by Paul in 'almost all his epistles. Hence it is evident, that he wrote late, after the decease of the 'apostles.'

If St. Jude referred here to St. Peter's second epistle, it must be allowed that he had seen it, and wrote after St. Peter: which indeed is the opinion of many. So Œcumenius appears to have thought. So also says [k] Estius. Dr. Benson expresseth himself after this manner: 'that 'it seems highly probable, that St. Jude had seen and read the second epistle of St. Peter. For 'there are found in St. Jude several similar passages, not only to those in the second chapter of 'the second of St. Peter, but also in the other parts of that epistle.'

Nevertheless, I must still say, this appears to me doubtful. For it seems very unlikely that St. Jude should write so similar an epistle if he had seen St. Peter's. In that case St. Jude would not have thought it needful for him to write at all. If he had formed a design of writing, and had met with an epistle of one of the apostles, very suitable to his own thoughts and intentions, I think he would have forborne to write.

Indeed the great agreement in subject and design between these two epistles affords a strong argument that they were written about the same time. As therefore I have placed the second epistle of St. Peter in the year 64, I am induced to place this epistle of St. Jude in the same year, or soon after, in 65 or 66. For there was exactly the same state of things in the Christian church, or in some part of it, when both these epistles were written.

I do not insist upon the expression, "in the last time," which is in ver. 18. Some would understand thereby the last period of the Jewish state and constitution, immediately preceding the destruction of Jerusalem. But I cannot interpret the phrase, "the last time," in Jude, or

[a] See before, p. 417, 418.

[b] Preface to the epistle of St. Jude, sect. iii. p. 448.

[c] Fortasse quidem circa annum vulgaris æræ xc. Verum de ipso præciso tempore nihil habemus explorati. Proleg. num. 147.

[d] Diss. Iren. i. num. xiv. [e] H. L. in S. Juda.

[f] On ne se trompera pas en plaçant cette épître entre les années 70 et 75 de l' ére Chrétienne. Préf. sur l' épître de S. Jude.

[g] Tempus scriptæ hujus epistolæ, uti ad postremam Apostolorum ætatem referendum est, quod colligitur ex ver. 17, ita ad extremam quoque Judæ senectutem pertinet, &c. Wits. in Jud. num. ix.

[h] Cæterum Apostolis fuit posterior, non omnibus, sed plerisque jam ante vitâ defunctis, ut Petro et Paulo, et Jacobo. Nam Joannes adhuc supererat. Est. ad Jud. ver. 17.

[i] —— ὑπο των αποστολων των ὑπο Πετρου εν τῃ δευτερα επιστολῃ, και ὑπο Παυλε εν πασῃ σχεδον επιστολῃ. Εκ τουτου δε δηλον, ὁτι εσχατον μετα το παρελθειν τους αποστολους, εγραφε ταυτα. Œcum. T. II. p. 633. D.

[k] Convenit argumentum hujus epistolæ cum iis, quæ B. Petrus scribit in secundâ epistolâ, præsertim capite 2, et initio tertii. Nam quæ hic scribuntur, adeo cum illis similia sunt, et hujus auctor S. Judas eam non solum legisse videatur, verum etiam, partim contrahendo, partim extendendo, partim iisdem vocibus et sententiis utendo, imitatus fuisset. Est. argum. Vid. eund. ad ver. epistolæ 17.

[l] Preface to St. Jude, sect iii.

"the last days," in St. Peter iii. 3, in so limited a sense. I think that thereby must be meant the days of the Messiah, or the late ages of the world.

However, undoubtedly, that exhortation, ver. 17 and 18. "But, beloved, remember ye the words which were spoken before by the apostles of the Lord Jesus Christ: that they told you there should be mockers in the last time:" do imply, as Witsius and Estius observe, that it was then the last age of the apostles: when several of them had left the world, and few of them were still surviving. Which well suits the date before mentioned, the year 64, or 65, or 66.

When St. Jude adviseth the Christians to recollect, "and be mindful of the words of the apostles of Christ," he may intend their preaching, which these Christians had heard, or the writings of apostles, which they had read, and had in their hands. Such discourses of St. Paul may be seen recorded in Acts xx. 29, 30. And he writes to the like purpose 1 Tim. iv. 1—5, and 2 Tim. iii. and iv. They who suppose that St. Jude had seen and read the second epistle of St. Peter, must think that he refers also to 2 Pet. ch. iii. 1—5.

There are some other expressions in this epistle which may deserve to be here taken notice of by us. Ver. 3. "It was needful for me to write unto you, and exhort you, that you should earnestly contend for the faith once delivered to the saints." and ver. 5. "I will therefore put you in remembrance, though ye once knew this." These expressions seem to imply, that now some considerable time had passed, since the whole scheme of the Christian doctrine had been published to the world, and since the persons to whom the apostle is writing were first instructed in it.

Upon the whole, as before said, this epistle might be written in the year of Christ 64, or 65, or 66.

CHAP. XXII.

THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN.

I. *Its Genuineness shewn from Testimony.* II. *From internal Characters.* III. *Its Time.*

I. We are now come to the last book of the New Testament, the Revelation: about which there have been different sentiments among Christians, many receiving it as the writing of John, the apostle and evangelist, others ascribing it to John a presbyter, others to Cerinthus, and some rejecting it, without knowing to whom it should be ascribed.

I shall therefore here rehearse the testimony of ancient Christians, as it ariseth in several ages.

It is probable that Hermas had read the book of the Revelation, and imitated it. He has many things resembling it, Vol. i. p. 311—313. It is referred to by the martyrs at Lyons, p. 362. There is reason to think it was received by Papias, p. 337—340. Justin martyr, about the year 140, was acquainted with this book, and received it, as written by the apostle John. For in his dialogue with Trypho he expressly says: 'And a man from among us, by name John, one of the 'apostles of Christ, in the revelation made to him, has prophesied, that the believers in our Christ 'shall live a thousand years in Jerusalem, and after that shall be the general, and, in a word, the 'eternal resurrection and judgment of all together,' p. 347. To this very passage we suppose Eusebius to refer in his ecclesiastical history, when giving an account of Justin's works, he observes to this purpose: 'he also mentions the Revelation of John, expressly calling it the 'apostle's.' See the same page, note [p]. Among the works of Melito, bishop of Sardis, one of the seven churches of Asia, about the year 177, Eusebius mentions one, entitled, 'Of the Reve-'lation of John,' p. 359. It is very probable, that Melito ascribed this book to the apostle of that name, and esteemed it a book of canonical authority. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons in Gaul, about 178, who in his younger days was acquainted with Polycarp, often quotes this book, 'as 'the Revelation of John, the disciple of the Lord,' p. 371. And in one place he says: 'It was

'seen not long ago, but almost in our age, at the end of the reign of Domitian.' Ibid. And see p. 364.

Theophilus was bishop of Antioch about 181. Eusebius speaking of a work of his against the heresy of Hermogenes, says, 'he therein made use of testimonies, or quoted passages, from John's Apocalypse,' Vol. i. p. 383. The book of the Revelation is several times quoted by Clement of Alexandria, who flourished about 194, and once in this manner: 'Such an one, 'though here on earth he is not honoured with the first seat, shall sit upon the four and twenty 'thrones judging the people, as John says in the Revelation.' p. 404. Tertullian, about the year 200, often quotes the Revelation, and supposeth it to have been written by St. John, the same who wrote the first epistle of John, universally received, p. 430. Again; 'the apostle 'John in the Apocalypse describes "a sharp two-edged sword coming out of the mouth of 'God,"' p. 430. He also says, 'We have churches, that are disciples of John. For though 'Marcion rejects the Revelation, the succession of bishops, traced to the original, will assure us, 'that John is the author:' ibid. by John, undoubtedly, meaning the apostle.

From Eusebius we learn, that Apollonius, who wrote against the Montanists about the year 211, quoted the Revelation, p. 480. By Caius, about the year 212, it was ascribed to Cerinthus, p. 484, 485. It was received by Hippolytus, about the year 220, p. 502, 503, and by Origen about 230, p. 532, 533. It is often quoted by him. He seems not to have had any doubt about its genuineness. In his commentary upon St. John's gospel, he speaks of it in this manner: 'Therefore John, the son of Zebedee, says in the Revelation,' p. 541. See also p. 542, and 574.

Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, about the year 247, or somewhat later, wrote a book against the Millenarians, in which he allows the Revelation to be written by John, a holy and divinely inspired man. But he says, 'he cannot easily grant him to be the apostle, the son of 'Zebedee, whose is the gospel according to John, and the catholic epistle,' p. 635. He rather thinks it may be the work of John, an elder, who also lived at Ephesus, in Asia, as well as the apostle, p. 636. See likewise p. 647, 648, 649. Moreover, it appears from a conference, which Dionysius had with some Millenarians, that the Revelation was about the year 240, and before, received by Nepos, an Egyptian bishop, and by many others in that country, p. 614, 633, 634, and that it was in great reputation, p. 647, 648. It was received by Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, about 248, and by the church of Rome in his time, Vol. ii. p. 26, 27, and by divers Latin authors, whose history is written in the second volume of this work. As may be seen in the alphabetical Table of principal matters, in the article of the Revelation.

The Revelation was received by Novatus and his followers, p. 64, 65, and by divers other authors, whose history is written in that volume.

It is also probable that it was received by the Manichees, p. 216.

It was received by Lactantius, p. 288, and by the Donatists, p. 301, by the latter Arnobius, about 460, p. 257, and by the Arians, p. 309.

In the time of Eusebius, in the former part of the fourth century, it was not received by all. And therefore it is reckoned by him among contradicted books, p. 369, 370. Nevertheless it was generally received, p. 373 and 384. Eusebius himself seems to have hesitated about it. For he says, 'It is likely that the Revelation was seen by John the elder, if not by John 'the apostle,' p. 384. It may be reckoned probable, that the critical argument of Dionysius of Alexandria, was of great weight with him, and others of that time. See p. 385, 386. The Revelation was received by Athanasius, p. 400, 401, and by Epiphanius, p. 417, 419. But we also learn from him, that it was not received by all in his time, p. 419. It is not in the catalogue of Cyril of Jerusalem, about 348, and seems not to have been received by him, p. 409—411. It is also wanting in the catalogue of the council of Laodicea, about 363, p. 415. Nevertheless I do not think it can be thence concluded that this book was rejected by the bishops of that council. Their design seems to have been to mention by name those books only which should be publicly read. And they might be of opinion that upon account of its obscurity, it should not be publicly read, though it was of sacred authority. And some may be of opinion, that this observation should likewise be applied to Cyril's catalogue just taken notice of.

The Revelation is not in Gregory Nazianzen's catalogue, p. 470. Nevertheless it seems

to have been received by him, Vol. ii. p. 470. It is in the catalogue of Amphilochius. But he says, it was not received by all, p. 473. It is also omitted in Ebedjesu's catalogue of the books of scripture received by the Syrians, p. 488; nor is it in the ancient Syriac version, p. 489.

It was received by Jerom, Vol. v. p. 548, 549, 553, 555. But he says, it was rejected by the Greek Christians, p. 558. It was received by Rufin, p. 573, by the third council of Carthage in 397, p. 575, and by Augustine, p. 579, 588. But it was not received by all in his time, p. 588. It is never quoted by Chrysostom, and, probably, was not received by him, p. 607. It is in the catalogue of Dionysius, called the Areopagite, about 490, Vol. iii. p. 41. It is in the Alexandrian manuscript, p. 45, 46. It was received by Sulpicius Severus, about 401, Vol. ii. p. 622, and by J. Damascenus, in this Vol. p. 80, and by Œcumenius, p. 85, and by many other authors, whose history is written in this volume. Andrew, bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, at the end of the fifth century, p. 43, and Arethas, bishop of the same place in the sixth century, wrote commentaries upon it, p. 56. But it was not received by Severian, bishop of Gabala, Vol. ii. p. 620; nor, as it seems, by Theodoret, Vol. iii. p. 12.

Upon the whole it appears, that this book has been generally received in all ages: though some have doubted of it, or rejected it, particularly the Syrians, and some other Christians in the east. However, for more particulars, see St. John, and the Revelation, in the alphabetical table, which is in the last volume of this work.

It may not be improper for me here to remind my readers of the sentiments of divers learned moderns concerning this book, which were put together in Vol. i. p. 646, 649, after having largely represented the criticisms of Caius, and Dionysius of Alexandria, in the third century, upon the style of this book, and of the other writings ascribed to St. John. Where also is proposed this observation, p. 649: 'It may be questioned whether their exceptions, founded in the 'difference of style, and such like things, or any other criticisms whatever, can be sufficient to 'create a doubt concerning the author of this book: which was owned for a writing of John, the 'apostle and evangelist, before the times of Dionysius and Caius, and so far as we know, before 'the most early of those who disputed its genuineness.'

II. Having thus represented the external evidence of the genuineness of the book of the Revelation, or of its being written by St. John, I should proceed to consider the internal evidence. But I need not enlarge here, because the objections taken from the style, and some other particulars, were stated and considered in the first volume, in the article of Dionysius, above named, bishop of Alexandria.

I now intend therefore only to take notice of a few things, of principal note, which learned men insist upon, as arguments, that the Revelation has the same author with the gospel and epistles, that go under the name of the apostle and evangelist John.

1. Ch. i. ver. 1. "The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to shew unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass. And he sent, and signified it by his angel, unto his servant John."

Hence it is argued, that [a] John styles himself the "servant of Christ," in a sense not common to all believers, but peculiar to those who are especially employed by him. So Paul, and other apostles, call themselves "servants of God, and of Christ." Particularly Rom. i. 8. "Paul a servant of Jesus Christ." James i. 1. "James a servant of God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ." 2 Pet. i. 1. "Simon Peter, a servant, and an apostle of Jesus Christ." Jude v. 1. "Jude, a servant of Jesus Christ." So Moses is called "the servant of God." Numb. xii. 7, and Heb. iii. 2. And in like manner divers of the prophets. And in this very book, ch. x. 7, is the expression: "as he has declared unto his servants the prophets."

This observation may be of some weight for shewing that the writer is an apostle. And it is not decisive. And in the same verse, whence this argument is taken, the phrase is used in its general sense. "Which God gave unto him to shew unto his servants."

2. Ver. 2. "Who bare record of the word of God, and of the testimony of Jesus Christ, and of all things that he saw."

Some suppose the writer herein to refer to the written gospel of St. John, and to say that he had already "borne testimony concerning the word of God, and Jesus Christ." But, as formerly [b] observed, these words may be understood of this very book, the Revelation, and the things

[a] Sed esse se 'inter notabiles Christi Jesu ministros,' quos ad Ecclesiam suam docendam, regendam, et curandam adhibebat.——Hoc sensu Moses, David, Jesaïas et Prophetæ omnes sub œconomiâ vetere, et Paulus, et alii Apostoli sub œconomiâ novâ, vocantur servi Dei. Vitring. in Apoc. cap. i. 1.

[b] See Vol. i. p. 642.

contained in it. The writer says here very properly, at the beginning, and by way of preface, that he had performed his office in this book, having therein faithfully recorded the word of God, which he had received from Jesus Christ.

For certain, if these words did clearly refer to a written gospel, they would be decisive. But [a] they are allowed to be ambiguous, and other senses have been given of them. By some they have been understood to contain a declaration, that the writer had already borne witness to Jesus Christ before magistrates. Moreover, I think, that if St. John had intended to manifest himself in this introduction, he would have more plainly characterized himself in several parts of this book than he has done.

This observation therefore appears to me to be of small moment for determining who the writer is.

3. Farther, it is argued, in favour of the genuineness of this book, 'that there are in it many 'instances of conformity, both of sentiment and expression, between the Revelation and the 'uncontested writings of St. John.'

Divers such coincidences, or instances of agreement, were taken notice of formerly, and remarks were made upon them, Vol. i. p. 643—646. That which is at p. 645, appears to me, as striking, as any. I shall therefore enlarge upon it here. Our Saviour says to his disciples John xvi. 33. "Be of good cheer. I have overcome the world." Christian firmness under trials is several times represented by "overcoming," or "overcoming the world," or "overcoming the wicked one," in St. John's first epistle, ch. ii. 13, 14, iv. 4. v. 4, 5. And it is language peculiar to St. John, being in no other books of the New Testament. And our Lord says, Rev. iii. 21. "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne." Compare ch. ii. 7, 11, 17, 26. iii. 5, 12, 21. and xxi. 7.

III. Concerning the time of writing this book, I need not now say much, having before shewn, in [b] the history of St. John, that it is the general testimony of ancient authors, that St. John was banished into [c] Patmos, in the time of Domitian, in the latter part of his reign, and restored by his successor Nerva. But the book could not be published till after St. John's release and return to Ephesus in Asia.

As Domitian died in 96, and his persecution did not commence till near the end of his reign, the Revelation seems to be fitly dated in the year 95, or 96.

Mill [d] placeth the Revelation in the year of Christ 96, and the last year of the emperor Domitian. At first he supposed that the Revelation was written in Patmos. But afterwards he [e] altered his mind, and thought it was not written until after his return to Ephesus from Patmos. He builds upon the words of Rev. i. 9. If so, I apprehend, it might not be published before the year 97, or at the soonest, near the end of the year 96.

Basnage [f] placeth the Revelation in the year of Christ 96.

Le Clerc [g] likewise, who readily admits the genuineness of this book, speaks of it at the same year.

[a] Ver. 2. 'Qui testatus est sermonem Dei, et testimonium J. C. et quæ vidit.'] Duplici modo hæc accipi possunt, vel Joannem confessionem veritatis solennem coram tribunali Præfecti Asiæ Romani edidisse, ob quam ipse missus fuerit in exilium; vel ipsum, evangelio a se edito, solenne de Christo, ejusque dictis et gestis edidisse testimonium. Priore sensu vox μαρτυρειν scriptoribus Græcis posterioris temporis receptissima est, et manifeste etiam sumitur a Paulo, 1 Tim. vi. 13 ——Veni igitur ultro in illam sententiam, quæ hæc Joannis verba refert ad Evangelium non prædicatum tantum a Joanne solenniter, sed et scriptis confirmatum.——Quæ si sane sit hujus loci interpretatio, certo simul testabitur de illius auctore, Joanne Apostolo, ac proinde de libri hujus divinitate, et summâ auctoritate. Vitring. in Apoc. cap. i. ver. 2.

[b] See before, p. 222—226.

[c] Eodem ordine septem istæ Asiæ civitates enumerantur, quo ex Patmo insulâ adiri debebant. Wetsten. in Apoc. i. 11. tom. II. p. 750.

[d] Paucis post conscriptas has epistolas annis, exorta est Christianorum persecutio sub Domitiano.——In insulâ vero Patmo, in quam relegatus erat Joannes, Domitiani ultimo, seu anno æræ vulgaris xcvi.——facta est ipsi Revelatio, quam universam postea expresso Christi mandato scriptis consignavit. Scriptamque Domini ejusdem jussu misit ad septem ecclesias Asiæ. Unde manifestum est, visionem non modo Joanni factam fuisse, sed etiam ab eo literis traditam in insulâ Patmo. ——Scriptam fuisse ex prædictis constat anno vulgaris æræ xcvi. seu Domitiani xvi. et quidem ad finem ejusdem imperii, inquit Irenæus, seu tempore æstivo æræ vulg. xcvi. Proleg. num. 157.

[e] Subjiciemus hic verba Millii, quæ in emendandis posuerat: 'Hic sententiam,' inquit, 'mutavimus. Constat enim ex ipsis Joannis verbis Apoc. i. 9, eum post reditum ad Ephesum hunc librum scripsisse.' Kuster. in notis num. 157. Proleg. p. 19.

[f] Vid. ann. 95. num. xii.

[g] At nemo de auctoritate ejus dubitârat ante Caium, Romanum Presbyterum, qui circa finem ii. seculi vixit. Cum Cataphryges eo libro abuterentur——fetum hunc esse apostoli negare, atque a Cerintho, præscripto ejus nomine, editum

Mr. Lowman[a] supposes, St. John to have had his visions in the isle of Patmos in the year 95.

But Mr. Wetstein[b] favours the opinion of those, who have argued, that the Revelation was written before the Jewish war. He moreover says, that[c] if the Revelation was written before that war, it is likely, that the events of that time should be foretold in it. To which I answer, that[d] though some interpreters have applied some things in this book to those times, I cannot say, whether they have done it rightly, or not, because I do not understand the Revelation. But to me it seems, that though this book was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, there was no necessity, that it should be foretold here: because our blessed Lord had in his own preaching at divers times spoken very plainly, and intelligibly, concerning the calamities coming upon the Jewish people in general, and the city and temple of Jerusalem, in particular. And his plain predictions, and symbolical prefigurations of those events, were recorded by no less than three historians and evangelists, before the war in Judea broke out.

Grotius, who, as[e] formerly seen, placeth this book in the reign of Claudius, was of opinion, that[f] the visions of this book were seen at several times, and afterwards joined together in one book, in like manner as the visions and prophecies of some of the prophets of the Old Testament.

Concerning this opinion it is not proper for me to dispute, though there appears not any foundation for it in the book itself, as[g] Vitringa has observed. But that the book of the Revelation, in its present form, sent as an epistle to the seven churches of Asia, ch. i. ver. 4. was not composed and published before the reign of Domitian, appears to me very probable from the general, and almost universally concurring testimony of the ancients, and from some things in the book itself.

Now therefore I shall transcribe[h] a part of Lenfant's and Beausobre's preface to the Revelation, at the same time referring to Vitringa[i] in the margin, who has many like thoughts.

dicere maluit. At Justinus, et Irenæus, eo antiquiores, et qui cum Joannis discipulis versati erant, Apostolo hoc opus tribuerunt. Similiter, cum medio seculo iii. Nepos, in Ægypto Episcopus, Chiliastarum deliria eodem libro tueretur, Dionysius Alexandrinus eâdem de causâ Joanni eum abjudicavit. Sed aliter senserant, quicumque Apocalypseos antea mentionem fecerant, excepto Caio, quos sequuti etiam posteri omnes ad unum.——Multo fide dignior Irenæus, qui passim hunc librum, quasi Joannis Apostoli, ad testimonium vocat, et diserte. lib. v. c. 30. 'Neque enim ante multum tempus visa est, sed ferme nostrâ ætate, sub finem imperii Domitiani.' Quæ ejus verba Græca habet Eusebius. *l.* 5. c. 8. J. Cleric. H. E. An. 96. num. v.

[a] See the scheme and order of the prophecies in the book of the Revelation, which is prefixed to his paraphrase.

[b] Nos quidem, omnibus expensis, cum iis facimus, qui statuunt, Apocalypsin ante bellum Judaïcum fuisse scriptum. Wetst. N. T. tom. II. p. 746. m.

[c] Quæstio est non levis momenti, cum vera Apocalypseos interpretatio maximam partem inde pendeat. Si enim scripta est ante bellum Judaïcum, et bella civilia in Italiâ; nullo modo probabile est, tantam rerum conversionem omnino præteriri atque negligi potuisse. Sin autem post illos motus compositos scripta est, probabilior erit eorum sententia, qui eventus in Apocalypsi prædictos in seculorum sequentium historiâ quærendos existimant. Id. ib.

[d] Lightfootus in genere censet, Apocalypsin hanc editam esse ante novissimum Hierosolymorum excidium. Et certe si Joannes hanc Revelationem vere a Christo Jesu accepisset sub Claudio, magnâ cum specie negari non posset doctissimis his viris, quædam 'sigillorum visa' ad fata Judaïsmi non adeo incommode applicari posse. Sed obstant graves rationes, quæ nos in hanc sententiam ire vetant. Vitring. in Apoc. cap. i. ver. 2. p. 7. Vid. et in cap. vi. ver. 1, 2. p. 101—105.

[e] See before, p. 222.

[f] 'Et mitte septem ecclesiis.' Nempe hujus visi descriptionem. Neque ad cætera hujus libri pertinet. Diversa visa diversis temporibus Joanni obtigere, ut et Prophetis aliis. Grot. ad Apoc. cap. i. 11.

Post absolutum Visum, monita salutaria continens ad septem episcopos et ecclesias—sequuntur Visa alia, quæ diversis temporibus Apostolo obtigere, et postea in unum volumen redacta sunt; quod et in prophetiis aliis evenit, sæpe etiam non annotato temporis discrimine, sed dato intelligi ex iis quæ loco quoque continentur. Pertinent autem hæc Visa ad res Judæorum usque ad finem capitis undecimi; deinde ad res Romanorum, usque ad finem capitis vicessimi; deinde ad statum florentissimum Ecclesiæ Christianæ ad finem usque, &c. Ejusdem Annot. ad cap. iv. init. Vid. et ejus Commentatio ad loca quæd. N. T. &c. citat. in hujus Supplementi volumine primo, p. 176.

[g] Et vero Grotius et Hammondus ipsi causam suam produnt, ubi posteriorem Apocalypseos partem sub Vespasiano Ephesi scriptam concedunt. Quis enim illos docuit, Visa Joannis in Apocalypsi hoc modo distinguere, et diversa illis et tam longe dissita assignare tam tempora quam loca? Nullum indicium, nulla significatio illius rei in ipsâ Apocalypsi exstat. Contra dicitur Joannes, quæ vidit, 'vidisse in insula Patmo.' Vitr. ib. p. 11, 12.

[h] Preface sur l' Apoc. de S. Jean. p. 613, 614.

[i] Primo dubium non est, quin, si testimoniis Veterum res conficienda sit, communis antiquæ ecclesiæ traditio, firmata auctoritate Irenæi, hic multum præponderet testimonio Epiphanii. Irenæus enim temporibus Joannis Apostoli propior fuit, tamquam qui eodem adhuc seculo cum Joanne vixerit, et traditionem nobis retulit suâ ætate communem, et omnibus notissimam.

Sed, quod plus etiam momenti causæ nostræ addit, non nititur nostra hæc sententia de tempore scriptæ Apocalypsis solâ traditione Veterum. Potest illa ex ipso hoc libro, etiam absque ullâ traditione veteris ecclesiæ, demonstrari. Quare secundo observari velim, ex ipsâ Apocalypsi evidentissimas adduci posse probationes, ex quibus evincatur, hunc librum non utique sub Claudio, sed omnino post Claudii et Neronis tempora, quinimo sub Domitiano, demum in lucem editum esse.——Quo tempore scripta est Apocalypsis, ecclesiæ jam per Asiam inferiorem in celeberrimis locis non tantum erant fundatæ et constabilitæ, sed jamdudum fundatæ et stabilitæ

Having quoted Irenæus, Origen, Eusebius, and divers other ancients, placing St. John's banishment in Patmos in the latter part of the reign of Domitian, and saying, that he there saw the Revelation, they say: 'To these uncontestible witnesses it is needless to add a long list of 'others, of all ages, and of the same sentiment: to whom the authority of Epiphanius is by no 'means comparable.' And then they go on: 'We must add to so constant a tradition other 'reasons, which farther shew, that the Revelation was not written, till after Claudius, and Nero. 'It appears from the book itself, that there had been already churches for a considerable space 'of time in Asia: forasmuch as St. John in the name of Christ reproves faults, that happen not 'but after a while. The church of Ephesus "had left her first love." That of Sardis "had a 'name to live, but was dead." The church of Laodicea was fallen into lukewarmness and 'indifference. But the church of Ephesus, for instance, was not founded by St. Paul, before the 'last years of Claudius. When in 61, or 62, St. Paul wrote to them from Rome, instead of 'reproving their want of love, he commends their love and faith, ch. i. 15. 2. It appears from 'the Revelation, that the Nicolaitans made a sect, when this book was written, since they are 'expressly named: whereas they were only foretold, and described in general terms by St. Peter 'in his second epistle, written after the year sixty, and in St. Jude's about the time of the 'destruction of Jerusalem by Vespasian. 3. It is evident, from divers places of the Revelation, 'that there had been an open persecution in the provinces. St. John himself had been banished 'into Patmos for the testimony of Jesus. The church of Ephesus, or its bishop, is commended 'for their "labour and patience," which seems to imply persecution. This is still more manifest 'in the words directed to the church of Smyrna, ch. ii. 9. "I know thy works and tribulation." 'For the original word always denotes persecution, in the scriptures of the New Testament: as 'it is also explained in the following verse. In the thirteenth verse of the same chapter is men- 'tion made of a martyr, named Antipas, put to death at Pergamus. Though ancient ecclesiastical 'history gives us no information concerning this Antipas, it is nevertheless certain, that accord- 'ing to all the rules of language, what is here said, ought to be understood literally.—All that 'has been now observed concerning the persecution, of which mention is made in the first 'chapters of the Revelation, cannot relate to the time of Claudius, who did not persecute the

fuisse supponuntur. Redarguuntur enim pleræque a Domino gravium vitiorum et criminum, quæ tractu longioris temporis ecclesias illas obrepserant. Ephesina jam 'reliquerat primam suam caritatem.' Sardicensis dicebatur, 'nomine vivere, sed vere mortua esse.' Laodicenam 'magnus occupaverat tepor,' eratque 'ærumnosa et miserabilis.' Hæc vero quam belle conveniunt temporibus Claudii! Ex ecclesiis enim septem, quæ hic memorantur, in Actibus Apostolorum, aliarum mentio non est, quum Ephesinæ et Laodicenæ. Ephesina autem a Paulo Apostolo demum fundata est, secundum Annales Cestriensis, anno Claudii Imperatoris extremo.——Liquet ex iisdem epistolis Joannis, illo tempore, quo edita est Apocalypsis, Gnosticorum hæreses, quæ dicuntur, in florentissimis Asiæ ecclesiis altas jam egisse radices. Ad illas enim carnalium hominum doctrinas sub mysticis nominibus Bileamitarum et Nicolaïtarum in variis locis alluditur. Illam hæresim prævidebat Petrus in Ecclesiâ brevi exoriturum, quando epistolam suam scribebat posteriorem, non longe ante Hierosolymorum excidium. Judas, qui epistolam suam edidit, ut probabilis ratio suadet, post Hierosolymorum illud excidium, hoc semen in primâ vidit herbâ. Sed quo tempore scripta est Apocalypsis, non nata tantum, sed confirmata erat hæc hæresis, et præcipuas Asiæ ecclesias inquinaverat. Quare si Judas Apostolus epistolam suam scripsit sub Vespasiano, quis neget, Apocalypsin editam esse sub Domitiano? In ipsis illis epistolis passim supponuntur afflictiones graviores, quas ecclesia Christi religionis suæ causâ jam sustinebat, et sustinuerat; et inter illas supplicium capitale, quo confessores veritatis afficiebantur. Sic Dominus ad Angelum ecclesiæ Ephesinæ: 'Novi laborem tuum, και την ὑπομονην σε, et tolerantiam in afflictionibus. Ad Angelum Smyrnensis: 'Novi opera tua,' et την θλιψιν, 'afflictionem, et paupertatem.' Ad Angelum Pergamenæ: 'Nec abnegâsti fidem meam, ne quidem in diebus, *quibus* Antipas, testis meus fidelis, απεκταν θη, occisus est.' Supponunt hæc manifeste, tempore editæ Apocalypsis Gentiles jam cœpisse in Christianos sævire, et ipsam etiam mortem pœnæ loco illis quandoque solennibus judiciis irrogâsse. Id vero hactenus non liquet factum esse imperante Claudio. Nero, postquam humanitatem exuisset, sanguinem Christianum primus bibit; Romæ tamen, magis quam in provinciis. Post Neronem Domitianus, ultimis imperii sui, idem tentavit. Ad quas postremas Domitiani persecutiones in his locis haud dubie alluditur. Neronis enim illam persecutionem in provinciis Romani Imperii æque ac Romæ arsisse, nec liquet, nec probabile est. Ad Domitiani itaque persecutionem hic manifeste alluditur. Quod argumento est, Apocalypsin hanc sub ipso editam esse. Ejusdem hujus Domitianæi temporis manifestum habemus characterem in Joanne. Dicit enim exerte, 'se accepisse hanc revelationem a Domino Jesu, cum ob confessionem veritatis evangelicæ ageret in insulâ Patmo.' Vocatque se Christianorum, illo tempore 'afflictorum, socium in afflictione, regno, et patiente exspectatione Jesu Christi.' Fuit igitur Joannes 'in exilio,' causâ veritatis relegatus in insulam Patmon. Id vero quo modo acciderit sub Claudio? Illum enim in Christianos in provinciis aut exilio aut cæde sævisse, nullibi legitur.——Domitiani igitur hic, et nullius alius Imperatoris character est. Nero enim Christianos capitali supplicio Romæ affecit: sed Domitianus plures exilio, paucos morte punivit, ut certi testes sunt Dio et Eusebius, et pluribus prosecutus est Dodwellus. Diss. xi. De Pauc. Mart. sect. xvii. Quid cessamus itaque, tam evidentibus probationibus convicti, fidem adhibere traditioni Veterum apud Irenæum? Vitring. in Apoc. cap. i. ver. 2. p. 9—11.

'Christians, nor to the time of Nero, whose persecution did not reach the provinces. And there-'fore it must relate to Domitian, according to ecclesiastical tradition.'

The visions therefore here recorded, and the publication of them in this book, must be assigned, so far as I can see, to the years of Christ 95, and 96, or 97.

CHAP. XXIII.

THE ORDER OF THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. *Their Order in ancient Authors.* II. *General Observations upon their Order.* III. *The Order of the several Parts of the N. T.* 1. *The Gospels.* 2. *The Acts.* 3. *St. Paul's Epistles in general.* 4. *Their Order severally.* 5. *Of placing them in the Order of Time.* 6. *The Order of the Catholic Epistles.* 7. *The Revelation.*

1. In shewing the order of the books of the New Testament, I begin with a passage of Eusebius, in a chapter, which is entitled 'Concerning the[a] divine scriptures, which are universally received, 'and those which are not such.' 'But,' says he, 'it will be proper to enumerate here in a 'summary way the[b] books of the New Testament, which have been already mentioned. And in 'the first place are to be ranked the sacred four gospels. Then the book of the Acts of the 'apostles. After that are to be reckoned the epistles of Paul. In the next place, that called 'the first epistle of John, and the [first] epistle of Peter, are to be esteemed authentic. After 'these is to be placed, if it be thought fit, the Revelation of John, about which we shall observe 'the different opinions at a proper season. Of the controverted, but yet well known [or approved 'by the most, or many] are that called the epistle of James, and that of Jude, and the second of 'Peter, and the second and third of John: whether they are written by the evangelist, or by 'another of that name.'

This passage, as my readers may well remember, was transcribed by us[c] formerly. And here the order is very observable: the four gospels, the Acts, St. Paul's epistles, the two catholic epistles of St. John, and St. Peter, which were universally received, and then the books that were controverted, that is, not received by all, though by many.

The same order seems to have been followed by that ancient writer Irenæus. For in the third book of his works against heretics, where he is confuting the Valentinians, he[d] in several chapters argues from the gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Then in the twelfth chapter of that book, he largely quotes the book of the Acts. After which he considers the authority of the apostle Paul, and quotes both him and Peter.

In the festal epistle of Athanasius, the books of the New Testament are enumerated in this order. 'The[e] four gospels, the Acts of the apostles, the seven catholic epistles, the fourteen 'epistles of the apostle Paul, and the Revelation.' They stand exactly in the same order in[f] the Synopsis ascribed to him, though not composed till more than a hundred years after his time. The same is the order[g] of our Alexandrian manuscript. So likewise in[h] Cyril of Jerusalem: 'the four gospels, the Acts of the apostles, seven catholic epistles, and the fourteen epistles of 'the apostle Paul.' He omits the Revelation. The same is the order of[i] the catalogue of the council of Laodicea, omitting also the Revelation. So likewise in the[k] catalogue of John Damascenus: 'the four gospels, the Acts of the apostles, the catholic epistles, fourteen epistles 'of the apostle Paul, and the Revelation.' The same is the order of [l]Leontius. And in the Syrian catalogues as given by [m]Ebedjesu: 'the four gospels, the Acts, three catholic epistles, 'and the fourteen epistles of Paul.'

Rufinus's order is 'the[n] gospels, the Acts, Paul's epistles, the catholic epistles, and the Reve-

[a] Περι των ὁμολογουμενων θειων γραφων, και των μη τοιουτων. H. E. l. 3. cap. 25.
[b] —— της καινης διαθηκης γραφας.
[c] Vol. ii. p. 369, 370.
[d] Iren. l. 3. cap. ix. x. xi.
[e] See Vol. ii. p. 400.
[f] P. 404.
[g] This Vol. p. 45.
[h] Vol. ii. p. 409.
[i] P. 415.
[k] This Vol. p. 80.
[l] P. 77.
[m] Vol. ii. p. 488.
[n] Vol. ii. p. 573.

'lation.' The same order is in [a] the catalogue of the third council of Carthage. In Gregory Nazianzen [b] also 'the four gospels, the Acts, the fourteen epistles of Paul, the catholic epistles.' The Revelation is wanting. The same order is in the catalogue of Amphilochius, with the Revelation at the end, mentioned as doubtful. In the Stichometry [d] also of Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople, about the year 806, 'the four gospels, the Acts, Paul's fourteen epistles, and 'the seven catholic epistles.'

That is the order of Eusebius, and probably of Irenæus likewise, as before shewn, consequently, the most ancient. It is also the order which is now generally received. And to me it appears to be the best.

In Epiphanius [e] the books of the New Testament are enumerated in this order: 'the four 'sacred gospels, the fourteen epistles of the apostle Paul, the Acts of the apostles, the seven 'catholic epistles, and the Revelation.'

I imagine that this must have been the order of Euthalius. For [f] he is supposed to have first published an edition of Paul's epistles, and afterwards an edition of the Acts, and the catholic epistles, about the year 490. In his prologue to the Acts of the apostles, addressed to Athanasius, then bishop of Alexandria, he says: 'having [g] formerly divided the epistles of Paul 'into sections, I have now done the like in the book of the Acts, and the seven catholic 'epistles.' Hence I am led to argue that this was his order: Paul's epistles, the Acts, and the catholic epistles.

Jerom's order, in his letter to Paulinus, is [h] 'the four gospels, St. Paul's epistles, the Acts, 'the catholic epistles, and the Revelation.' Which is very agreeable to the order of Epiphanius, and also of Euthalius, if I understand him aright. But in Jerom's work of the interpretation of Hebrew names the order is thus: 'the [i] gospels, the Acts of the apostles, the seven catholic 'epistles, the fourteen epistles of Paul, and the Revelation.' In [the letter to Læta the order is, 'the [k] gospels, the Acts, and the epistles of the apostles.'

Augustine varies. In his work of the Christian Doctrine, the scriptures of the New Testament are rehearsed in this manner: 'The [l] four books of the gospels, fourteen epistles of the 'apostle Paul, the seven catholic epistles, the Acts of the apostles in one book, and the Revela- 'tion of John in one book.' In another work: 'the gospels, [m] the epistles of apostles [meaning 'Paul's epistles, and the catholic epistles] the Acts of the apostles, and the Revelation of John.' In one of his works he quotes texts from the books of the New Testament in this order: first [n] from the gospels, next from several of the catholic epistles, then from almost all the epistles of Paul, after that from the Revelation, and lastly from the Acts of the apostles.

In the catalogue of Innocent the first, bishop of Rome, this order is observable: 'the [o] four 'gospels, St. Paul's fourteen epistles, seven catholic epistles, the Acts, and the Revelation.' Isidore of Seville, in his several works, has three or four catalogues of the books of the New Testament. In [p] all of them we see this order: 'first, the gospels, then the epistles of the 'apostle Paul, then the catholic epistles, after them the Acts, and then the Revelation.' There were according to him, two parts or divisions of the New Testament, one called the gospels or the evangelists, the other the apostles or the epistles. And in this last part the book of the Acts was placed. The same is the order in the Complexions or short commentaries of Cassiodorius: they [q] are upon St. Paul's epistles, the catholic epistles, the Acts of the apostles, and the Revelation.

The three writers, alleged in this last paragraph, agree very much with Augustine in the two passages first cited from him in the preceding paragraph.

Chrysostom's order in the Synopsis ascribed to him, as formerly observed, is very singular: 'the [r] fourteen epistles of the apostle Paul, the four gospels, the book of the Acts, and three 'catholic epistles.'

The catalogue of Gelasius also is particular for the place of the Revelation. For he enume-

[a] Vol. ii. p. 574. [b] P. 470.
[c] P. 473. [d] This Vol. p. 48.
[e] Hær. 76. p. 941. cited Vol. ii. p. 417.
[f] See this Vol. p. 38.
[g] Εναγχος τοινυν ως εφην, την Παυλε βιβλον ανεγνωκως, αυτικα δητα και τηνδε την των αποστολικων Πραξεων, αμα τη των καθολικων επιστολων ἑβδομαδι, πονησας, αρτιως σοι πεπομφα. Euthal. ap. Zacagn. Monum. Vet. p. 405.
[h] Cited Vol. ii. p. 548. [i] P. 549.
[k] P. 566. [l] P. 578, 579.
[m] P. 588. [n] P. 589.
[o] P. 628. [p] This Vol. p. 75.
[q] P. 61. [r] Vol. ii. 601, 602.

rates the books in this order: 'the [a] four gospels, the Acts, St. Paul's fourteen epistles, the 'Revelation, and the catholic epistles.'

I suppose I ought not to omit the order of the books in the 85th apostolical canon, as it is called, which is this. 'The [b] four gospels, Paul's fourteen epistles, seven catholic epistles, two 'epistles of Clement, the Constitutions, the Acts of the apostles.'

I shall transcribe nothing more of this kind. They who are desirous to see more examples, may consult the alphabetical table at the end of the last volume, in that article, "The New Testament." Here is enough to be a foundation for such remarks as are proper to be made, relating to this point.

II. It is obvious to remark upon what we have now seen, that in the several ages of Christianity, and in several parts of the world, there has been some variety in the disposition of the books of the New Testament, in two particulars especially. For in some catalogues St. Paul's epistles precede the catholic epistles, in others they follow them. And the book of the Acts is sometimes placed next after the gospels, in other catalogues it follows all the epistles.

Dr. Mill, who, in his Prolegomena, has an article concerning the order of the books of the New Testament, with regard to the first particular, the placing in divers catalogues the catholic epistles before St. Paul's, says, 'that [c] possibly the Christians of those times supposed them to 'deserve precedence, because they were not directed to one church, or person only, as St. 'Paul's are, but to Christians in general, and many churches scattered over the world. Some 'might also think the catholic epistles entitled to precedence, because they were written by 'those who were apostles before Paul, and had accompanied our Lord in his personal ministry 'here on earth.'

Mill likewise argues, that this was the most ancient order, because it is that of the Alexandrian, and some other ancient manuscripts. But I do not think that to be full proof. For Eusebius is older, and his order is the same as ours. The same order is in the catalogues of Rufin, the council of Carthage, Gregory Nazianzen, Amphilochius, and divers others, very probably older than any manuscripts now in being. And in many other writers likewise of great antiquity, St. Paul's epistles precede the catholic epistles. Whereby I am induced to think this must have been the most ancient order.

The reason why the book of the Acts was sometimes placed after all the epistles, some may think was because it was not so generally received as the gospels, the thirteen epistles of Paul, and some of the catholic epistles. Mr. Wetstein [d] hints at that reason. But I rather think, that by some it was judged proper, that the epistles of apostles should immediately follow the gospels, containing the history of our Lord himself: and that the history of the apostles, and of their preaching, written by an apostolical man, should not precede, but rather follow their writings. For by Eusebius, as we have seen, the book of the Acts of the apostles is reckoned among scriptures universally acknowledged by catholic Christians. It is so considered likewise by [e] Origen. And indeed, that this has been all along an universally acknowledged sacred book of the New Testament, appears from our collections from every age of Christianity from the beginning. See "Acts of the apostles" in the alphabetical table of matters at the end of the last volume.

Mr. Wetstein [f] argues from the 85th Apostolical Canon, where the Acts of the apostles are mentioned last. To which I answer, first, that the age, when those canons were composed, is uncertain. And secondly, that order may have been there chosen out of a regard to the common rules of modesty. For it is thus: 'the [g] gospels, Paul's epistles, the catholic epistles, 'two epistles of Clement, the Constitutions, and [h] the Acts of us the apostles.' When a man took upon himself the character of the apostles, and expressed himself in that manner, it was

[a] This Vol. p. 42. [b] Vol. ii. p. 440.

[c] In epistolarum quidem dispositione variatum est. In antiquissimis quos habemus manuscriptis, etiam Alexandrino nostro, Paulinis præmissæ sunt Catholicæ; eo quod hæ Judæis per orbem quaquaversum dispersis, adeoque pluribus ecclesiis, inscriptæ sint; illæ vero singulis sive ecclesiis, sive etiam hominibus. Ne dicam, quod in isthac dispositione rationem forsan habuerint dignitatis Apostolorum, a quibus scriptæ sunt; ut nempe Apostoli Judæorum, iique jam ab initio electi a Domino, ac cum eo per omne ministerii ipsius tempus versati, præponerentur Paulo, Apostolo Gentium, ac cui novissime omnium Christus visus erat. Postea autem Paulinæ positæ sunt ante Catholicas. Mill. Proleg. num. 236.

[d] Apud orthodoxos vero hic Actuum liber non videtur eodem loco fuisse habitus, quo reliqui N. T. libri. Wetsten. N. T. tom. II. p. 455.

[e] Vol. i. p. 534, 535.

[f] In. Can. Ap. 85. ordo librorum iste reperitur. iv. Evangelia, Epistolæ Pauli xiv. Petri, Joannis, Jacobi, Judæ, Clementis duæ, Constitutiones, Acta. Wetst. ubi supr. p. 455.

[g] See Vol. ii. p. 440.

[h] Και Πραξεις ἡμων των αποστολων.

natural enough to reckon the book, which contained the history of their own actions, last of all. Surely it is trifling to form an argument from that position in this canon. And Mr. Wetstein might have observed, that in many catalogues, undoubtedly ancient, the Acts immediately follow the gospels; and that, not only in those catalogues where St. Paul's epistles have the precedence before the catholic epistles, but in divers others likewise, where the catholic epistles precede.

III. Having made these general observations, I now propose to consider distinctly the order of these several parts of the New Testament: the gospels, the Acts, St. Paul's epistles, the catholic epistles, and the Revelation.

1. The order of the four gospels has generally been this, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John. This is their order in [a] Irenæus, [b] Origen, [c] Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, and in his ten Canons, as represented in his letter to Carpian, [d] Athanasius, [e] the council of Laodicea, [f] Epiphanius, [g] the 85th apostolical Canon, [h] Gregory Nazianzen, [i] Amphilochius, [k] the Syrian catalogue, [l] Jerom, [m] Rufin, [n] Augustine, [o] the Alexandrian manuscript, [p] the Stichometry of Nicephorus, [q] Cosmas of Alexandria, [r] Junilius, an African bishop, [s] Isidore of Seville, [t] Leontius of Constantinople. And in like manner in all authors and catalogues in general, distinctly taken notice of in the several volumes of this work.

Nevertheless in considering the Testimony of Tertullian, we thought we saw reason to apprehend, that [u] in his time, in the African churches at least, the gospels were disposed according to the quality of the writers: in the first place those two, which were written by apostles, then the other two, written by apostolical men. This was inferred from some expressions in his [x] works. But perhaps the argument is not conclusive. However the four gospels are in the same order in [y] some Latin manuscripts, still in being, and also in [z] the Cambridge manuscript, which is Greek and Latin: Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. But by Mr. Wetstein, we are assured, that [aa] it is the only Greek manuscript in which the evangelists are so disposed. For certain the other order must have generally prevailed.

2. Concerning the Acts the question is, in which part of the New Testament it was generally placed by the ancients: whether in the evangelicon, or the apostolicon. And undoubtedly, by these who mention it after St. Paul's epistles, or after all the epistles of the apostles, it was placed in the latter part. But, as we have seen, it is often mentioned by ancient writers next after the four gospels. Was it then reckoned a part of the evangelicon, or of the apostolicon? From some passages of Tertullian it was formerly argued by us, that [bb] the book of the Acts was placed in the second part of the New Testament, and at the beginning of it. I would now add, that I think the same may be argued from Irenæus, who [cc] having alleged passages from the four gospels, proceeds to the Acts, and considers what he allegeth thence as the doctrine, particularly of the apostles. And Mill supposeth, that [dd] in the most ancient times the Acts were placed with the epistles, but before them, as the first book of that part. However it is observable, that the Cambridge manuscript has the Acts of the apostles, though it has not the epistles. But then Mill says, that [ee] volume once had the epistles, as well as the gospels. And therefore, probably, the book of the Acts stood at the head of that part which contained the epistles. And for certain, I think it best that the historical books of the New Testament should appear together. Accordingly, as we have seen, the Acts do in many ancient catalogues immediately follow the gospels. And I wish that Mr. Wetstein had followed that order, which now prevails, and that

[a] Vol. i. p. 365. [b] P. 532, 534.
[c] Vol. ii. p. 368, 369. [d] P. 400, 404.
[e] P. 415. [f] P. 418.
[g] P. 440. [h] P. 470.
[i] P. 473. [k] P. 488.
[l] Vol. ii. p. 548, 549, 550, 551. [m] P. 573.
[n] P. 578. [o] This Vol. p. 45.
[p] P. 48. [q] P. 51, 52.
[r] P. 58. [s] P. 75.
[t] P. 77. [u] See Vol. i. p. 433.

[x] Denique nobis fidem ex Apostolis Joannes et Matthæus insinuant; ex apostolicis Lucas et Marcus instaurant, iisdem regulis exorsi. Adv. Marcion. l. 4. cap. 2. p. 503. A. Vid. et ibid. cap. 5. p. 505. C. D.

[y] Vid. Joseph Blanchini Evangeliarium Quadruplex Latinæ Versionis Antiquæ. [z] Vid. Mill. Prolegom. num. 1269.

[aa] Vidit tamen, nisi admodum fallor, hunc ipsum Codicem Cantabrigiensem, qui unus et solus omnium Codicum Græce Scriptorum hunc ordinem servat. Wetsten. Prolegom. p. 28.

[bb] Vol. i. p. 433.

[cc] Vid. Iren. contr. Hær. l. 3. cap. xi. fin. et cap. xii. in.

[dd] Primo loco posita sunt Acta Apostolorum.——Subsecutæ, sunt Epistolæ indubitato Apostolicæ, quas corrogare undique liceret. Proleg. num. 195.

[ee] Marci Evangelio suffixa est etiam notula, significans, post illud proxime poni librum Actuum. Verum hæc est scribæ recentioris. Sequens enim folium, quod primâ facie duodecim postremos versus epistolæ tertiæ D. Joannis exhibet, alterâ primam partem capitis primi Actorum, clare indicat Exemplar hoc jam olim, præter Evangelia et Acta, complexum fuisse Catholicas saltem Epistolas. Mill. Proleg. num. 1270.

he had not placed the Acts of the apostles, as he has done, at the head of the catholic epistles, and after the epistles of St. Paul.

3. In the catalogues lately alleged, we have seen St. Paul's epistles sometimes preceding the catholic epistles, at other times following them. Here the order, as seems to me, is of little consequence. But I rather prefer our present order, which places St. Paul's epistles first: because, excepting only the epistle to the Hebrews, all of them have been all along universally acknowledged: whereas among the seven catholic epistles, there are but two, which have not been at some times contradicted books. Moreover St. Paul's epistles immediately follow the historical books in Eusebius. Whence I am willing to infer, that it is the most ancient order.

4. I must say something about the order of St. Paul's epistles severally. Our order is that of his thirteen epistles, which have been universally acknowledged, and then the epistle to the Hebrews, about which there had been doubts in the minds of many for a good while.

Among the ancients there is some variety. To the Romans, the Corinthians, the Galatians, the Ephesians, the Philippians, the Colossians, the Thessalonians, Hebrews, Timothy, Titus, Philemon. So [a] in the festal epistle of Athanasius, and [b] in the Synopsis ascribed to him, and [c] in the catalogue of the council of Laodicea, and [d] in the Alexandrian manuscript. In others may be found our present order, as [e] in the iambic poem of Amphilochius, the [f] Syrian catalogue in Ebedjesu, [g] Jerom in his article of St. Paul, [h] Augustine in his work of the Christian doctrine, [i] Œcumenius, and many others.

Epiphanius, observing how Marcion had disturbed the order of St. Paul's epistles, says, that [k] in some editions of the New Testament, the epistle to the Hebrews was the fourteenth, in others the tenth, being placed before the two epistles to Timothy, and the epistles to Titus and Philemon: and that [l] in all good copies the epistle to the Romans was the first, not that to the Galatians, as Marcion had disposed them.

Theodoret [m] and Chrysostom [n] have particularly taken notice, that the epistle to the Romans was placed first, though it was not the first in the order of time.

Concerning the reason of that disposition of the epistle to the Romans, Theodoret observes, 'that [o] it had been placed first, as containing the most full and exact representation of the 'Christian doctrine in all its branches. But some say, it had been so placed out of respect to 'the city, to which it had been sent, as presiding over the whole world.'

I have sometimes thought that first observation might be applied to all St. Paul's epistles, as the ground and reason of their situation. For the first five epistles, that to the Romans, the two to the Corinthians, and the epistles to the Galatians, and the Ephesians, are the largest of St. Paul's epistles. And all that follow are shorter, excepting the epistle to the Hebrews, which has been placed after those sent to churches, or last of all, after those likewise which were sent to particular persons, because its genuineness was not universally allowed of.

But the other, the dignity of the cities and people, to whom the epistles were sent, has been more generally supposed to be the ground and reason of the order in which they are placed. How this is represented by Mill, may appear in his own words, which [p] I place below.

I also shall shew this as well as I can. Epistles to churches are placed first. Afterwards those to particular persons. The epistles to churches are placed very much according to the rank of the cities or places to which they were sent. The epistle to the Romans is placed first, because Rome was the chief city of the Roman empire. The two epistles to the Corinthians come next, because Corinth was a large, and polite, and renowned city. Galatia was a country in which were several churches, and therefore the epistle to them might be placed before others, written to one church only. Nevertheless the epistles to the Romans and the Corinthians have been preferred,

[a] See Vol. ii. p. 400. [b] P. 404.
[c] P. 415. [d] This Vol. p. 45.
[e] Vol. ii. p. 473. [f] P. 488.
[g] P. 556. [h] P. 578, 579. [i] This Vol. p. 84.
[k] Hær. 42. p. 373. C.
[l] Παντα δε τα αντιγραφα τα σωα και αληθη την προς Ῥωμαιους εχουσι πρωτην, ουχ' ως τυ Μαρκιων, την προς Γαλατας ταξας πρωτην. H. 42. p. 373. D.
[m] This Vol. p. 11. [n] Vol. ii. p. 606.
[o] Προτεταχασι δε την προς Ῥωμαιους, ως πασηοδαπην εχουσαν διδασκαλιαν, και την των δογματων ακριβειαν δια πλειονων διδασκουσαν. Τινες δε φασιν, ὁτι και την πολιν τιμωντες. κ. λ. Theod. Pr. in Ep. S. P. T. III. p. 6.
[p] In iis vero disponendis (exceptâ unâ ad Hebræos, de quâ mox,) spectata est omnino dignitas ecclesiarum et hominum, quibus missæ sunt. Epistola ad ecclesias Galatiæ, quæ erat integra provincia, merito præcedebat illas, quæ ad unam datæ erant civitatem, Laodiceam, Philippos, Colossenses, Thessalonicam. His tamen præponere visum est epistolas ad Romanos et Corinthios, ob eminentem harum urbium dignitatem, quâ provinciam istam superare videbantur. Epistolas integris ecclesiis inscriptas sequuntur, quæ ad singulos homines datæ sunt. Proleg. num. 237.

as is supposed, upon account of the great eminence of those two cities. The epistle to the Ephesians follows next, because Ephesus was the chief city of Asia, strictly so called. Afterwards follow the epistles to the Philippians, the Colossians, and the Thessalonians. But how to account for this order, according to the method we here observe, I do not well know. Colosse indeed might be reckoned a city of inferior rank, and Philippi was a Roman colony. But Thessalonica was the chief city of Macedonia, in which Philippi stood. And if the epistles were disposed according to the dignity of places, it is not easy to conceive why the two epistles to the Thessalonians were placed after those to the Philippians, and the Colossians. So that in this method, as seems to me, the order of the epistles is made out in but a lame and imperfect manner. And there may be reason to apprehend that the brevity of the two epistles to the Thessalonians, especially of the second, procured them this situation, though they are the first written epistles of our apostle, and indeed the first written of all the sacred scriptures of the New Testament.

Among the epistles to particular persons, those to Timothy have the precedence, as he was a favourite disciple of St. Paul, and those epistles are the largest and fullest. The epistle to Titus comes next, as he was an evangelist. And that to Philemon is last, as he was supposed by many to be only a private Christian. Undoubtedly Titus was a person of greater eminence, and in a higher station than Philemon. Moreover, by many the design of that epistle was thought to be of no great importance.

The epistle to the Hebrews is fitly enough placed after the rest, because for a while it was doubted of, as before said. I likewise think it to be the last written of all St. Paul's epistles.

5. Some learned men, who have examined the chronology of St. Paul's epistles, have proposed, that they should be placed in our bibles, according to the order of time. Dr. Wall, at the end of the preface to his critical notes upon the New Testament, has an argument to this purpose.

But first, it will be difficult to alter the order which has been so long established in all editions of the original Greek, and in all versions. Secondly, The order of their times has not been yet settled. Many, I suppose, are of opinion, that Dr. Wall's order is not right. Must the order be altered again and again, to suit every one's fancy? That would create a very troublesome and disagreeable confusion.

I think that the knowledge of the order in which St. Paul's epistles were written, must be very entertaining and useful: and I have done what is in my power to find it out. But I am far from desiring that they should be placed, and bound up together, according to my calculations. Before an attempt of that kind is made, the order of time should be settled, and determined to the general satisfaction of all learned and inquisitive men. And judicious Christians, who have studied the chronological order of the writings of the New Testament, may have an advantage by it, though the books are continued in their present order.

6. I say nothing here concerning the order of the seven catholic epistles, because I have spoken to it sufficiently in a preceding[a] chapter.

7. Finally, the book of the Revelation is now placed the last of all, and has been generally so placed in former times, and very fitly, as[b] Mill says in his observations upon the order of the books of the New Testament, 'it being prophetical of things to be hereafter fulfilled, and therefore of a different kind from the rest: and having also near the end that remarkable clause, ch. xxii. 18, 19, containing a caution against adding to, or taking from it: which may be applied to all the books of scripture.' To which might be added, that there are not wanting divers reasons to think it is the last written of all the books of the New Testament.

[a] See this Vol. p. 367.

[b] Agmen vero Novi Fœderis librorum claudit Apocalypsis; quæ cum circa diversum plane a reliquis versetur argumentum, atque minus apte inter Evangelia et Epistolas media fuisset interposita, commodissime in fine omnium collocata fuit; quoniam tamquam liber propheticus futura respicit adhuc implenda; ac denique insignem illam habet in calce clausulam de non addendo quidpiam isti prophetiæ, vel ab eâ detrahendo: quâ etiam ad omnes N. T. libros accommodatâ, canonem universum veluti obsignare convenientissimum videbatur. Mill. Proleg. num. 239.

CHAP. XXIV.

That the Books of the New Testament, consisting of a Collection of sacred Writings, in two Parts, one called Gospel, or Evangelicon, the other Epistles, or Apostle, or Apostles, or Apostolicon, were early known, read, and made use of by Christians.

THAT the gospels, the Acts, and the epistles of the New Testament, or divers of those epistles, were soon well known, much read, and collected together, may be argued from internal marks and characters, and from testimony.

I. Internal marks and characters are such as these.

1. It is obvious from the nature of the thing. Who composes and publishes any works without desiring to have them perused? It is very likely, therefore, that the authors of the books of the New Testament, who were at the pains of writing histories, or epistles, would take care that they should be known. The same zeal that prompted any man to write, would induce him to provide for the publication. The importance of the subject would justify a concern to spread the work. All must allow, that there never were, and that there cannot be, any writings, containing more important facts and principles. To suppose that any of these writers were indifferent about the success and acceptance of what they had composed, is very absurd and unreasonable.

2. All the writings, of which the New Testament consists, were addressed to some, who would set a great value on them, and would willingly recommend them to others. All the epistles, and the Revelation, as is manifest, are sent to Christian societies, or particular persons. St. Luke's gospel, and the Acts, were sent to the most excellent, or most noble Theophilus. St. John intended his gospel for some whom he had in his eye. As appears from ch. xx. 30, 31, and from ch. xxi. 24, 25. And it is very likely, that St. Matthew and St. Mark also wrote for some, who would gladly receive, and highly value their books, and get them copied for the use and satisfaction of others.

3. In several of the books of the New Testament directions are given, which would tend to make them well known. St. Paul at the end of his first epistle to the Thessalonians, one of his first written epistles, enjoins, "that it should be read to all the holy brethren," 1 Thess. v. 27. The same method, undoubtedly, was observed with regard to the second epistle, sent to the same Thessalonians, and written not long after. Probably, the same practice obtained in all the Christian churches, to which St. Paul afterwards sent any epistle. And the Christian people of other churches, beside those who had letters sent to them, would be desirous to see the epistles of their great apostle, by whom they had been converted, and would therefore get them transcribed for their own use. At the end of the epistle to the Colossians, ch. iv. 16. he directs: "And when this epistle is read among you, cause that it be read in the church of the Laodiceans, and that ye read the epistle from Laodicea:" meaning, probably, the epistle to the Ephesians, which was to come round to Colosse from Ephesus, by the way of Laodicea. The apostle therefore was willing, and even desirous, that his epistles should be read by others, beside those to whom they were sent, for the sake of general edification. And can it be questioned, whether other Gentile churches in these parts, all which were of his own planting, would not thankfully embrace the encouragement hereby given them to look into his epistles, and to get them transcribed, and read in their assemblies also?

4. St. Peter writes to this purpose in his second epistle, which we may suppose to have been written in the year 64. "And account, that the long-suffering of the Lord is salvation, even as our beloved brother Paul also, according to the wisdom given to him, has written unto you. As also in all his epistles, speaking of these things, in which there are some things hard to be understood. Which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do the other scriptures, unto their own destruction." 2 Pet. iii. 15, 16.

Here are several things to be observed. First, Peter speaks of epistles of Paul sent to the

same Christians, to whom himself was writing. Secondly, he speaks of other epistles of Paul: as also in all his epistles. Thirdly, Peter therefore had a knowledge of several epistles of Paul, sent to the Christians of those countries, and likewise of divers others, which he intends in the phrase "all his epistles." Fourthly, the Christians, to whom Peter writes, were well acquainted with the epistles, which Paul had written to them, and with the rest of his epistles, or divers of them. Fifthly, it is supposed, and implied, that all, or at least many of Paul's epistles, were well known and much read. For Peter speaks of some, whom he calls, unlearned, and unstable, who wrested Paul's epistles, or some things in them, to their own destruction. And very probably there were other readers of the same epistles, who improved them to their edification, and salvation.

It seems to me, that what Peter says here, affords reason to think, that at the time of writing this epistle, Paul's epistles (most, or all of them) were well known among Christians, and that Peter had good evidence of it.

When Peter says, "as our beloved brother Paul has written unto you: some learned men, Mill[a] in particular, have supposed, that thereby Peter intended the epistle to the Hebrews. But I think without reason, as Mr. Hallet[b] has largely shewn. St. Peter's epistles are addressed to "the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia." It is not unlikely, therefore, that St. Peter intends Paul's epistles to the Galatians, and the Ephesians, and the Colossians, all situated in those countries: and likewise the two epistles to Timothy, who resided much at Ephesus, and must have received the epistles written to him, when in that city, and the epistle to Philemon, who was of Colosse. And in the expression, "all his epistles," some others must be intended, and included: such as the epistles to the Thessalonians, the Corinthians, Romans, Philippians, Titus: so many, however, as the apostle Peter was then acquainted with. Mill has observed passages in[c] the first epistle to the Thessalonians, and in[d] the epistle to the Romans, and in that to the Philippians: in which are "some of those things hard to be understood," to which St. Peter may be supposed to have an eye.

These marks and characters there are in the books of the New Testament, which may induce us to believe, that they were soon dispersed among Christians, and well known to them.

II. This is also manifest from testimony.

1. The accounts, which we find in the ancients, concerning the occasions of the several gospels, lead us to think, that they were soon spread abroad after they were written. Matthew is said to have written his gospel at the request of the believers in Judea: and Mark his, at the desire of the Christians at Rome, for the assistance of their memories. When therefore those gospels had been written, divers copies would be soon taken, that the ends, for which they had been written, might be answered. The several defective and imperfect accounts, which had been published of our Lord's words and works, induced St. Luke to write. And when his fuller and exacter account was published, it must have been attended to, and would be transcribed, and communicated to many. Before St. John wrote, he had seen the other three gospels. And the Christians in Asia, where he resided, were acquainted with them. Therefore they were well known, and joined together. And when his gospel was written, undoubtedly it was added to them, and they were all joined together in one volume, for general use.

That the first three gospels were well known in the world, before St. John wrote, is supposed by Eusebius of Cæsarea, who was well acquainted with the writings of Christians before his time. These are the words of that eminent man. Having spoken of St. Matthew's gospel, he goes on: 'And[f] when Mark and Luke had published the gospels according to them, it is said that John, 'who all this while had preached by word of mouth, was induced to write for this reason. The 'three first written gospels being now delivered to all men, and to John himself, it is said, that 'he approved them.' And what follows. Before this last evangelist wrote, the "other three gospels had been delivered unto all men, and to John." He therefore had seen them before, and they were in the hands of many people.

What has been now said of the gospels, is applicable, in a great measure, to the Acts, and the epistles of the New Testament: as may be perceived by all, without my enlarging any farther.

2. Ignatius, who was honoured with the crown of martyrdom about the year 107, does, in

[a] Prolegom. num. 86.
[b] See his introduction to the epistle to the Hebrews, p. 21, &c.
[c] Proleg. num. 5.
[d] Ib. num. 28.
[e] Ib. num. 70.
[f] See Vol. ii. p. 368, 369.

his epistles, use expressions, denoting[a] two codes, or collections, one of gospels, the other of epistles of apostles. Such volumes there were then, and may have been some good while before.

I shall here remind my readers of a few other like instances. In the epistle to Diognetus, certainly very ancient, and by some ascribed to Justin Martyr, are these expressions: 'The fear 'of the Lord[b] is celebrated, and the grace of the prophets is known, the faith of the gospel 'is established, and the tradition of the apostles is kept.' By these last expressions denoting, as is reasonable to think, a volume of the gospels, and another of epistles of apostles. Irenæus speaks of the evangelic and apostolic writings in a passage, which will be alleged presently. Tertullian speaks[c] of 'the sayings of the prophets, the gospels, and the apostles.' And in another place says: 'This[d] I perceive both in the gospels, and the apostles.' I go no lower, my intention at present being only to allege a few writers of the earliest times.

3. As before shewn[e] from Eusebius, they who in the reign of Trajan, about the year 112, travelled abroad to teach the Christian religion in remote countries, 'took with them the scrip-'tures of the divine gospels.' Nor can there be any reason to doubt, that our ecclesiastical historian here speaks of the four gospels, so well known in his own time.

4. By Justin Martyr, about the year 140, in his account of the Christian worship, which is in his apology to the emperor and senate of Rome, the whole world was assured, that[f] the gospels, which he calls Memoirs of the apostles, and their companions, were publicly read in the assemblies of Christians every Lord's day.

Certainly, the gospels were then well known, and had been so for some while before.

5. Tatian, who flourished some time before and after the year 170, composed a harmony of the four gospels. We[g] have full assurance of it. Is not this sufficient evidence, that the gospels were then, and had been for a good while, generally known, and in common use? And does it not also afford reason to believe, that it was then, and had been for some while, an established, or generally received opinion among Christians, that there were four, and no more than four authentic memoirs or histories of Jesus Christ?

6. I forbear to allege any thing from Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus, or Tertullian, for shewing the notoriety of the books of the New Testament in early times, because I now insist only upon writers of the highest antiquity. But I shall take notice of some things, which we have in the accounts of the heresies of the second century.

However, that this argument may not be too prolix, I entirely pass by Basilides.

7. Valentinus is placed by Cave[h] as flourishing about the year 120. By Basnage[i] he is placed at the year 124. By Mill[k] between 123, and 127. And by Irenæus we are assured, 'that '[l] the Valentinians endeavoured to support their opinions from texts of the evangelic and apostolic 'scriptures, or of the gospels and apostles, that is, both parts of the New Testament: and that[m] 'they argued especially from the gospel according to John.'

And Tertullian allows, that[n] Valentinus used the books of the New Testament entire, without altering them, as Marcion did.

Mr. Wetstein says, the[o] Valentinians rejected the Acts of the apostles. And he thinks this appears from Irenæus. But to me it appears manifest from Irenæus, that they received the Acts. For in this confutation of them, in his third book against heresies, he[p] argues against them largely, first from the gospels, then from the book of the Acts, and lastly from the epistles of apostles. And Massuet, the learned Benedictine editor of Irenæus, allows, that[q] according to that ancient writer, the Valentinians did not reject any books of the New Testament.

[a] See Vol. i. p. 322, 323, and 324. and this Vol. p. 100, 101, 102. [b] See Vol. i. p. 351.

[c] Compendiis paucorum verborum, quot attinguntur edicta Prophetarum, evangeliorum, Apostolorum? De Oratione cap. 9. p. 125. C. quoted Vol. i. p. 432. [d] Ibid.

[e] See Vol. i. p. 336, and this Vol. p. 102.

[f] See Vol. i. p. 345, and this Vol. p. 102.

[g] See Vol. i. p. 354, 505, and this Vol. p. 103.

[h] Hist. Lit. p. 50. [i] Ann. 124. num. vii.

[k] Proleg. num. 265.

[l] Και ου μονον εκ των ευαγγελικων, και των αποστολικων πειρωνται τας αποδειξεις ποιεισθαι. Iren. l. i. c. 3. n. 6. p. 17.

[m] Hi autem qui a Valentino sunt, eo quod est secundum Joannem plenissime utentes, ad ostensionem conjugationum suarum, ex ipso detegentur, nihil recte dicentes. Id. l. 3. cap. xi. n. 7. p. 190.

[n] Alius manu scripturas, alius sensus expositione intervertit. Neque enim si Valentinus integro instrumento uti videtur, non callidiore ingenio, quam Marcion, manus intulit veritati. Marcion enim exerte et palam machærâ, non stylo, usus est; quoniam ad materiam suam cædem scripturarum confecit. Valentinus autem pepercit; quoniam non ad materiam scripturas, sed materiam ad scripturas, excogitavit. De Præsc. Hær. cap. 38. p. 246.

[o] Acta Apostolorum rejecerunt Valentiniani. Quod constat ex Irenæo. Hær. iii. 2. Wetsten. N. T. tom. ii. p. 455.

[p] Vid. Iren. contr. Hær. l. 3. cap. xi. xii.

[q] At ipsi Valentino nihil simile usquam adscribit Irenæus.

Irenæus, as we have just seen, says, that the Valentinians endeavoured to support their opinions by the evangelic and apostolic scriptures. The Acts were included in this second volume of the New Testament, according to the method of the ancient Christians.

8. Heracleon, a learned Valentinian, is supposed by [a] Grabe to have been contemporary with his master, Valentinus, and to have appeared about the year 123. However, he might continue a good while after that. Basnage [b] speaks of him at the year 125. And Cave [c] placeth him at 126. They who are so pleased, may recollect what was said of his age [d] formerly.

Heracleon seems to have written commentaries upon several parts of the New Testament. Clement of Alexandria having quoted the words of Matt. x. 32, or Luke xii. 8, and of Luke xii. 11, 12, says: 'Heracleon [e] explaining this place has these very words,' which I need not transcribe at present, though it be a valuable passage. There is in Clement [f] another short passage of Heracleon's commentary upon St. Luke.

Origen, in his commentary upon St. John's gospel, often quotes Heracleon. The passages of Heracleon's commentary upon that gospel, with Origen's remarks, are collected by [g] Grabe. And from him they have been placed by Massuet in his appendix to Irenæus. The passages of Heracleon, quoted by Origen, are above forty in number, and some of them long.

Heracleon's commentaries upon the gospels of St. Luke and St. John, are an early proof of the respect shewn to the books of the New Testament. And it may be reasonable to think, that others beside Heracleon, both catholics and heretics, published about the same time commentaries upon some of the books of the New Testament.

Origen [h] has at once given us Heracleon's observations upon Matt. viii. 12, and Is. i. 2.

Heracleon likewise received St. Paul and his writings. For [i] he quotes as his the beginning of the twelfth chapter of the epistle to the Romans. Moreover Origen [k] has given us Heracleon's interpretation of 1 Cor. xv. 53, 54.

I might add here some other things. But this is sufficient to shew that in the very early days of Christianity, the books of the New Testament were well known, much used, and greatly respected.

9. Marcion about [l] the year 138, placed by some [m] sooner, in 127, or 130, had, and probably in imitation of other Christians, a [n] gospel, and an apostle, or an evangelicon, and apostolicon.

In the former, as is generally said, was [o] St. Luke's gospel only, and that curtailed. But Mr. Lampe says, that [p] Marcion did not reject the other gospels, though he preferred St. Luke's. This he infers from a passage in Tertullian, which seems to shew that Marcion did not reject St. Matthew's gospel.

Imo tum loco mox citato, tum lib. I. cap. viii. et ix. et alibi passim, satis significat, Valentinianos sibi coævos sic canonem scripturarum novo Evangelio auxisse, ut nihil quidquam, nullum librum integrum, nullam ejusdem partem, (quod Marcioni non semel exprobrat) ab eo abjecissent; sed 'vel parabolas Dominicas, vel dictiones Propheticas, aut sermones Apostolicas,' ad hypothesim suam aptare conatos, calumniam intulisse Scripturis. Massuet. Diss. i. num. ix. p. xvii.

[a] Spicil. T. I. p. 62. T. II. p. 69. et 80.

[b] Ann. 125. num. iii. [c] H. L. p. 53.

[d] Vol. i. p. 410. note [a]

[e] Τουτον εξηγουμενος τον τοπον Ἡρακλεων.——κατα λεξιν φησιν.——Strom. l. 4. p. 502. A——D.

[f] Vid. Eclog. Proph. ap. Cl. Al. p. 804. D. et Grabe Spic. T. II. p. 85. [g] Spic. T. II. p. 85—117.

[h] Origen. Comm. in Joan. T. II. p. 256. C. Huet.

[i] ——καθ' ὁ και ὁ αποστολος διδασκει, λεγων, λογικην λατρειαν την τοιαυτην θεοσεβειαν. Ap. Orig. ib. p. 217. E. et Grabe Spic. p. 101.

[k] Ap. Orig. ib. p. 255. D. et Grabe. p. 110.

[l] Vid. Pagi Ann. 144. n. iii. et Asseman. Bib. Or. T. I. p. 389 note (4.)

[m] Vid. Cav. H. L. p. 54. &c. S. Basnag. ann. 131. iii. ——v. 133. iv. Mill. Prol. num. 306, 307.

[n] Adamant. Απο τουτων γραφων δειξαι ταυτα επαγγελλη; Marc. Απο του ευαγγελιου και του αποστολου. Dial. contr. Marcion. sect. 2. p. 54. Basil. 1674. p. 821. D. T. I. Bened. Vid. et Epiph. H. 42. n. ix.

[o] Et super hæc, id quod est secundum Lucam Evangelium circumcidens. Iren. l. 1. cap. 27. 2. al. cap. 29.

Nam ex iis Commentatoribus, quos habemus, Lucam videtur Marcion elegisse, quem cæderet. Tertull. adv. Marc. l. 4. cap. 2. p. 503. Vid. et Epiph. Hær. 42. n. ix.

[p] Verum hinc quoque plus elicitur, quam voluit Marcion. Non enim asserere Marcion ausus est, Evangelia, quæ extra Lucam habemus, esse conficta et falso Evangelistis supposita. Nemo Patrum antiquiorum hujus criminis Marcionem accusavit. Id tantum voluit, Lucæ Evangelium, ductu Pauli conscriptum, reliquis Evangeliis præferendum esse.——Clarissima hæc esse puto. Et quod prætensionem interpolationis attinet, hujus insigne statim cap. 7, [lib. 4. contr. Marc.] exemplum affertur: 'Cæterum et loco et illuminationis opere secundum prædicationem occurrentibus Christo, jam cum Prophetam incipimus agnoscere, ostendentem in primo ingressu venisse se, non ut Legem et Prophetas dissolveret, sed ut potius adimpleret. Hoc enim Marcion, ut additum erasit. Cum enim hæc verba Matthæi v. 17, inveniantur, hinc inferimus, Marcionem Evangelium Matthæi non simpliciter negâsse, sed quæcumque erroribus ejus non patrocinabantur, pro lubitu erasisse. Atque ita proculdubio etiam cum reliquis Evangelistis egit. Lampe Proleg. ad Joan. Evang. l. 2. cap. 1. n. iv. p. 136, 137.

I shall add another from Isidore of Pelusium, where he says: 'Take [a] the gospel [or the 'evangelicon] of Marcion, and you will presently see at the very beginning a proof of their impudence. For they have left out our Lord's genealogy from David and Abraham. And if 'you proceed a little farther, you will see another instance of their wickedness, in altering our 'Lord's words. "I came not," says he, "to destroy the law or the prophets." But they have 'made it thus: "Think ye, that I came to fulfil the law or the prophets? I am come to destroy, 'not to fulfil."' Matt. v. 17.

It might be also argued from the dialogue against the Marcionites, that they used St. Matthew's gospel. But I forbear to allege any places in particular.

So that it may be reckoned probable, that Marcion did not reject any of the four gospels. But undoubtedly he made alterations in them, agreeable to his own particular opinion, under a pretence that [b] they had been corrupted by some before his time.

Perhaps [c] Marcion filled up St. Luke's gospel out of the rest, taking from them such things as suited his purpose. Tertullian says, that [d] his gospel, or evangelicon, had no title. That may have been the reason of it. And we can hence conclude, that in very ancient times, among the catholics, the four gospels were entitled, and inscribed, with the names of the several evangelists. Which [e] has been denied, or doubted of by some.

Marcion had also an apostolicon. In this were ten epistles only of St. Paul, and those diminished, at least some of them. Their order according to him, as we are informed by [f] Epiphanius, was this: the epistle to the Galatians, the first and second to the Corinthians, to the Romans, the first and second to the Thessalonians, to the Ephesians, the Colossians, Philemon, the Philippians.

He received not any other epistles of St. Paul. It is supposed likewise, that he rejected the catholic epistles, and the Revelation. Whether he received the Acts of the apostles, I cannot say certainly: though [g] some learned men think he did not receive them. But then it should be observed by us, that [h] the Marcionite apostolicon was reckoned very defective by the catholic Christians.

And it may be inferred from the accounts which we have in the best writers of the most early ages, that Marcion was the most arbitrary, and most licentious of all the ancient heretics, in his judgment concerning the scriptures that should be received, and in his manner of treating such as were received by him. So that his opinion can be no prejudice to the genuineness, or the notoriety of any of those books of the New Testament, which were received by the catholics, and indeed by most heretics likewise. I shall place below [i] a remarkable passage of Irenæus, where he says: 'Marcion and his followers curtail the scriptures with great assurance, rejecting 'some entirely, and diminishing the gospel according to Luke, and the epistles of Paul, affirming 'those parts of them alone to be genuine which they have preserved.——All others, who are 'puffed up with the science falsely so called, receive the scriptures, whilst they pervert them by 'wrong interpretations.'

In another place he says, 'that [k] Marcion alone had openly dared to curtail the scriptures.'

[a] Ει προϊσχεται ὁ της Μαρκιωνος συνηγορος βλασφημιας, το παρ' εκεινοις ονομαζομενον ευαγγελιον λαβων αναγνωθι, και ευρησεις ευθυς εν προοιμιω την ατοπιαν. Αυτην γαρ την καταγωσαν επι Χριστον απο Δαβιδ και Αβρααμ γενεαλογιαν απετεμεν. Και μικρον ὑστερον προιων αλλην οψει κακονοιαν. Αμειψαντες γαρ την τε κυριε φωνην, Ουκ ηλθον, λεγοντος, καταλυσαι, τον νομον, η τες προφητας, εποιησαν· Δοκειτε, ὁτι ηλθον πληρωσαι τον νομον, η τες προφητας; Ηλθον καταλυσαι, αλλ' ε πληρωσαι. Isid. Pel. l. i. ep. 371.

[b] Vid. Tertull. adv. Marcion. l. 4. cap. 4.

[c] Occurrit primo loco Marcion et Marcionitæ, qui corruperunt libros N. T. resectis omnibus iis, quæ Judaïcæ religioni favere putabant, et contracto toto N. T. in duos codices, quorum priorem vocabant Evangelium, ex Lucâ maximam partem conflatum, et subinde ex reliquis Evangelistis integratum. Wetst. Proleg. N. T. tom. I. p. 79.

[d] Contra Marcion Evangelio, scilicet suo, nullum adscribit auctorem; quasi non licuerit illi titulum quoque adfingere, cui nefas non fuit ipsum corpus evertere. Et possem hic jam gradum figere, non agnoscendum contendens opus, quod non erigat frontem, quod nullam constantiam præferat, nullam fidem repromittat de plenitudine tituli, et professione debitâ auctoris. Contr. Marc. l. 4. cap. 2.

[e] Vid. Mill. Prol. num. 347.

[f] Hær. 42. num. ix. et alibi.

[g] Acta Apostolorum rejecerunt Marcionitæ.——Tertullianus adv. Marcionem liv. v. cap. 2. 'Si ex hoc congruunt Paulo Apostolorum Acta, cur ea respuatis, jam apparet.' Wetst. N. T. tom. II. p. 455.

[h] Προενεγκε το Αποστολικον σω, ει και τα μαλιστα περικεκομμενον εστι. Dialog. adv. Marcion. sect. i. p. 8. Basil. p. 806. T. I. Bened.

[i] Unde et Marcion, et qui ab eo sunt, ad intercidendas conversi sunt Scripturas, quasdam quidem in totum non cognoscentes, secundum Lucam autem Evangelium, et Epistolas Pauli decurtantes, hæc sola legitima esse dicunt, quæ ipsi minoraverunt.——Reliqui vero omnes, falso scientiæ nomine inflati, Scripturas quidem confitentur, interpretationes vero convertunt. Iren. adv. Hær. l. 3. cap. xii. n. 12. p. 198. b. Massuet.

[k] Sed huic quidem, quoniam et solus manifeste ausus est

And my readers may easily recollect, how [a] severely Tertullian censures Marcion [b] for altering the text of the scriptures, openly employing a knife, as he says, not a style, to render them agreeable to his erroneous opinions.

However, I think, here is full proof, that the books of the New Testament were well known in Marcion's time, and before him: and that they were collected together in two parts or volumes, an evangelicon and apostolicon. He and other Christians had a gospel and an apostle. But theirs were fuller than his.

10. We might, perhaps, not unprofitably recollect here those [c] passages of Eusebius of Cæsarea, where he speaks of the scriptures of the New Testament: some of which were universally received, others were contradicted: divers of which last, nevertheless, were received by many. The universally received by the sounder part of Christians, were the four gospels, the Acts of the apostles, thirteen epistles of Paul, one of Peter, one of John. It may be reckoned not unlikely, that all these had been from ancient time inserted by most Christians in their two volumes of the gospel and apostle. And, probably, divers of the other books, called controverted, or contradicted, were joined with the rest in the volumes of a good number of Christians.

III. There are some observations of Mr. Henry Dodwell concerning the late forming of the canon of the New Testament, which cannot be easily overlooked, and seem to require some notice in this place.

1. He says, 'that [d] the canon of the sacred books was not determined, nor what number of 'them should be of authority in points of faith, before the time of the emperor Trajan, who 'began his reign in the year of Christ 98.'

Ans. If hereby be meant all the books of our present canon, this may be true. But then it is a trifling proposition. For some of them were not written, or have been supposed by many not to have been written, till near the end of the first century. How then could they be sooner made a part of sacred scripture? or how could they be placed in the number of books, esteemed to be the rule of faith? But the first three gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, and possibly the fourth likewise, St. John's, and many of the epistles of the New Testament, were well known before the reign of Trajan, even as soon as they were written. And wherever they were known, and by whomsoever they were received, they were reckoned a part of the rule of faith.

2. The same learned man says likewise: the [e] canonical scriptures of the New Testament 'lay hid in the cabinets of particular churches, and private persons, till the reign of Trajan, and 'perhaps till the reign of Adrian.'

But I presume we have now sufficiently shewn the falshood of this, and that the gospels, and other books of the New Testament, were written and published with a design to be read and made use of, and that they were soon divulged abroad, and not purposely hid by any.

3. Farther, says Mr. Dodwell: 'The [f] epistles of Paul were well known soon after they 'were written. His many travels, and the mark of his hand at the end of them, occasioned 'this.'

We readily acknowledge it. It is very true. We think also, that the gospels, the Acts, and other books of the New Testament, were well known soon after they were written: and that in a short space of time many copies were taken of them, and thus they were divulged abroad. The first three gospels were well known to St. John, and to many others, before he wrote his gospel. Which must have been written before the end of the first century, and, probably, a good while before the end of it.

4. The same learned writer, speaking of the apostolical fathers, Clement of Rome, Barnabas,

circumcidere Scripturas, &c. Iren. l. i. cap. 27. n. 4. p. 106. al. cap. 29. Vid. ib. num. 2.

[a] See Vol. i. p. 431.

[b] Marcion enim exerte et palam machærâ, non stylo, usus est; quoniam ad materiam suam cædem Scripturarum confecit. De Præscr. Hær. cap. 38. p. 246. C.

[c] See Vol. ii. p. 368—371.

[d] Atqui certe ante illam epocham, quam dixi, Trajani, nondum constitutus est librorum sacrorum canon, nec receptus aliquis in ecclesiâ catholicâ librorum certus numerus, quos deinde adhibere oportuerit in sacris fidei causis dijudicandis; nec rejecti hæreticorum pseudepigraphi, monitive fideles, ut ab eorum usu deinde caverent. Dodw. Diss. Iren. i. num. 39. in. p. 67.

[e] Latitabant enim usque ad recentiora illa seu Trajani, seu etiam fortasse Hadriani tempora, in privatarum ecclesiarum, seu etiam hominum scriniis, scripta illa canonica, ne ad ecclesiæ catholicæ notitiam pervenirent. Ibid. num. 38, p. 66.

[f] Sequuntur Epistolæ Paulinæ, quas a primâ usque scriptione celeberrimas fecere ipsius Apostoli tam crebræ peregrinationes, et nota ejus in omni epistolâ manus.—Proinde meminit eorum et Petrus, meminit S. Clemens, meminit Ignatius, et Polycarpus. Ibid. num. 41, p. 73.

Hermas, Ignatius, Polycarp, says, they [a] several times quote apocryphal books. And he so expresseth himself, as if he intended to affirm this of all of them.

To which I must answer, that so far as I am able to perceive, after a careful examination, there are not any quotations of apocryphal books in any of the apostolical fathers. They who are desirous of farther satisfaction therein, are referred to their several chapters in the first volume of this work, and to [b] some additional observations in the Recapitulation of the second part of the Credibility, which is in this volume.

5. Once more. The same learned writer says, 'that [c] before the reign of Trajan, the 'pseudepigraphal books of heretics had not been rejected. Nor had the faithful been cautioned 'not to make use of them.'

Which appears to me an observation of little or no importance. If those pseudepigraphal books were not in being before the reign of Trajan, how should they be rejected before that time? That they were not sooner in being, has been [d] sufficiently shewn. They are the productions of heretics, who arose in the second century: who asserted two principles, had a disadvantageous opinion of marriage, and denied the real humanity of our Saviour. In that second century many pseudepigraphal gospels, Acts, travels, or circuits of apostles were composed. Which were afterwards made use of by the Manichees, the Priscillianists, and some others.

But those pseudepigraphal books of heretics never were joined with the genuine writings of the apostles and evangelists. They were always distinguished from them, and were esteemed by all catholic Christians in general to be of little value, and no authority. As appears from our collections out of ancient authors, and particularly from the accounts given of those books by [e] the learned bishop of Cæsarea at the beginning of the fourth century.

CHAP. XXV.

The Question considered, whether any sacred Books of the New Testament have been lost.

THERE is a question which has been proposed by some learned men: whether any sacred books of the New Testament, or any epistles of apostles and evangelists, written by Divine inspiration, have been lost? And some have taken the affirmative, particularly [f] Mr. John Ens, and [g] Mr. C. M. Pfaff, in a work published by him in the early part of his life. Herman Witsius likewise [h] has argued on the same side in several of his works.

I. Here, in the first place, I observe, that some suppositions have been made, and propositions laid down by learned men, which may form a prejudice in favour of the affirmative side of the question, but afford no proof. Such things should not be advanced by fair disputants.

As first, that [i] the apostles of Christ were ever ready to serve all the exigencies of the

[a] Habemus hodieque horum temporum scriptores ecclesiasticos luculentissimos, Clementem Romanum, Barnabam, Hermam, Ignatium, Polycarpum.—Sed et apocrypha adhibent iidem aliquoties, quæ certum est in hodiernis non haberi Evangeliis. Ibid. n. 39, p. 67.

[b] See this Vol. p. 102, 130, 131, &c.

[c] See before, p. 464, note [d]

[d] This Vol. p. 132, 133.

[e] See Vol. ii. p. 370, 371, and this Vol. p. 130, 131.

[f] Et certe, pace et incolumi amicitiâ dissentientium id dictum sit, affirmativa nobis eligi debere videtur sententia, et concedi, quod multi divini libri perierint. Joh. Ens, Bibliotheca Sacra, cap. 4. sect. iv. p. 19. Amst. 1710.

Itaque hoc misso, inspiciamus et rite perpendamus, quid probationi inserviat, ad evincendum, quod Apostoli plura exarârint scripta vere θεοπνευστα et divina, quam nunc extant. Id. ib. sect. vi. p. 22.

[g] Chr. Matth. Pfaffii Dissertatio Critica de genuinis Librorum N. T. Lectionibus, p. 46–48. Amst. 1709.

[h] Coccejus asseveranter dicit, Judam, præter hanc epistolam, non scripsisse, neque necesse habuisse scribere, neque a Spiritu Sancto impulsum fuisse ut scriberet. Id mihi non videtur certum, imo nec probabile. Apostoli enim, quum universalis Ecclesiæ doctores et directores essent, et corpore ubique præsentes esse non possent, et frequenter sine dubio ab ecclesiis consulerenter, necesse habuerunt frequenter scribere.——Non autem magis opus fuit omnes Apostolorum epistolas superstites manere, quam omnes sermones Christi. Sufficiunt quos habemus, ad perfectum canonem. Wits. Comment. in Ep. S. Jud. sect. xii. p. 463. Vid. Id. De Vita Pauli Apostoli. sect. 7. n. xi. sect. 8. n. xxi. et. sect. 12. n. xvi.

[i] Prima observatio est, quod alacres et paratissimi fuerint

church; which is very true. And yet it does not follow that any epistles, or other writings, were composed by them for the general use of Christians, beside those which we have. And, secondly, that [a] it is unlikely that all the apostles of Christ should have written no more letters than now remain: as it is also, that [b] Paul should have written no more than fourteen epistles. These, and such like observations, though adopted by [c] Witsius, as well as some others, I choose to dismiss without a particular discussion, as they contain not any real argument.

A man who thinks of our Lord's great character, and the unparalleled existence of his discourses, and the great number of his miraculous works, and that he had twelve apostles, and seventy other disciples, employed by him, all zealous for the honour of their Master, and the good of his people, might be disposed to say: certainly, there were many gospels, or authentic histories of his life, written before the destruction of Jerusalem. And yet, if there is any credit to be given to ecclesiastical history, when John was desired to write his gospel, about the time of that event, or after it, there were brought to him no more than three gospels, to be confirmed by him, or to have some additions made to them. One of which only had been written by an apostle, even Matthew's. And it is the concurrent testimony of all Christian antiquity, that there were but four gospels, written by apostles, and apostolical men. And yet we have no reason to say that the true interest of mankind has not been duly consulted.

II. I observe, secondly: it is generally allowed by learned men, and by [d] Mr. Ens, and [e] Witsius, that the epistles to the Thessalonians are among the first of St. Paul's epistles that remain, or were written by him. And I think, that the conclusion of the first epistle to the Thessalonians suggests a very probable argument, that it is the first epistle which was written by him with divine and apostolical authority for the edification of Christians. The words intended by me, are those of 1 Thess. v. 27. "I charge you by the Lord, that this epistle be read unto all the holy brethren." This, as [f] was formerly observed, I take to be the first instance of enjoining the reading of a Christian writing in their religious assemblies, as a part of their worship. Christian people had before now, very probably, read in that manner the books of the Old Testament. St. Paul, who knew the fulness of the apostolical inspiration, asserts his authority, and requires that the same respect should be now shewn to his epistle, and that it should be publicly read among them for their general edification. If any such thing had been done before, there would not have been occasion for so much earnestness as is expressed in this direction. This epistle is supposed to have been written in the year 52, consequently not till near twenty years after our Lord's ascension. If this be the first epistle of Paul, written with apostolical authority, there were no sacred writings of his of a more ancient date to be lost. And his other remaining epistles are as many as could be reasonably expected.

III. There are many considerations, tending to satisfy us that no sacred writings of the apostles of Christ are lost.

1. The four gospels, which we have, were written [g] for the sake of those who certainly would receive them with respect, keep them with care, and recommend them to others. And if any other such authentic histories of Jesus Christ had been written by apostles, or apostolical men, they would have been received, and preserved in the like manner, and would not have been lost.

2. We can perceive from the testimony of divers ancient Christian writers, that [h] the book of the Acts, which we still have, was the only authentic history of the preaching of the apostles after our Lord's ascension, which they had in their hands, or had heard of; consequently, there was no other such history to be lost.

Apostoli ad omnia conferenda, quæ usui et utilitati Ecclesiæ inservire poterant. Ens, ubi supr. sect. xx. p. 35.

[a] Porro attendamus, secundo, quod quatuordecim habeamus epistolas a solo Paulo conscriptas: et judicet unusquisque, an sibi probabile videatur, Bartholomæum, Thomam, Jacobum Alphæi, Andream, Philippum, et Simonem Zelotem, quorum nulla habemus scripta, ne unicam quidem ad Ecclesiæ ædificationem epistolam scripsisse, atque Jacobum et Judam unicam tantum, Petrum duas, et Joannem tres exarasse; quum Paulus toties scripserit. Ens ib. sect. xxiii. p. 38.

[b] Immo nec illud veritatis speciem habet, ipsum Paulum non plures quam quatuordecim epistolas scripsisse. Quod tertio observari velim. Id. sect. xxv. p. 41.

[c] Nullus equidem dubito, quin Apostoli omnes pro singulari suâ diligentiâ frequentissimas literas ad ecclesias curæ suæ commissas dederint: quibus præsentes semper adesse non licebat, et quibus multa tamen identidem habebant inculcanda. Wits. De Vita Pauli. sect. 7. num. xi. p. 98.

Laudanda profecto Dei benignitas est, quod ex tot Paulinis epistolis, quæ perierunt, hanc tamen [ad Philem.] mole exiguam, et de re domesticâ agentem, superare voluerit. Id. ib. sect. 12. num. xvi.

[d] Ens ubi supra. sect. xxviii. p. 45.

[e] At nobis de Paulinis Epistolis nunc est agendum; quarum, quæ supersunt, primas esse constat utramque ad Thessalonicenses, Corinthi, ut initio dixi, scriptas. Ubi supra sect. 7. num. xii. p. 99.

[f] See before, p. 286.

[g] See Vol. ii. p. 376.

[h] See particularly Vol. i. p. 367, 422; Vol. ii. p. 584, 585, 604, 605. and this Vol. p. 77.

3. The epistles of Paul, James, Peter, John, Jude, were sent to churches, people, or particular persons, who would shew them great regard, when received, and would carefully preserve them, and readily communicate them to others, that they might take copies of them, and make use of them, for their establishment in religion and virtue. If those apostles had written other epistles, and if other apostles had sent epistles to churches planted by them, or to particular persons, their disciples, or Christian friends, the case would have been much the same. Those epistles would have been esteemed, preserved, and frequently copied, and could not easily have been lost.

4. Moreover, the apostles and evangelists, who drew up any writings for the instruction, or confirmation of Christian people, must have been careful of them. The same principle of zeal for the doctrine taught by them, and for the welfare of Christian people, which induced them, amidst their many labours, fatigues, and difficulties, to compose any writings, would lead them to take due care that they should answer the ends for which they were composed. Proofs of such care we evidently discern in divers of the epistles of apostles, which we have. A like care, probably, was taken of the rest, and would be taken of epistles written by any other apostles. They would be sent by fit messengers, and be faithfully delivered. And they might be accompanied with some proper directions, such as we find in several of St. Paul's epistles: as that in the first epistle to the Thessalonians, requiring it to be read to all the brethren: and that in the epistle to the Colossians, iv. 16, that it should be read first among themselves, and then sent to the church of the Laodiceans: and that they likewise should read the epistle, that would be brought to them from Laodicea.

All which considerations must induce us to think, that no sacred writings of apostles, composed for the instruction and edification of Christian people, their friends and converts, could be easily lost.

IV. There are no sufficient reasons to believe, that any sacred writings of the New Testament have been lost. Let us however see what they are. For divers difficulties have been thought of.

1. St. Paul says [a] 2 Thess. ii. 1, 2. "Now we beseech you, brethren,——that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand."

These words, as I apprehend, afford not any proof that St. Paul wrote more epistles to the Thessalonians, than those which we have. For a person, who had never written one letter before, might use such expressions, if he had any ground to suspect that some men were disposed to forge letters in his name.

2. 2 Thess. iii. 17. [b] "The salutation of Paul with my own hand, which is the token in every epistle: so I write."

But I think he might say this though it were the very first epistle written by him: provided he thought that he should have occasion to write more, and had reason to suspect that there were some men who might be disposed to falsify his name. Nor does it follow that he afterwards wrote any more epistles to the Thessalonians. However, he could not be certain that he should not have occasion to write to them again. And he might judge it to be very likely that he should write more letters, either to them, or to others. This declaration, then, was a proper mark, which might be of use to the Thessalonians, and to others, and a security against all impositions of that kind.

3. 2 Cor. x. 9, 10, 11. "That I may not seem, as if I would terrify you by letters. For his letters, say they, are weighty and powerful, but his bodily presence is weak, and his speech contemptible. Let such an one think this, that such as we are in word by letters, when we are absent, such will we be also in deed, when we are present."

Hence it is argued, that [c] the apostle had before now written more than one, even several letters, to the Corinthians.

[a] Atqui hujus rei nullum fuisset periculum, nulla monendi necessitas, nisi varias acceperunt Thessalonicenses epistolas a Paulo missas. Qui enim unam ac alteram solummodo ad ecclesias scribebat epistolas, illius nomen falsæ epistolæ ad ecclesias datæ non facile mentiri poterat. J. Ens, ubi supr. sect. xxix. p. 46.

[b] Illud idem iterum agnoscit Apostolus, statim allegato cap. iii. 17, dato signo epistolis suis peculiari, quo nullæ epistolæ a se missæ carent.——Se dicit γραφειν, 'scribere.' Quod paucis admodum epistolis vix congruum videtur; præsertim quando dicit, se ὑτω γραφειν, ut salutatio propriâ manu sit signum ἐν πασῃ ἐπιστολῃ, 'in quâcumque epistolâ'—— Quid erat periculi, quod datis epistolis committeretur fallacia, si nullas, præter et post hasce duas, ad illos daret epistolas? Id. ib. sect. xxx. p. 46, 47.

[c] Cum duobus illis ex epist. ad Thessalonicenses locis con-

To which I answer. It is very common to speak of one epistle in the plural number, as all know. And St. Paul might well write, as he here does, though he had as yet sent but one letter to those to whom he is writing. And from so long a letter, as is the first to the Corinthians, men might form a good judgment concerning his manner of writing letters, though they had seen no other.

4. 1 Cor. v. 9. "I wrote unto you in an epistle, not to company with fornicators."

Hence it is argued, that [a] St. Paul had written an epistle to the Corinthians, before he wrote the first of those two, which we have. Consequently, here is proof of the loss of a sacred writing, which would have been canonical, if extant.

And it must be acknowledged, that several [b] learned men have concluded as much from this text. Others however see not here any such proof. And on this side have argued [c] Whitby and [d] others. And I think it is of no small weight, that several ancient writers understood the apostle to say: "I have written to you in this epistle." So [e] Theodoret, [f] Theophylact, and [g] Photius in Œcumenius. They suppose that the apostle here refers to somewhat before said by him in the same epistle, and in this very chapter, ver. 2, or 6, 7.

And that hereby is meant this epistle, seems to me very evident. That interpretation suits the words. And there are divers other places, where the same phrase is, and must be rendered, Rom. xvi. 22. "I Tertius, who wrote this epistle," Ο γραψας την επιστολην. 1 Thess. v. 27. I charge you by the Lord, that this epistle "be read unto all the holy brethren." αναγνωσθηναι την επιστολην πασι τοις αγιοις. And 1 Thess. iv. 6. "That no man go beyond, and defraud his brother in any matter:" or "in this matter." μη υπερβαινειν και πλεονεκτειν εν τῳ πραγματι τον αδελφον αυτου.[h]

Fabricius says, the [i] words, "I have written unto you," may be understood as equivalent to, "I do write." And it may be remembered, that [k] some while ago I quoted an ancient writer, who gives this interpretation. '"I [l] have written unto you," that is, 'I write.' And intending, I think, somewhat to be afterwards said by the apostle in this epistle: which appears to me to be right. Many like instances might be alleged. I shall put in the margin some passages [m] from A. Gellius, where it is said: 'I have subjoined the words of Varro:' that is, I shall subjoin them. In another place. 'I have transcribed the words of Plutarch.' And in like manner often: when the words of an author had not yet been transcribed, but were to be transcribed soon after.

In John iv. 38, our Lord says to the disciples: "I sent you to reap that whereon ye have bestowed no labour." Nevertheless the disciples had not yet been sent forth by him. But knowing what he designed to do, and also knowing beforehand what would be the circumstances

feram Pauli dictum ad Corinthios. 2. x. 9, 10, 11.——
——Quibus verbis Apostolus statuit, quod non unam epistolam, sed plures, ad Corinthios scripserit. Id. ibid. sect. xxxiii. p. 49.

[a] Inter illas est epistola quædam——ad Corinthios scripta ante illam, quæ nobis prima est, de qua Apostolus: Εγραψα ὑμιν εν τῃ επιστολῃ, 'scripsi vobis in epistolâ.' 1 Cor. v. 9. Ens. ib. sect. xxxiii. p. 51.

[b] Ex quibus verbis hoc concludo, ante hanc ad Corinthios epistolam aliam exstitisse, ubi Paulus a conversatione cum fornicatoribus eos dehortatus fuerit. C. M. Pfaff. ubi supr. p. 46.

Hinc autem apparet, aliam ante hanc a Paulo scriptam fuisse epistolam ad Corinthios, quæ post interciderit. Estius in loc. Vid. et Grot. in loc. H. Wits. de Vit. Paul. Ap. sect. 8. n. xxi. Mill. Prolegom. n. 8.

[c] See him upon the place.

[d] Wolf. curæ in loc. Fabric. Cod. Apocr. N.T. p. 918 &c.

[e] Ουκ εν αλλῃ, αλλ' εν ταυτῃ. Προ βραχεων γαρ εφη· Ουκ οιδατε, ὁτι μικρα ζυμη ὁλον το φυραμα ζυμοι; Theod. in loc.

[f] Εν ποια επιστολῃ; Εν αυτῃ ταυτῃ. Επειδῃ γαρ ειπεν ανωτερω, ὁτι εκκαθαρατε την παλαιαν ζυμην, τον πεπορνευκοτα, ὡς δεδηλωται, αινιττομενος, δι' ὁ εδηλετο το μῃ συναμιγνυσθαι πορνοις· ισως ὑπενοησαν αν ὁτι παντων των πορνων, και των παρ' Ελλησι χωριζεσθαι δει. Ερμηνευει τοινυν περι ποιων παρηγγειλε. Theoph. in loc.

[g] Ποῖ εγραψεν; Εν ὁις λεγει, και ουχι μαλλον επενθησατε. κ. λ.——Και παλιν εκκαθαρατε την παλαιαν ζυμην. κ. λ.——Τοις πορνοις τε κοσμε τουτε.] Ἱνα μῃ νομισωσιν, ὀφειλειν και τοις των Ἑλληνων πορνοις μῃ συναμιγνυσθαι, ὁπερ ην αδυνατον τοις πολιν οικεσι, διορθεται αυτο. Apud. Œcum. in loc.

[h] I might refer to many other texts of scripture, and to passages of other writers, Matt. xxvii. 8. εως της σημερον. xxviii. 15.——μεχρι της σημερον.——Apoc. i. 3. και οι ακουοντες τους λογους της προφητειας. Id est, ταυτης προφητειας, quomodo accepit Latinus. Grot. in loc. So Liban. ep. 1174. p. 558. Εμελλε μεν, και μῃ δοντος μοι την επιστολην. κ. λ. Etiamsi ego has literas non scripsissem.——Ep. 1177. p. 559. Και μην κἀκεινο δηλον, ὁτι μειζονος απολαυσει της παρα σε προνοιας, μετα την επιστολην.-post traditas has literas.

[i] Possunt etiam verba, εγραψα ὑμιν, reddi, 'scribo vobis.' &c. Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. v. tom. III. p. 154.

[k] See this Vol. p. 32. See likewise, Vol. ii. p. 631.

[l] 'Scripsi vobis.'] Pro *scribo*. Vel ideo præteritum dicit, quia, cum legeretur, tempus scribendi præteritum esset. Sedul. Comm. in loc. Ap. PP. Lugd. T. VI. p. 540. C.

[m] Verba Varronis subjeci. A. Gell. Noct. Att. l. 2. cap. 20.

Propterea verba Atteii Capitonis ex quinto Librorum, quos de Pontificio Jure composuit, scripsi. Ib. l. 4. cap. 6.

Verba ipsa Plutarchi, quoniam res inopinata est, subscripsi. Ib. cap. 12.

Ex quo libro plura verba adscripsimus, ut simul ibidem, quid ipse inter res gestas et annales esse dixerit, ostenderemus. Ib. l. 5. cap. 18.

Ipsa autem verba Chrysippi, quantum valui, memoriâ adscripsi——In libro enim περι προνοιας quarto dicit.——Ib. l. 6. cap. 2.

of their mission, he says to them: 'When I shall send you to preach the gospel, you will find the case to be as I now represent it.'

In like manner St. Paul having in his mind the whole plan of the epistle which he was writing, and considering some directions which he should give in the remaining part of the epistle, says: "I have written unto you." If it be asked, where are those directions? I answer: I think they are in the tenth chapter of this epistle, where the apostle cautions against idolatry, and dangerous temptations to it, and against doing what might be understood to be religious communion with idols and idolaters. These things I apprehend the apostle then had in his mind.

What he says therefore here in ch. v. 9, 10. 11, is to this purpose: 'I shall in this epistle 'deliver some cautions against a dangerous and offensive intimacy with idolaters: but when I 'do so, it is not my intention to prohibit all civil commerce with Gentile people, "who are 'fornicators, or covetous, or extortioners, or idolaters." For at that rate you could not live in 'the world. But here I am speaking of such as are professed Christians. "And I have now 'written unto you," that is, I now charge you, and require it of you: "If any man called a 'brother," a professed Christian, "be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or an extortioner, 'with such an one, no not to eat:" that is, not to have any conversation with him.' Compare 2 Thess. iii. 14, 15.

That appears to me the most probable account of this text. But if any hesitate about the reference to a place that follows in the remaining part of the epistle, I still hope I may insist upon it, that εν τη επιστολη, which we have rendered 'in an epistle,' does, and must signify, 'in this epistle.'

5. 2 Pet. iii. 15, 16. "And account, that the long-suffering of our Lord is salvation: even as our beloved brother Paul also, according to the wisdom given unto him, has written unto you."

Hence it is argued, that [a] St. Paul wrote several letters to the dispersed Jews, which are now lost. I answer, that this argument depends upon the supposition, that the epistles of St. Peter were sent to believing Jews: which is far from being certain. It is more probable, as was [b] formerly shewn, that St. Peter's epistles were sent to believing Gentiles in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, or to all Christians in general in those countries. To which Christians Paul had indeed sent several letters. To them were sent his epistle to the Galatians, the Ephesians, the Colossians. To which might be added, his two epistles to Timothy, then residing at Ephesus, the chief city of Asia. To these, and other epistles of the apostle Paul, St. Peter might refer. Nor can I see any reason at all to doubt, whether the epistles of Paul, intended by St. Peter, are not still in being.

6. 3 John ver. 9. "I wrote unto the church." Hence [c] some have argued, that St. John wrote an epistle to the church, where Diotrephes affected to have pre-eminence which is now lost.

Indeed this text has exercised the thoughts of many critics, as may be seen in *Wolfii Curæ*. However the words may be translated thus: "I had written," or "I would have written to the church." This version has been approved by [d] some. And to me it appears very right. If this interpretation be admitted, there is no reason to conclude, that [e] any writing of St. John has been lost.

7. It is argued, that [f] Polycarp, writing to the Philippians, expresseth himself, as if he thought St. Paul had written to them more epistles than one.

To which it is easy to answer, that though the word be in the plural number, one epistle only might be meant. Secondly, it is not improbable, that Polycarp intended the epistle to the Philippians, and also the two epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians, who were in the same

[a] S. Petrus 2. ep. iii. 15, 16, plures literas ad dispersos Hebræos allegat, quæ jam dudum periere. Neque enim, uti Millius putavit f. x. col. 2. hic citatur epistola ad Hebræos, quæ exstat, &c. Pfaff. ubi supra. p. 47. Conf. Ens. ubi supra. sect. xxxvi. xxxvii. p. 53, 54.

[b] See before, p. 418. &c.

[c] Eodem modo et literæ S. Joannis, ad ecclesiam, in quâ Diotrephes ὁ φιλοπρωτευων erat, scriptæ et 3 Joh. ver. 9, memoratæ, periere. Pfaff. ib. p. 47.

[d] See Whitby upon the place, and Dr. Benson. And see before, p. 434, note [d]

[e] 'Some would from hence gather, that St. John wrote 'an epistle which is now lost. But the primitive Chris-'tians were not so careless about preserving the apostolic 'writings. There is not the least hint among the ancients, 'that there ever was such an epistle. And the apostle's 'words, in this place, are fairly capable of another interpre-'tation.'——Dr. Benson upon the place, p. 703.

[f] Memorat quoque Polycarpus in literis ad Philippenses, S. Paulum non unam sed plures ad eos επιστολας absentem scripsisse. Pfaff. ib. p. 47. Conf. Ens. p. 51—56.

province of Macedonia, as was shewn [a] formerly. Indeed this objection is so obviated by what was said, when we largely considered the testimony of Polycarp to the New Testament, that I think nothing more needs to be added here.

V. In treating this subject Mr. Ens could not help thinking of those passages of Origen and Eusebius, where they speak of the apostles not being solicitous to write many volumes. Which passages were taken notice of by us [b] long ago. He endeavours to evade the proper conclusion to be thence drawn. But he owns, that [c] the ancients had no knowledge of those writings of the apostles, which he and some others have imagined to be lost. And he thinks it almost miraculous, or however a very wonderful dispensation of Providence that they should so soon perish, as to be unknown to the ancients, as well as to us.

But does not that shew, that this whole argument is frivolous and insignificant? For plausible speculations cannot be valid against fact and evidence. If the primitive Christians knew not of any apostolical writings, beside those which have been transmitted to us, it is very probable there were none.

[a] See Vol. i. p. 328.

[b] See Vol. i. p. 532, and Vol. ii. p. 368, 369.

[c] Fateor ingenue, vix concipi potest, unde tam cito tanta fuerit inter veteres ignorantia de eo, quod Apostoli multo plura scripserint, quam quidem illorum et nostra pervenit ad manus. Fateor, vix concipi potest, ubi tam profunde latere potuerint scripta illa apostolica, ut omnium fugerint oculos. At divina hic mihi admiranda ac adoranda videtur providentia, quæ ad tempus data scripta, dum aliorum quæ permanerent in vitæ canonem perpetuum nondum esset in ecclesiis copia, deinde protinus e medio tolli voluerit. Ens, ibid. sect. li. p. 68.

A

LARGE COLLECTION

OF ANCIENT

JEWISH AND HEATHEN TESTIMONIES

TO THE TRUTH OF THE

CHRISTIAN RELIGION,

WITH

NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS.

VOLUME I.

CONTAINING

THE JEWISH TESTIMONIES, AND THE TESTIMONIES OF HEATHEN AUTHORS OF THE FIRST CENTURY.

PREFACE.

It is well known that I have long since intended a collection of passages of Jewish and Heathen authors, who bear testimony to the books or facts of the New Testament, or the affairs of Christians in their own times. I have also intimated, that I had by me large materials for that purpose; at the same time expressing my doubts, whether I ever should be able to put those materials into order. But God, in his good providence, has prolonged my life. And, having completed the Supplement to the second part of the Credibility of the Gospel History, I have now put my collections of Jewish and Heathen Testimonies into such order, that it has been judged not improper to begin the publication.

This part of my design has been long deferred; but I hope it is not the worse for that.

Many others of late times have made collections of this kind.

This argument was not omitted by Mr. Addison, in his Evidences of the Christian Religion, who has insisted, though briefly, upon the testimonies of Tacitus, Suetonius, Phlegon, Dion, Celsus Macrobius, and other Heathen authors, and made good remarks upon them; intending likewise to add the testimonies of Jewish writers, but was prevented by death.

In the year 1733 was published a book with this title—An Appeal to the genuine Records and testimonies of Heathen and Jewish Writers in Defence of Christianity: by Thomas Dawson, D. D. Vicar of New Windsor, some time Member of Convocation.[a]

That work has a pompous title, from which a great deal might be expected; but it is little more than an angry declamation against Dr. Sykes, for not shewing due respect to Phlegon, and Dionysius the Areopagite. I have made no use of that work. Nor do I know that I shall have occasion to take any farther notice of it.

An Argument in Defence of Christianity, taken from the Concessions of the most ancient Adversaries, Jews, and Pagans, Philosophers and Historians: by Gregory Sharpe, L.L. D. Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Society of Antiquarians.[b] I am indebted to this learned author, and shall quote him sometimes.

In 1725 J. A. Fabricius published a volume in quarto, concerning the Truth of the Christian Religion.[c] In the 32d chapter of which volume is a catalogue of authors, who have supported the evidence of the Jewish and Christian religion by testimonies of Heathen writers:[d] where are mentioned many authors, with whom I am unacquainted, as well as others, whom I have seen, and of whom I shall take notice presently.

Le Clerc, who, in the year 1727, revised that work of Fabricius, in his Bibliotheque Ancienne et Moderne, observes, that[e] 'there are in Pagan authors, still remaining, testimonies

[a] It is in two parts; 201 pages for the first part, and 112 for the second, in octavo.

[b] A small volume of 166 pages, published in 1755.

[c] Delectus argumentorum, et syllabus scriptorum, qui veritatem religionis Christianæ adversus Atheos Deistas,..... lucubrationibus suis asseruerunt. Hamb. 1725.

[d] Cap. xxxii. Ethnicorum testimonia, veritati religionis naturalis, Judaicæ, et Christianæ suffragantia. Ibid. p. 634...643.

[e] Il y a, dans les auteurs Payens qui nous restent des témoignages et des évènemens, qui peuvent beaucoup servir à confirmer la vérité de la réligion Chrêtienne. C' étoit le sentiment d' Herman Conringius, qui étoit, comme l'on fait, un très-savant homme. Bib. A. et M. T. 27. P. i. p. 71.

Le Clerc here follows the modern way of speaking; which indeed is now in use with all learned men in general. But Heathen people were not called Pagans, 'Pagani,' before the year of Christ 365, about which time, and afterwards, that denomination became common in Latin authors, as Prudentius, Salvian, Orosius, Augustin. That denomination is supposed to have had its rise from the state of things at that time. Sacrifices were prohibited by Christian emperors in cities, but allowed for a while in villages and country-places. But I do not recollect that this way of speaking is adopted by the Greek ecclesiastical historians, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret; though they wrote after this style was common in Latin authors. To me it seems not quite proper to call those writers Pagans, who lived before the times of the Christian emperors. I therefore generally say, Heathens, Gentiles, Greeks; Heathenism, Gentilism, Hellenism.

Hæc omnia, ut in urbibus primo sublata, sic permissa ad tempus in pagis et vicis, ubi templa aliquamdiu Gentilibus patuere.... Unde Paganorum nomen enatum est, primum auditum sub imperatoribus Christianis, primaque Paganorum

and events, which may be of great use to confirm the truth of the Christian religion. The same is said by Herman Conringius, who, as is well known, was a very learned man.'

Unquestionably Conringius of Brunswick, was a very learned man, author of many valuable works, and in great esteem with divers princes [a] of Germany. But I wish that Le Clerc had quoted his words at length, or referred to the work in which Conringius delivered his judgment upon this point, and where, possibly, he so enlarged upon it, as to afford us some instruction.

Houtteville, in his work entitled The Christian Religion proved by Facts; and in his Historical and Critical Discourse, prefixed to it,[b] has alleged the testimonies of many Jewish and Heathen writers; Celsus, the emperor Julian, Porphyry, Jamblicus, the Talmud, and the Rabbins. Fabricius, in the forecited volume, has given a large account of this performance.

I may not omit Tobias Eckhard, who has published a learned and useful work, entitled,[c] The Testimonies of such as are not Christians, collected from ancient Monuments. Of which there have been two editions, both in my hands; and from which I have reaped benefit. This author also is in the forementioned catalogue of Fabricius.

The [d] Christian Religion confirmed by the Testimonies of ancient Pagan authors; by Dominique Colonia, of the Society of Jesus. This author likewise is in the catalogue of Fabricius, who [e] calls him a polite and eloquent writer.

This work has a nearer resemblance with mine, than any other which I have met with. Many authors are here [f] quoted: and Colonia gives some account of them, for shewing the value of their testimony. I shall often quote him, or refer to him; whereby the character of the work, and the judgment of the author, will be apparent to my readers. Undoubtedly, he has learning and zeal, but some allowances must be made for the credulity of his church.

However, it can little become me to pass censures upon others, who am as liable to be censured; and may fall into mistakes, notwithstanding my best care to avoid them.

One fault in my work may be reckoned to be very obvious, which is the prolixity of it. In regard to which, I beg leave to say beforehand, that I am to be distinct and particular. These things have been already slightly touched upon by many. I propose to enlarge, and set them in a fuller light. I allege passages of ancient authors at length: I settle their time: I distinguish their works, and endeavour to shew the value of their testimonies. I intend likewise to allege the judgments of divers learned moderns, who have gone before me in this service. All the persecutions of this time are a part of my subject, as they were appointed by edicts of Heathen emperors, and were carried on by Heathen governors of provinces, and officers under them. I shall have an opportunity to shew the patience and fortitude of the primitive Christians; and the state of Judaism, Gentilism, and Christianity, in the first four centuries. As most of the authors to be quoted by me, are men of great distinction in the republic of letters, some occasions will offer for critical observations, which cannot be all declined; but nice and intricate questions will be carefully avoided, that the whole may be upon the level with the capacities of all who are inquisitive, and disposed to read with attention.

In the first volume are the Jewish testimonies, and the testimonies of Heathen authors, who lived in the first century.

In the second volume are Heathen writings of the second century: among which are the letter of the younger Pliny to Trajan, and that emperor's rescript; which will give occasion for many observations concerning the sufferings of the Christians at that time, and afterwards; and the remains of the work of Celsus against the Christians, preserved in Origen; which afford an

mentio exstat in L. xviii. Cod. Theod. De Episcopis, &c. Valentiniano et Valente. A. A. Coss. Spanhem. Hist. Christ. Sec. iv. T. i. p. 836. Vid. et Jac. Gothofred. in notis in Tit. de Paganis. Et Conf. Pagi ann. 351. num. v.

Præceperas mihi, ut scriberem adversus vaniloquam pravitatem eorum, qui alieni a civitate Dei, ex locorum agrestium compitis et pagis, Pagani vocantur, sive Gentiles. Oros. Hist. l. 1. cap. 1.

[a] See the Dictionary and Supplement of Moreri.

[b] A large volume in quarto, at Paris in 1722.

[c] Non Christianorum de Christo testimonia, ex antiquis monumentis proposita et dijudicata. Quarto. 1725, et 1736.

[d] La Réligion Chrètienne autorisée par le témoignage des anciens Auteurs Payens. Par le P. Dominique de Colonia, de la Compagnie de Jesus. A Lyon. 1718.

[e] . . . . elegans ac disertus scriptor. Fabr. ubi supra, p. 633.

[f] Tom. I. ch. I. Phlegon, et Thallus, ch. II. Ammianus Marcellinus. III. Marcus Antoninus, Dion, Capitolinus, Claudian, Themistius. IV. Plutarch; where comes in the pilot Thamus, Strabo, Lucan, Juvenal. V. Claudian. Again, VI. Chalcidius, Amelius, and Macrobius. VII. Cornelius Tacitus. VIII. Celsus, the epicurean. IX. The philosopher Porphyry. . . . Tom. 2. Ch. I. Lampridius. II. The younger Pliny. III. The sophist Libanius. IV. The emperor Julian the apostate. V. Lucian, of Samosata. VI. Rutilius Claudius Numatianus. VII. The emperor Antoninus the pious. VIII. The emperor Marcus Antoninus again. IX. The false prophet, Mahomet. X. Josephus the historian. XI. The true acts of Pilate.

early, and very valuable testimony to the genuineness of the books of the New Testament, and to the truth of the evangelical history.

In the third volume will be Ulpian, Dion Cassius, Porphyry, Hierocles, and other Heathen writers, and a history of the several persecutions of the Christians in the third century, concluding with that of the emperor Diocletian.

The fourth and last volume, in which will be the emperor Julian, Ammianus Marcellinus, Libanius, and other Heathen writers of the fourth and fifth centuries, may be as entertaining as any of the rest; but it cannot be so important. Julian, in his work against the Christians, may mention the names of the evangelists, and of the other writers of the New Testament, and quote the books more distinctly than Celsus; but his testimony to the scriptures, in the fourth century, cannot be so valuable as that of Celsus in the second. However, these also deserve to be collected, and put together in their proper order. We shall there see the last struggles of expiring Gentilism, and some attempts to restore it, after it had been for a while exploded with scorn and disdain. And we may meet with more than a few men of great learning, and fine abilities, who were still tenacious of the ancient rites, and fond of all the fables upon which they were founded, and by which they had been long upheld and encouraged.

The author professes great impartiality: for which reason he is not without hopes that his work, notwithstanding some imperfections, may be approved by the candid of every denomination. If it shall be of some use to promote good learning, and true religion, he will have great reason to be well pleased.

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who had been long since foretold, and promised, as the "seed of the woman, that should bruise the head of the serpent, the seed of Abraham, in whom all the families of the earth should be blessed," and "the Son of David," in whom the promise of an extensive and everlasting kingdom was to be fulfilled. Of all which things the blessed Jesus sometimes, in the latter part of his ministry, reminded the Jewish people, his hearers, to induce them to act according to evidence, and to improve the present opportunity, and accept the blessings offered to them, lest they should expose themselves to the divine displeasure and resentment. But, as before hinted, he never invited any with assurances of worldly advantages from him: and all were at liberty to act according to their own judgment, and to "go away," or stay with him. John vi. 66—71.

Wherever he went, preaching that excellent and heavenly doctrine, he was attended by many; who plainly discerned it to be superior to that of their ordinary teachers, the Scribes and Pharisees, and that he spoke and acted as a prophet, with divine illumination and authority. The people in general were so well satisfied of his great character, that they could not help wondering, that their Scribes and Rulers, for whom they had a great respect, did not publicly acknowledge him to be the Messiah. "And many of the people believed on him, and said; "When the Christ cometh, will he do more miracles than these which this man has done?" John vii. 31. Again: "And many resorted unto him, and said; John did no miracle. But all things that John spake of this man were true. And many believed on him there." John x. 41, 42.

"Nevertheless, among the chief rulers also, many believed on him; but because of the Pharisees they did not confess him, lest they should be put out of the synagogue: For they loved the praise of men more than the praise of God." John xii. 42, 43. But Nicodemus, a Pharisee, and a ruler, and in the very early part of our Lord's ministry, came to him of his own accord, and acknowledged him to be a "teacher come from God," John iii. And it is very likely that he went away fully convinced that he was the Christ. And when the Jewish council reproved their officers for not having apprehended Jesus, and brought him before them, Nicodemus, "being one of them," pleaded his cause, saying; "Doth our law judge any man before it hear him and know what he doeth?" John vii. 51. For which he was reviled, as very ignorant and greatly mistaken. However, he afterwards attended the burial of Jesus, together with "Joseph of Arimathea," another "disciple of Jesus; but secretly, for fear of the Jews. He was a rich man, and an honourable counsellor: who went to Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus, and wrapt it in a clean linen cloth, and laid it in his own new tomb, hewn out of a rock." John xix. 38—42. Matt. xxvii. Mark xv. Luke xxiii.

Beside them, Jairus, ruler of a synagogue, and a nobleman of Capernaum, were disciples of some distinction. And there may have been some others in like stations, who paid their respects to Jesus, though they are not named. The centurion at Capernaum had such faith in Jesus, as to believe him able to heal his sick servant at a distance, by speaking a word only. He was a Gentile, but he was in esteem with "the elders of the Jews," who lived in that city. And they also joined with him in the request to Jesus to heal his sick servant, "saying, that he was worthy, for whom he should do this." Luke vii. 4. So that they also were persuaded in their minds, that Jesus had power to perform so great a miracle. Not now to take any notice of our Saviour's female disciples, though they also were, some of them, respectable for their outward condition, as well as for their eminent virtue.

Out of the number of his disciples Jesus chose twelve, to be generally with him, and to be employed by him, whom he named apostles; who, notwithstanding some imperfections and failings, owing to the prevailing prejudices of the Jewish people, all continued faithful to him, excepting only Judas the traitor, a man of a worldly and covetous disposition. And though the miscarriage and loss of Judas could not but be a great grief and discouragement to them, the other eleven kept together, even after the death of their Lord.

When he was risen from the dead, he came again among them, and shewed himself to them: and though they were not to be persuaded without good proof, in the end they were all satisfied that it was he.

Having, in the space of forty days, been often seen by them, and having frequently conversed with them, "speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God," he was in their sight taken up into heaven. Acts i.

Soon after which, when they were assembled together, to the number of "about one hundred and twenty," another, named Matthias, was chosen in the room of Judas, to be a witness with the rest of the things concerning the Lord Jesus, and particularly his resurrection from the dead.

At the next following Pentecost, the Holy Ghost, in a remarkable manner, came down upon the apostles and their company, agreeably to the promise which Jesus had made to them. And henceforward the apostles, being fully qualified, preached to all men in the name of Christ, exhorting them to repentance, with the promise of the remission of sins, and everlasting salvation. Acts ii.

Such was the effect of St. Peter's first discourse at Jerusalem, after our Lord's ascension, that "there were added to them about three thousand souls:" and afterwards such accessions were made, that their number was "about five thousand." Acts ii. 41; iv. 4.

But though many miracles were done by the hands of the apostles, and the whole company of the believers behaved in a very becoming manner, insomuch that it is said, "they had favour with all the people;" Acts ii. 49: and again, that "the whole multitude of them that believed was of one heart, and of one soul; neither said any of them, that ought of the things which he possessed was his own, but they had all things common;" Acts iv. 32: yet they met with many difficulties, and were ill treated by the Jewish rulers. Peter and John were apprehended and brought before the council, and examined, and were then commanded, "not to speak at all, nor teach in the name of Jesus:" Acts iv. And they were farther threatened, if they transgressed that order. But they, nevertheless, thinking themselves obliged to persist in their work, and "to obey God, rather than men;" in a short time afterwards, all the apostles were taken up, and put "in the common prison," and then brought before the council: and having been "beaten," and again "commanded not to speak in the name of Jesus," they were dismissed. Acts v. Soon after this, Stephen, a man of great eminence and usefulness among the disciples, was stoned; Acts vi. vii. And James, brother of John, one of the chief apostles of Jesus, was beheaded by order of Herod Agrippa, then king in the land of Judea. "And because he saw it pleased the Jews, he proceeded farther to take Peter also, and put him in prison, intending after Easter to bring him forth to the people;" Acts xii. But now Divine Providence interposed: Peter was miraculously delivered out of prison; and Herod died under tokens of divine displeasure. What is added is well worthy of observation. "But the word of God grew, and multiplied."

And gradually the apostles and their fellow-labourers, with divine approbation and encouragement, enlarged their views, and preached the gospels to Samaritans, and then to Gentiles. But, wherever they went, they first addressed themselves to the Jewish inhabitants, and particularly in their synagogues, which there were at that time in many cities of Greece, and elsewhere, and usually had some converts among them. The evidences of the Christian religion were fairly and openly proposed, and to many they appeared sufficient and satisfactory. The whole argument is briefly summed up in those words of St. Paul before the governor Festus, and King Agrippa, and the rest of that great audience. "Having therefore obtained help of God, I continue to this day, witnessing both to small and great, saying none other things than those which the prophets and Moses did say should come; that the Christ should be liable to sufferings; and that, being the first who rose from the dead," to die no more, "he should shew light unto the people, and to the Gentiles." Acts xxvi. 22, 23. Thus, at Antioch in Pisidia, it is said of Paul and Barnabas, Acts xiii. 14, "they went into the synagogue on the sabbath day;" where Paul made a long discourse...."Now, when the congregation was broken up, many of the Jews, and religious," or worshipping "proselytes, followed Paul and Barnabas, who, speaking to them, persuaded them to continue in the grace of God." Afterwards, at Iconium, "they went both into the synagogue, and so spake, that a great multitude of the Jews, and also of the Greeks, believed." Acts xiv. 1. And in like manner at other places. And particularly at Thessalonica, Acts xvii. 1; and at Berea, ver. 10; at Athens, ver. 17; at Corinth, xviii. 4; at Ephesus, xviii. 19, and 26. When Paul came to Rome, he was a prisoner. He therefore could not go to any Jewish synagogue. But being "suffered to dwell by himself, with a soldier that kept him, he called the chief of the Jews together....And when they had appointed him a day, there came many to him into his lodging; to whom he expounded and testified the kingdom of God, persuading them concerning Jesus, both out of the law and the

prophets, from morning to evening. And some believed, and some believed not." Acts xxviii. 16—24.

As for the Jews at Jerusalem, we know, from the history of the council, held there in the year of Christ 50, about the terms upon which the Gentiles should be received, that the believers were then numerous there, and greatly concerned for the establishment and propagation of the gospel, Acts xv. And when St. Paul came thither again, at the Pentecost of the year 58, as we compute, the believers there were still steady and numerous. And St. James, the apostle who presided there, and the elders, reminded him, saying; "Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are that believe." Acts xxi. 20. By which I suppose to be intended chiefly the church at Jerusalem; though some others may be included, who were come up thither upon occasion of the feast. And about four years after this, near the end of his imprisonment at Rome, or soon after it, Paul wrote his epistle to the Hebrews, or the believers at Jerusalem and in Judea, not excluding such as lived elsewhere, to confirm and strengthen them, and fortify them against discouragements.

Indeed, it should be particularly observed by us, that there were societies of believers in other parts of Judea, beside Jerusalem. For in the account of things about the year of Christ 40, it is said, (Acts ix. 31.) "Then had the churches rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified; and, walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied." And St. Paul in his epistle to the Galatians, speaks of his being "unknown by face unto the churches of Judea, which are in Christ." Gal. i. 22. See likewise 1 Thess. ii. 14.

Nor were all these men of the lowest rank and condition. For, in the general account of the early progress of the gospel, we are told, Acts vi. 7, "And the word of God increased, and the number of the disciples multiplied in Jerusalem greatly: and a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith." And we can reckon up some by name, who, upon several accounts, were men of eminence. Nicolas, a proselyte of Antioch, then residing at Jerusalem, who generously undertook a share in providing for the poor of the church; a man of substance undoubtedly, and probably a man of good understanding, and great probity. Barnabas, a Levite, a native of Cyprus, where he had an estate in land, which he sold for the relief of those believers in Jesus who were poor and indigent. Paul, a Pharisee, son of a Pharisee, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, educated in Jewish learning at Jerusalem under "Gamaliel, a doctor of the law, and had in reputation among all the people," Acts iv. v. and xxii. and not unacquainted with Greek literature, and a person of uncommon acuteness; who, of a violent persecutor, became a sincere convert to the faith, and a zealous preacher of the gospel. In which service he laboured as fervently, and as successfully, as any other of the apostles; shewing therein great fidelity and self-denial: whose disinterestedness had been so conspicuous, that he could openly appeal to the world, and say; "Though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself servant to all, that I might gain the more." 1 Cor. ix. 19.

The character of this person is so extraordinary, that I must enlarge somewhat in his history; notwithstanding the brevity which I have prescribed to myself in this article. By the special choice and designation of Jesus Christ, after his resurrection from the dead, he was added to the other twelve apostles, "that he might bear his name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel:" Acts ix. and xxvi. though it was foreseen, that he would "suffer many things" in that service. In the course of his ministry he preached and asserted the Christian doctrine to the Jewish people in general, and before the Jewish council at Jerusalem. He pleaded also, and preached the doctrine of Christ before Felix and Festus, Roman governors of Judea, and before King Agrippa, and his sisters Drusilla and Bernice, who were Jews by religion; and in the presence of many other personages of great distinction at Cæsarea, the residence of the Roman governor. Acts xxii.—xxvi. He also pleaded [a] before the emperor Nero at Rome; by whom was signed the order of his confinement in that city, which was a kind of free custody: where he "dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence," and with great success, "no man forbidding him." Acts xxviii. 30, 31. At the end of which period he was discharged, and set at

[a] See the second Vol. of 'The Supplement to the Credibility,' &c.

liberty by the same authority by which he had been confined. And then he went abroad again, preaching the gospel, as he had done before, and visiting and confirming the Christian churches in several places. Afterwards, as we have reason to believe, he came to Rome again. And there, in the year 64 or 65, in the persecution of the Christians, ordered by the same emperor, he suffered martyrdom, being beheaded, as a Roman citizen; so bearing his final testimony to the truth of that doctrine, which he had long preached with great zeal and diligence. I now proceed.

The chamberlain and treasurer of "Candace, queen of the Ethiopians," a Jewish proselyte, "who had come up to Jerusalem to worship." Acts viii. 27. His high station, and the great trust reposed in him, are arguments of his ability and fidelity. His journey to Jerusalem indicates his zeal for the religion which he had embraced: and his reading the Jewish sacred scriptures, as he was returning in his chariot, shews his studiousness to understand them. His discourse with Philip, a disciple of Jesus, who drew near to him, manifests inquisitiveness and openness to conviction, which are laudable dispositions. And his conversion to the faith of Jesus is therefore a testimony to the truth of the Christian religion, which cannot be slighted.

"Judas and Silas, chief men among the brethren" at Jerusalem; Acts xv.—xviii. and the latter of them, as it seems, a Roman citizen. Aquila and Priscilla, Jews of Pontus, persons of good understanding, and uncommon piety. Timothy, a young man of good understanding at Lystra, who from his childhood had been instructed in the scriptures of the Old Testament, being the son of a Jewess. 2 Tim. i. His mother Eunice, and his grandmother Lois, also were believers. Acts xii. 12. John Mark, an evangelist, son of Mary, a woman of great zeal and courage in the profession of the Christian religion, an inhabitant of Jerusalem, and nephew to Barnabas. Col. iv. 10. Luke, another evangelist, by some thought to be the same as Lucius of Cyrene; Acts xiii. 1. If so, he was a Jew by birth. If he was not that Lucius, yet very probably he was a Jewish proselyte before he became a Christian. With that Lucius of Cyrene is mentioned, in the place just referred to, "Manaen, who had been brought up with Herod the tetrach." A [a] person, undoubtedly, of a liberal education.

Apollos, a Jew of Alexandria, an eloquent or learned man, and "mighty in the scriptures" of the Old Testament. Acts xviii. Crispus and Sosthenes, rulers in the Jewish synagogue at Corinth; 1 Cor. 1, and Zenas, a Jewish lawyer. Tit. iii. 13.

All these I have reckoned up briefly and imperfectly [b] among the Jewish believers; designedly omitting converts from among the Gentiles. All these Jews, by their faith and profession, bore a testimony to Jesus, well deserving our regard. For they must have acted under as great discouragements as can be conceived. They underwent the keenest reproaches from the unbelieving Jews, their neighbours, for receiving a person as the Messiah; who, instead of working out a great deliverance for their nation, as was generally expected and earnestly desired, had himself undergone an ignominious death. For my own part, I always think of these early Jewish believers with peculiar respect. I am not able to celebrate all the virtues of their willing and steady faith under the many difficulties which they met with. But I am persuaded, that when the Lord Jesus shall come again, he will bestow marks of distinction upon those who extricated themselves out of the snares, in which their close connections with others had involved them. And as "they were not ashamed of him, and his words, but confessed his name in the midst of an adulterous and sinful generation, he will not be ashamed of them, but will confess them," and own them for his, "when he shall come in the glory of his Father, with the holy angels." Mar. viii. 38; Mat. x. 32.

For certain, I apprehend, that the faith of the Jewish believers is of greater importance than the unbelief of other Jews in the time of Jesus and his apostles.

[a] Μαναηντε Ἡρωδε τε τετραρχε συντροφος. 'Herodis tetrarchæ collectaneus.' Vulg. 'At vocabulum συντροφε latius patet, significatque 'eum, qui a primâ ætate cum altero educatus est.' Grot. in loc.

[b] I say 'imperfectly.' For I have not rehearsed all the Jewish believers, who are expressly mentioned, and by name. I have omitted several: as Jason, who was so friendly to St. Paul, at Thessalonica, as related, Acts xvii. 5—9. Sopater of Berea, Acts xx. 4. These two seem to be the same who are mentioned again, Rom. xvi. 21, where they appear to have been the apostle's kinsmen, and therefore must have been Jews. Aristarchus, a Thessalonian, Acts xx. 4. who is mentioned again in the epistle to the Colossians iv. 10, 11, written during the apostle's imprisonment at Rome, or near the end of it, in the year 62. Where St. Paul calls him "his fellow prisoner;" and reckons him among those "of the circumcision, who had been his fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God. Mnason of Cyprus, an old disciple;" Acts xxi. 16. And there are divers others, who may be observed by attentive readers of the Acts, and St. Paul's Epistles.

II. What has been hitherto alleged we know from the books of the New Testament. It will be worth while to attend also to the informations of ecclesiastical history.

There is good reason to believe, that no Christians were involved in the miseries of the last siege of Jerusalem. They are supposed to have left it before the siege began. Some went to Pella, as mentioned by Eusebius, a [a] city on the other side of Jordan. Others might go elsewhere, into [b] Asia, or [c] other remote countries, where they could get a settlement. St. John, [d] as I suppose, left Judea, and went to Ephesus in the year 66, or thereabout, a short time before the war commenced. Some Jews of Jerusalem, and other parts of Judea, might go with him, or follow him afterwards. And, under his direction and assistance, they might procure a comfortable settlement in some places not far from him.

After the war was over in Judea, it is supposed, that the believers, who had retired into the country beyond Jordan, returned to Jerusalem, and formed a church there.

James, the Lord's brother, who had presided in the church of Jerusalem, died, as we suppose, in the year of Christ 62; who was succeeded by Simeon. In his ecclesiastical history [e] Eusebius placeth his election after the destruction of Jerusalem; but in his Chronicle [f] it is so expressed, as if it had been done immediately after the death of James. That is no very material circumstance: nor are we able to determine which is right, for want of sufficient evidence. By Hegesippus he is [g] said to have been son of Cleophas, brother of Joseph; and therefore was our Lord's cousin-german. But Eusebius mentions that in a doubtful manner. We should therefore, as I apprehend, be cautious of being too particular in our decisions about it. However, Eusebius justly reckons him among the eye and ear-witnesses of the Lord: and according [i] to Hegesippus, whose ecclesiastical history Eusebius had before him, he suffered martyrdom in Trajan's persecution. We therefore, without hesitation, place his death at the year of our Lord 107; where also it is placed by Eusebius in [k] his chronicle. Simeon was then 120 years old. By order of Atticus, president of Syria, he was crucified: he must therefore have been born several years before our Lord; and, supposing him chosen bishop of Jerusalem in the year 62, he presided in that church more than forty years.

He was succeeded by Justus, a Jew; and, as Eusebius adds, 'there [l] were then many believers 'of the circumcision.' 'The [m] times of the ensuing successions of bishops at Jerusalem, 'Eusebius says, he could never learn: but it was said they had sat in the see for a short time 'only. This he had learned from ancient writers, that to the war in Adrian's time, (about the 'year 132) there had been fifteen successions, who were all Hebrews by birth, and had held the 'genuine doctrine of Christ.' Whose names are all put down by him. In this catalogue of fifteen, Eusebius reckons James the first, Simeon the second; after which there follow thirteen more. Why their times were so short we cannot say; there is no reason to think that any of them were taken off by persecution: but possibly they were all in years, seniority being esteemed a ground of preference. After [n] their defeat by Adrian, the Jews were forbid to come to Jerusalem: from that time the church there consisted of Gentiles, whose first bishop was named Mark.

That there were Jews who believed in Jesus, we are assured even by Celsus the epicurean, who wrote against the Christians about the middle of the second century. In divers parts of his work he personates a Jew: it is likely that he had conversed with divers unbelievers of that nation. He consulted them, that they might assist him in his argument against the Christians,

[a] H. E. l. 3. cap. 5. p. 75. A. Vid. et Epiph. H. 29. vii. H. 30. n. ii.

[b] See The Supplement, in this Vol. ch. ix. sect. iii. and ch. xx. sect. vi.

[c] Credibile est, Judææ Christianos, non tantum Pellæ, ad ortum Jordanis, commoratos esse, sed et per vicinas, immo et remotiores Romani imperii provincias, in quibus tutiores esse poterant, sparsos esse, &c. Cleric. H. E. an. 71. num. i.

[d] See The Supplement to the Credib. in this Vol. chap. ix. sect. iv.

[e] H. E. L. 3. cap. xi.

[f] Jacobus, frater Domini, quem omnes Justum appellabant, a Judæis lapidibus opprimitur; in cujus thronum Simeon, qui et Simon, secundus assumitur. Chr. p. 161.

[g] .... Αγεψιον, ὡς γε φασι, γεγονοτα τε σωτηρος. Τον γαρ εν Κλωπαν, αδελφον τε Ιωσηφ ὑπαρχειν Ηγησιππος ἱστορει. H. E. l. 3. c. xi. p. 87. Conf. l. 4. cap. 22. p. 142. C.

[h] Λογισμῳ δ' αν και τον Συμεωνα των αυτοπτων και αυτηκοων ειποι αν τις γεγονεναι τε κυριε. L. 3. c. 32. p. 104. B.

[i] Ap. Eus. H. E. l. 3. c. 32. p. 104. C.

[k] Trajano adversus Christianos persecutionem movente, Simon, filius Cleopæ, qui in Jerosolymis episcopatum tenebat, crucifigitur. Cui succedit Justus. Ignatius quoque Antiochenæ ecclesiæ episcopus, Romam perductus, bestiis traditur. Chr. p. 165.

[l] .... Της εν Ἱεροσολυμοις επισκοπης τον θρονον Ιεδαιος τις ονομα Ιησους, μυριων ὁσων εκ περιτομης εις τον Χριστον τηνικαυτα πεπιστευκοτων εἰς και αυτος ων διαδεχεται. l. 3. c. 35. p. 106.

[m] L. 4. cap. v.

[n] Ib. l. 4. cap. 6. vid. et Chr. p. 167.

and likewise furnish him with scandal against them if they could. 'In [a] this manner,' says Origen, 'this personated Jew addresseth those who had believed from among the Jews—What 'ailed you, fellow-citizens, that forsook the law of your country, to follow him, whom we men-'tioned just now, by whom you have been miserably deceived, leaving us, and going over to 'another name, and another way of living?'

And Origen, in his books against Celsus, says, 'that [b] the Messiah had been foretold so 'long, and by so many, that the whole nation of the Jews were in earnest expectation of his 'coming; but since the birth of Jesus they have been divided in their opinion; for many of 'them have believed that Jesus is the person whom the prophets foretold; but others rejected 'him, despising him because of the meanness of his outward character.'

Irenæus says, 'there [c] were many of the circumcision who believed in Jesus, who rose from 'the dead, hearkening to Moses and the prophets, who beforehand preached the coming of the 'Son of God.'

Among these Jewish believers there were different sentiments. Origen says, 'there [d] were 'two sorts of Ebionites; some who believed Jesus to have been born of a virgin, as we do; 'some who supposed Jesus to be born as other men are.' Origen speaks of both sorts of these men, as fond of the Jewish observances. Afterwards, [e] in the same book against Celsus, he says, that both sorts of the Ebionites, like the Encratites, rejected St. Paul's epistles; nor did they consider him as a wise or good man.

Eusebius, in his ecclesiastical history, in a chapter entitled Of the Heresy of the Ebionites, speaks to the like purpose. 'Some,' [f] says he, 'who are not to be moved by any means from 'their respect for the Christ of God, are in some respects very infirm. They are called by the 'ancients Ebionites, because they have but a low opinion of Christ, thinking him to be a mere 'man, born of Joseph and Mary, honoured for his advancement in virtue; and esteeming the 'ritual ordinances of the law necessary to be observed by them, as if they could not be justified 'by faith in Christ only. Others of them do not deny, that Jesus was born of a virgin by the 'Holy Ghost. Nevertheless, they do not acknowledge his pre-existence as God the Word: 'and, like the others, they are fond of the external observances of the law of Moses. They also 'reject Paul's epistles, and call him an apostate from the law.'

These two learned ancient authors speak of two sorts of Ebionites, therein, as [g] may be supposed, including those who are sometimes called Nazarenes, and were the descendants of the Jewish believers at Jerusalem.

It may be also here observed by us, that many learned men are now of opinion, that there never was any man named Ebion, the leader of a sect; but that the Ebionites were so called from their low opinion concerning the person of Christ, and their attachment to the external rites of the law of Moses, and that opinion, as I apprehend, is much countenanced by the passages which have been just quoted.

We cannot deny that there were some believers who supposed Jesus to have been born as other men; but I apprehend that the number of these was very small: nor do I recollect any Christian writing, now extant, where that opinion is maintained.

We must also allow that there were some who [h] rejected the apostle Paul, whilst they received

[a] Contr. Cels. l. 2. sect. 1. p. 57. Conf. sect. 3. p. 58, 59.

[b] .... Ὡστε το Ιεδαιων ὁλον εθνος ηρτημενον της περι τε ελπιζομενε επιδημησειν προσδοκιας, εις την προς ἀλληλες ζητησιν ἐληλυθεναι, τε Ιησε εσιδημησαντος· και πολυ μεν πληθος αυτων ὡμολογηκεναι Χριςον, και πεπιςευκεναι αυτον ειναι τον προφητευομενον· τες δε μη πιςευοντας, κ. λ. Contr. Cels. l. 3. n. 28. p. 127.

[c] ——etiam ipsum Dominum, qui resurrexit a mortuis, in quem et credunt multi qui sunt ex circumcisione, qui et Möysem et Prophetas audiunt prædicantes adventum filii Dei. Iren. l. 4. cap. ii. sect. 4.

[d] ... ετι δε κατα τον Ιεδαιων νομον, ὡς τα Ιεδαιων πληθη, βιεν εθελοντες. Οὑτοι δ' εισιν οἱ διττοι Εβιωναιοι, ητοι εκ παρθενε ὁμολογεντες ὁμοιως ἡμιν τον Ιησεν, ἡ ουχ ουτω γεγεννησθαι, ἀλλ' ὡς τες λοιπες ανθρωπες. Contr. Cels. l. 5. sect. 61. p. 272.

[e] Εισι γαρ τινες αἱρεσεις, πας Παυλε επιςολας τε αποςολε μη προσιεμεναι, ὡσπερ Εβιωναιοι αμφοτεροι, και οἱ καλεμενοι Εγκρατηται. Ουκ αν εν οἱ μη χρωμενοι τῳ αποςολῳ, ὡς μακαριῳ τινι και σοφῳ. Ib. n. 65. p. 274.

[f] Ἀλλες δε ὁ πονηρος δαιμων της περι τον Χριςον τε Θεε διαθεσεως ἀδυνατων εκσεισαι, βατεραλημπτες εὑρων, εσφετεριζετο. Εβιωναιες τετες οικειως επεφημιζον οἱ πρωτοι, πτωχως και ταπεινως τα περι τε Χριςε δοξαζοντας λιτον μεν γαρ αυτον και κοινον ηγεντο, κατα προκοπην ηδες αυτο μονον ανθρωπον δεδικαιωμενον, ἐξ ανδρος τε κοινωνιας και της Μαριας γεγενημενον ——Ἀλλοι δε παρα τετοις της αυτης οντες προσηγοριας, εκ παρθενε και τε ἁγιε πνευματος μη ἀρνεμενοι γεγονεναι τον κυριον, ε μην εὐ ὁμοιως και ἑτοι προϋπαρχειν αυτον θεον λογον οντα και σοφιαν ὁμολογεντες. κ. λ. L. 3. cap. 27. p. 99.

[g] Et Origines, cum duplices facit Ebionæos in disputatione contra Celsum, Ebionæorum nomine abutens, sub priore illa notâ Nazaræos, ut credibile est, describit. Grot. Prol. in Matt. p. 5.

[h] Nota, quod primi apostoli salvatoris literam Sabbati destruunt adversus Ebionitas, qui quum cæteros recipiant apos-

the other apostles: these likewise I suppose to have been few in number. I know no work of any ancient author now remaining, who speaks disrespectfully of him, excepting only [a] The Recognitions, or Clementine homilies, of which we formerly took particular notice.

As for the other Ebionites, called also Nazareans, it is allowed, as we have just seen, that they believed Jesus to be born of a virgin, by an especial interposition of the power of God, or by the Holy Ghost. These also received the apostle Paul. The testaments of the twelve patriarchs were written by a Jewish believer of this character in the second century. He plainly received Paul and his epistles, and the acts of the apostles, as was shewn [b] formerly. It is a very curious work. When it came in my way, I enlarged in my extracts of it. Nor do I now repent of that labour.

That the Nazareans, called also believers from among the Hebrews, received Paul, is apparent from Jerom's commentary upon Is. ix. 1—3, quoted Matt. iv. 15, 16. 'The 'Nazareans,' says he, 'whom I before mentioned, endeavour to explain this text after this 'manner. When Christ came, and began to enlighten the world with his doctrine, the land of 'Zabulon and Naphtali was first delivered from the errors of the Scribes and Pharisees, and 'shook off from their necks the heavy yoke of Jewish traditions. Afterwards, by the preaching 'of the apostle Paul, who was the last of all the apostles, the preaching was increased, and even 'multiplied; and the gospel of Christ shone out among the Gentiles, and by the way of the sea. 'At length the whole world, that had walked, or 'sat in darkness,' and had been held in the 'chains of idolatry and death, saw the clear light of the gospel.' So he says that text was explained by the Nazarenes, whom just before he called the Hebrews that believed in Christ.

That the Nazarenes received all Christ's apostles, is evident from the passage just transcribed. It is also manifest from Jerom's commentary upon Is. xxxi. 6—9. 'The [d] Nazarenes,' says he, 'understand this place after this manner: O ye children of Israel, who under the worst direction 'denied the Son of God, return to him, and to his apostles: for if you do that, you will then 'cast away your idols, which have been a sin to you; and the devil shall fall before you, not by 'your own power, but by the mercy of God; and his young men, who before fought for him, 'shall be tributary to the church, and all his strength and power shall be subdued.'

The Ebionites [e] are said to have adhered to the injunctions of the law of Moses, after they had received the gospel of Christ. 'Some of them,' as [f] Jerom intimates, were for imposing the 'legal observances upon all men, as necessary to salvation; but the other Ebionites, (or 'Nazarenes) as the same ancient and learned writer owns, observed those appointments them-'selves, as being of the seed of Israel, without imposing them upon others.' These were evidently of the same opinion with the believers in the church of Jerusalem: see the Acts of the Apostles, ch. xxi. And divers learned moderns [g] are now convinced of this, and readily allow that the Jewish believers, who were called Nazarenes, did not impose the ordinances of the law upon others, though they observed them as descendants of Israel and Abraham.

The Ebionites, or some who went under that denomination, must have received the Acts of the Apostles. 'For, as [h] we learn from Epiphanius, they said they were called Ebionites, or

tolos, Paulum, quasi transgressorem legis, repudiant. Hieron. in Matt. xii. 2. T. 4. P. i. p. 46.

[a] See The Credib. P. ii. Vol. i. p. 470, and p. 471.

[b] See The Credib. P. ii. Vol. i. p. 463, 464.

[c] Hebræi credentes in Christum hunc locum ita edisserunt ——Nazaræi, quorum opinionem supra posui, hunc locum ita explicare conantur. Adveniente Christo, ac prædicatione illius coruscante, prima terra Zabulon et terra Nephthali scribarum et Pharisæorum est erroribus liberata, et gravissimam traditionum Judaïcarum jugum excussit de cervicibus suis. Postea autem per evangelium apostoli Pauli, qui novissimus omnium apostolorum omnium fuit, ingravata est, id est, multiplicata prædicatio: et in terminos gentium, et viam universi maris Christi evangelium splenduit. Denique omnis orbis, qui ante ambulabat, vel sedebat in tenebris, et idololatriæ ac mortis vinculis tenebatur, claram evangelii lucem aspexit. In Is. cap. ix. T. 3. p. 83.

[d] Nazaræi locum istum sic intelligunt. O filii Israël, qui consilio pessimo Dei Filium denegâstis, revertimini ad eum, et ad apostolos ejus. Si enim hoc feceritis, omnia abjicietis idola, quæ vobis prius fuerant in peccatum: et cadet vobis diabolus, non vestris viribus, sed misericordiâ Dei: et juvenes ejus, qui quondam pro illo pugnaverant, erunt ecclesiæ vectigales, omnisque fortitudo et petra illius pertransibit. In Is. cap. xxxi. T. 3. p. 267.

[e] Simul arat in bove et asino Ebion, dignus pro humilitate sensûs paupertate nominis sui, qui sic recipit evangelium, ut Judaïcarum superstitionum, quæ in umbra et imagine præcesserunt, cæremonias non relinquat. Hieron. in Is. cap. i. T. 3. p. 9.

[f] Audiant Ebionæi, qui post passionem abolitam legem putant esse servandam. Audiant Ebionitarum socii, qui Judæis tantum, et de stirpe Israëlitici generis hæc custodienda decernunt. Id. in Is. cap. i. T. 3. p. 15.

[g] Ego ad eos accedere non vereor, qui statuunt, Nazaræos, nullos Christianorum, nisi Judæos, et Abrahæ posteros, legi Mosaïcæ alligare voluisse, &c. Moshem. de reb. Chr. ante C. M. p. 330.

[h] Αυτοι δε δηθεν σεμνυνονται, εαυτες φασκοντες πτωχες, δια το, φασιν, εν χρονοις των αποστολων πωλειν τα αυτων υπαρ-

'Poor, because in the times of the apostles, they sold their goods, and laid them at the apostles' 'feet, and by that means they had voluntarily reduced themselves to poverty. For that reason 'men called them poor, but they gloried in the name.' Manifestly referring to the history in the fourth and fifth chapters of the Acts. They who received that book must have received Paul and all the apostles of Jesus, and very probably all their writings which were received by other Christians.

I suppose likewise, that all the Jewish believers in general received the gospel of St. Matthew entire, with the genealogy at the beginning. The testimony of Irenæus, as seems to me, without searching for any other authority, is sufficient to put it out of question: 'The [a] gospel, 'according to Matthew,' he says, 'was written to the Jews; for they earnestly desired a 'Messiah of the seed of David: and Matthew having the same desire to a yet greater degree, 'strove by all means to give them full satisfaction, that Christ was of the seed of David; wherefore 'he began with his genealogy.'[b]

Eusebius in a place above cited, says, 'that even those Ebionites, (or Nazarenes) who believed 'Jesus to be born of a virgin by the Holy Ghost, did not acknowledge his pre-existence, as God 'the Word.' Nevertheless, I presume, they did believe Jesus Christ to be the Word, and Wisdom, and Power of God. But they did not believe the pre-existence of the Word as a distinct person, and separate from God the Father; as Eusebius and some Arianizing Christians of his time did. That I take to be the truth, and the ground and reason why Eusebius expresseth himself as he does. And it might be easily shewn, that [c] the Nazarean Christians did not reject St. John's gospel, nor hold any principles that obliged them to reject or dislike it.

Finally, we are assured by St. Jerom, 'that [d] in his time there were many all over the East 'called Nazareans, upon whom the Jews pronounced their curses as heretics. They profess,' says Jerom, 'that they believe in Christ, the Son of God, born of the virgin Mary, who suffered 'under Pontius Pilate, and rose again from the dead, the same in whom we also believe.'

I shall proceed no farther in this argument, nor go any lower. There were for the first four centuries many Jews who professed faith in Jesus as the Christ, notwithstanding the difficulties and discouragements to which they were exposed; for they were in an especial manner the object of the spite and enmity of the unbelieving part of their nation: and, besides, they [e] were too much slighted and disregarded by the Gentile Christians.

III. I now leave it to my readers to judge, whether the faith of so many Jewish believers, in the early days of the gospel, be not a valuable testimony to the truth of the Christian religion.

Some Jews have all along, in every age since, embraced the Christian religion, who have joined themselves to the Gentile believers, and have been incorporated with them. These are not now the subjects of my history.

χοντα, και τιθεναι παρα τας ποδας των αποστολων, και εις πτωχειαν και αποταξιαν μετελθυθεναι και δια τουτο καλεισθαι ὑπο παντων, φασι, πτωχοι. H. 30. n. xiii. p. 141. A.

[a] Iren. 147. Mass. and see The Credib. P. 2. Vol. i. p. 366.

[b] As many mistakes have been entertained about the Gospel according to the Hebrews, it may not be unseasonable to observe here, that probably it was an Hebrew translation of St. Matthew's original Greek gospel, with additions from the other gospels: to which possibly might be added some few particulars received by tradition from the early Jewish believers. See Credibility, P. 2. ch. v. Vol. i. p. 324, and Vol. i. ch. xxix. p. 474. Epiphanius therefore says, that the Hebrew gospel of Matthew, used by the Nazarenes, was a full gospel. Εχουσι δε το κατα Ματθαιον ευαγγελιον πληρες-ατον Εβραϊστι. H. 29. num. ix. p. 124. The Nazarenes therefore did not reject the authority of the other evangelists, but owned and acknowledged it. That St. Matthew wrote in Greek, see The Supplement, in this Vol. p. 165, 166. Says Lampe, Synops. H. E. p. 73. Græcâ vero linguâ omnes, ne Matthæo quidem excepto, usi sunt, ut a Judæis et Gentibus uterentur.

[c] Vid. Lampe Prol. in Joh. Evang. l. 2. cap. i. sect. 1, 2, 3, et cap. iii. num. 38—43.

[d] Usque hodie per totas Orientis synagogas, inter Judæos hæresis est, quæ dicitur minæonem, et a Pharisæis nunc usque damnatur; quos vulgo Nazaræos nuncupant, qui credunt in Christum Filium Dei, natum ex virgine Mariâ, et eum dicunt esse, qui sub Pontio Pilato passus est, et resurrexit, in quem et nos credimus, &c. Hieron. ad August. ep. 74. al. 89. tom. 4. p. 623.

[e] See W. Wall in the Preface to his Notes upon the O. T. p. xi. xii.

CHAP. II.

Of the Treatment given to the primitive Christians by the unbelieving Jews.

JUSTIN, in his Dialogue with Trypho,[a] speaks to this purpose—'For ye have killed the Just, and 'his prophets before him; and now you despise, and, as much as in you lies, disparage them who 'hope in him, and in God Almighty, Lord of the whole world who sent him, cursing in your 'synagogues those who believe in Christ. For it is not now in your power to lay hands upon us 'being hindered by them who have the chief government of things. But whenever you have 'had it in your power, you have done that also...For no other people are so averse to us, and 'Christ, as you, who are the authors of all the prejudices which others have against Him and us: 'for after that you had crucified Him, that one unblamable and righteous Man, by whose stripes 'they are healed, who come to the Father through Him; and when ye knew that he was risen 'from the dead, and was ascended into heaven, as the prophets had foretold; you not only did 'not repent of the evil that you had done, but you sent out chosen men from Jerusalem into all 'the earth, saying, that an atheistical sect, called Christians, had arisen among you: thus spread-'ing abroad all those evil reports concerning us, which all who are ignorant of us now believe. 'So that you have been the causes not only of your own wickedness, but likewise of the wicked-'ness of others.'

Eusebius,[b] rehearsing the works of Justin, has transcribed this passage from his Dialogue with Trypho.

And afterwards, in the same dialogue, or the second part of it—'Notwithstanding[c] all that 'Christ said to you, you did not repent. So far from it, that after he was risen from the dead 'you sent forth chosen men into all the world, giving out, that a wicked and atheistical sect was 'risen, the author of which was one Jesus of Galilee, an impostor; whom, when you had cru-'cified, his disciples stole out of the sepulchre by night, where he had been laid after his cruci-'fixion; and that they deceived men, saying, that he was risen from the dead and ascended into 'heaven. Moreover you gave out, that he taught those wicked and impure and abominable 'things, which you every where charge upon all those who confess Him to be the Christ, and 'their master, and the Son of God. And though your city has been taken, and your country 'laid waste, you do not repent; but still pronounce curses upon him, and upon all who believe 'in him.'

He has somewhat to the like purpose, once more afterwards, in the same[d] dialogue; where he chargeth them with hating all who believed in God through Christ, and killing them when they had power, and still continually devoting him and them to destruction.

Tertullian does not expressly say all this; but[e] he often intimates, that the Jews were the principal authors of the reproaches cast upon the Christians: and he speaks of one calumny in particular, which had been then lately forged by them, in his own time.

Origen says much the same that Justin does. Having taken notice of some things in Celsus, he says, 'that[f] therein he acted much like the Jews of old, who at the rise of the Christian

[a] Just. M. Dial. p. 234, 235, Paris. sect. 16, et 17. p. 127. Bened.

[b] H. E. l 4. cap. 18.

[c] Dial. p. 335. Paris. sect. 108. p. 202. Bened.

[d] Dial. p. 363. Paris. sect. 133. p. 225. Bened.

[e] Nova jam de Deo nostro fama suggessit. Adeo nuper quidam perditissimus in istâ civitate, etiam suæ religionis desertor, solo detrimento cutis, Judæus.. picturam in nos proposuit sub istâ proscriptione, Onochoetes. Is erat auribus canteriorum, et in togâ. cum libro, altero pede ungulato. Et credidit vulgus Judæo. Quod enim aliud genus seminarium est infamiæ nostræ? Itaque in totâ civitate Onochoetes prædicatur. Adv. Nat. l. i. cap. 14. p. 59. Vid. et Ap. cap. 16. p. 17. D. et conf. Minuc. Fel. cap. ix. et xxviii. Dehinc, cum ex perseverantiâ furoris, et nomen Domini per ipsos blasphemaretur, sicut scriptum est: 'Propter vos blasphematur nomen meum in nationibus:' (ab illis enim cœpit infamia:) et tempus medium a Tiberio usque ad Vespasianum, non pœnitentiam intellexissent, facta est terra eorum deserta, civitates eorum exustæ igni; regionem eorum sub eorum conspectu extranei devorant. Adv. Marcion. l. iii. cap. 23. p. 498. B.

[f] Και δοκει μοι παραπλησιον Ιουδαιοις πεποιηκεναι, τοις κατα την αρχην της του Χριστιανισμου διδασκαλιας κατασκεδασασι δυσφημιαν του λογου· ως αρα καταθυσαντες παιδιον, μεταλαμβανουσι αυτου των σαρκων· και παλιν, ότι οι απο του λογου, τα του σκοτους πραττειν βουλομενοι, σβεννυουσι μεν το φως, εκαστος δε τη παρατυχουσῃ μιγνυται. Contr. Cels. l. 6. num. 27. p. 293.

'religion spread abroad calumnies against it; as if the Christians killed a child, and ate it, and 'putting out the lights practised promiscuous lewdness. Which calumnies, though very absurd, '' were in former times believed by many.'

And Eusebius, in his commentary upon Is. xviii. 1, 2. 'We[a] find in the writings of the 'ancients,' says he, 'that the priests and elders of the Jewish nation, who dwelt at Jerusalem, 'wrote letters which they sent to the Jews abroad in all countries, traducing the doctrine of 'Christ, as a new and strange heresy, and exhorting them not to embrace it.'

Whether the Jews did send out men in this manner, before the destruction of Jerusalem, to asperse the followers of Jesus, is not quite certain. The question is particularly considered by the Benedictines[b] in their preface to Justin Martyr. The origin of the early calumnies upon the Christians is somewhat doubtful. Some have supposed them to have been occasioned by the absurd doctrines, and vicious lives, of those called heretics. However, I formerly[c] proposed some observations, tending to shew that they are not to be accounted for in that way.

It is certain that the Christians were very early aspersed with crimes of which they were not guilty. When St. Paul was come a prisoner to Rome, he sent for the chief of the Jews of that city to come to him, who say to him—" As for this sect, we know that every where it is spoken against," Acts xxviii. 22. Those words might be spoken in the year of Christ 61, and not far from the beginning of it. And Tacitus, giving an account of Nero's persecution of the Christians which seems to have begun in the year 64, intimates, 'that[d] the Christians were generally hated 'for the crimes imputed to them.'

Whether the Jewish rulers did, before the destruction of Jerusalem, send abroad messengers and letters on purpose to defame the doctrine of Christ and his followers, or not, it must be allowed to be true, which Justin says, that no other people were so averse to Christ and his followers as the Jews. It must be allowed to be very true, which he likewise says of them, that they continued to anathematize Jesus Christ and his followers.

In the authentic account of the martyrdom of Polycarp, at Smyrna, when he was condemned to be burnt, it is said, 'that[e] presently the people brought together dried wood, and branches of 'trees from their shops, and from the baths; in which the Jews especially, as is usual with them, 'readily assisted.'

We are assured by Jerom, that the Jews anathematized the Christians under the name of Nazareans, in their synagogues, thrice every day. So he writes in[f] his commentary upon Is. v. 18, 19. And again[g] in like manner upon Is. xlix. 7, and[h] upon the first chapter of the prophecy of Amos.

Epiphanius says, 'that[i] the Jews three times every day anathematized the Nazareans in their 'synagogues. For they were more especially displeased with them, because, though they were 'Jews, they believed in Jesus as the Christ.'

All which may be very true. The Jews, as Jerom says, anathematized in their synagogues all Christians under the denomination of Nazareans; and yet, as Epiphanius says, they were more especially displeased with those believers who were of the seed of Israel.

These passages of ancient Christian writers do sufficiently attest the early and continued enmity of the unbelieving Jews, to all Christians of every denomination.

There are still some other things to be here taken notice of. For some time after our Saviour's

[a] Εὑρομεν εν τοις παλαιων συγγραμμασιν, ὡς οἱ την Ἱερουσαλημ οικουντες τῳ των Ἰουδαιων εθνους ἱερεις και πρεσβυτεροι γραμματα διαχαραξαντες εις παντα διεπεμψαντο τα εθνη τοις πανταχῃ Ἰουδαιοις, διαβαλλοντες την Χριστου διδασκαλιαν, ὡς αἱρεσιν καινην και αλλοτριαν τῳ Θεῳ, παραγγελλοντες δι' επιστολων μη παραδεξασθαι αυτην. Euseb. in Es. c. xviii. p. 424.

[b] Pr. Part. 3. c. iv. p. 76, &c.

[c] Credib. P. ii. ch. xxix. Vol. i. p. 452.

[d] Ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos, et quæsitissimis pœnis affecit, quos, per flagitia invisos, vulgus Christianos appellabat. Tac. Ann. l. 15. c. 44.

[e] . . .μαλιστα Ἰουδαιων προθυμως, ὡς εθος αυτοις, εις τουτο ὑπηργουντων. Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 4. cap. 15. 133. A.

[f] Dicuntur autem hæc ad principes Judæorum, qui supra arguti sunt in avaritiâ et luxuriâ; quod, provocati a Domino ad pœnitentiam, et postea ab apostolis ejus, usque hodie perseverant in blasphemiis; et ter per singulos dies in omnibus synagogis sub nomine Nazarenorum anathematizant vocabulum Christianum. In Is. cap. v. T. 3. p. 53.

[g] Ipse enim bonus pastor posuit animam suam pro ovibus suis, et contempsit eam; qui abominationi est genti Judæorum, cui ter per singulos dies sub nomine Nazarenorum maledicunt in synagogis suis. Id. in Is. c. xlix. T. 3. p. 353.

[h] ——antiquumque furorem et iracundiam tenentes, usque hodie in synagogis suis sub nomine Nazarenorum blasphemant populum Christianum, et, dummodo nos interficiant, volunt igne comburi. In Amos. cap. i. p. 1378. fin.

[i] Ου μονον γαρ οἱ των Ἰουδαιων παιδες προς τουτους κεκτηνται μισος, αλλ' ανιστανται εωθεν, και μεσης ἡμερας, και περι εσπεραν, τρις της ἡμερας, ὁτε ευχας επιτελουσιν εν ταις αυτων συναγωγαις, επαρωνται αυτοις, και αναθεματιζουσι, φασκοντες, ὁτι επικαταρασαι ὁ Θεος τους Ναζωραιους. Και γαρ τουτοις περισσοτερον ενεχουσι, δια το απο Ἰουδαιων αυτους οντας, Ιησουν κηρυσσειν ειναι Χριστον. κ. λ. Epiph. H. 29. sect. ix. p. 124.

ascension, they aspersed the character of Mary, our Lord's mother, and reproached him with a spurious nativity. When these aspersions were first given out, we cannot say exactly; but they are in [a] Celsus, who wrote against the Christians about the middle of the second century; and doubtless he had them from the Jews: they are also in the Talmudical writings, as we shall see hereafter.

In order to disparage our Lord's miracles, they gave out that they were performed by magical arts, such as he had learned in Egypt. This calumny also is in [b] Celsus; and doubtless he had it from the Jews. It is also in the Talmudical writers, as we shall see hereafter.

In the time of the emperor Adrian, about the year of Christ 132, the Jews rebelled under the conduct of the impostor Barchochebas, who set up himself for the Messiah, 'who [c] inflicted 'heavy penalties upon the Christians, to induce them to deny and blaspheme Jesus Christ; and 'if they did not, he ordered them to be put to death.' So writes Justin Martyr, who lived at that time. Some have censured Justin for saying that Barchochebas tortured Christians only; but without reason, as seems to me. For certain, the Christians were, above all men, objects of his and his followers enmity: nor could any be called upon to deny Jesus Christ, but such as had received him for the Messiah. Of the sufferings of the Christians at that time, Eusebius speaks in [d] his Chronicle, and in [e] his Ecclesiastical history: not now to refer to any [f] others.

CHAP. III.

JOSEPHUS, WITH HIS TESTIMONY AT LARGE TO THE FULFILMENT OF OUR SAVIOUR'S PREDICTIONS CONCERNING THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE AND THE CITY OF JERUSALEM, AND THE MISERIES COMING UPON THE JEWISH PEOPLE.

I. *His time, works, and character.* II. *The state of things in Judea in the time of our Saviour, and some while before.* III. *Our Lord's predictions concerning the destruction of the temple and the city of Jerusalem, and the miseries to be endured by the Jewish people—with the several signs preceding those calamities, as recorded in the gospels.* IV. *The dates of several events: viz. the commencement and the duration of the war, and the siege of Jerusalem—when the temple was burnt, and the city taken.* V. *Of the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place.* VI. *The actual accomplishment of our Saviour's predictions concerning divers events that should precede the great calamities coming upon the Jewish people—the gospel preached all over the world—the disciples of Christ persecuted in many places—declensions among his followers—famines, pestilences, and earthquakes, in divers places—wars and commotions.* VII. *The occasion of the Jewish war with the Romans, as represented by Josephus.* VIII. *The history of the Jewish war from Josephus, with his account of the siege of Jerusalem, and the miseries endured therein, and the demolition of the temple and city of Jerusalem, and the desolation of the land of Judea, being his testimony to the fulfilment of our Lord's predictions of those events.* IX. *Reflections upon the preceding history, and the value of the testimony of Josephus.* X. *Other ancient writers, who have borne witness to the accomplishment of our Lord's predictions in the conquest of Judea by Vespasian and Titus—Justus of Tiberias—Pausanias—Antonius Julianus—Suetonius—Tacitus—Dion Cassius—Philostratus—The arch of Titus.*

I. JOSEPHUS, son of Matthias, of the race of the Jewish priests, and of the first course of the four and twenty, by his mother descended from the Asmonean family, which for a considerable time had the supreme government of the Jewish nation, was born in the first year of the reign of Caligula, of our Lord [g] 37.

[a] Vid. Orig. Contr. Cels. l. i. num. 28, et 32. p. 22, et 26.

[b] Vid. Orig. Contr. Cels. l. i. sect. 28. p. 22.

[c] Και γαρ εν τῳ νυν γεγενημενῳ Ιουδαϊκῳ πολεμῳ, Βαρχοχεβας, ὁ της Ιουδαιων αποστασεως αρχηγετης, Χριστιανους μονους εις τιμωριας δεινας, ει μη αρνοιντο Ιησουν τον Χριστον, και βλασφημησειεν, εκελευσατο απαγεσθαι. Ap. i. p. 72. E. Par. p. 62. Bened.

[d] Cochebas dux Judaïcæ factionis nolentes Christianos adversum Romanum militem ferre subsidium omnimodis cruciatibus necat. Chron. p. 167.

[e] A. E. l. 4. c. 6.

[f] Vid. Moshem. de reb. Christianor. ante Const. p. 238, 239.

[g] Joseph. in Vita sua. cap. i.

He was educated together[a] with Matthias, who was his own brother by father and mother, and made such proficience in knowledge, that when,[b] he was about fourteen years of age the high priests, and some of the principal men of the city, came frequently to him to consult him about the right interpretation of things in the law. In the sixteenth year of his age he retired into the wilderness, where he lived three years an abstemious course of life, in the company of Banus. Having fully acquainted himself with the principles of the three sects, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes, he determined to follow the rule of the Pharisees. And being now nineteen years of age, he began to act in public life.

Felix, when procurator of Judea, sent some priests of his acquaintance for a trifling offence to Rome, to be tried before Cæsar. Josephus, hearing that they behaved well, resolved to go to Rome to plead their cause: but he had a bad voyage; the ship was wrecked; and out of six hundred persons, not more than eighty were saved. Soon after his arrival at Rome he became acquainted with Aliturius, a Jew by birth, but a stage-player, in favour with Nero. By him he was introduced to Poppæa, the emperor's wife; by whose interest he procured that the priests should be set at liberty. Josephus, who never omits what may be to his own honour, adds, that[c] beside that favour, he also received from Poppæa many valuable presents; and then he returned home. This voyage was made, as he[d] says, in the 26th year of his age, which must have been in the 62d or 63d year of[e] Christ.

Upon his return to Judea he found things in great confusion, many[f] being elevated with hopes of advantage by a revolt from the Romans. He says, he did what lay in his power to prevent it, though in vain.

Soon after the beginning of the war, in the year of Christ 66, (when he must have been himself about thirty years of age) he was sent from Jerusalem to command in[g] Galilee; where, having ordered matters as well as he could, and made the best preparations for war, by fortifying the cities in case of an attack from the Romans, he was at length shut up in the city of Jotapata: which, after a vigorous defence, and a siege of seven and forty days, was taken by Vespasian,[h] on the first day of July, in the 13th year of Nero and the 67th of our Lord.

When that city was taken, by Vespasian's order strict search was made for Josephus; for if[i] that general was once taken, he reckoned that the greatest part of the war would be over. However, he had hid himself in a deep cavern, the opening of which was not easily discerned above ground. Here he met with forty persons of eminence, who had concealed themselves, and had with them provisions enough for several days. On the third day the Roman soldiers seized a woman that had been with them. She made a discovery of the place where they were; whereupon Vespasian sent two tribunes, inviting him to come up, with assurances that his life should be preserved. Josephus, however, refused. Vespasian therefore sent a third tribune, named Nicanor, well known to Josephus, with the like assurances. Josephus, after some hesitation, was then willing to surrender himself. But the men who were with him exclaimed against it, and were for killing him and themselves rather than come alive into the hands of the Romans. Hereupon he made a long speech to them, shewing that it was not lawful for men to kill themselves, and that it was rather a proof of pusillanimity than courage: but all without effect. He then proposed an expedient; which was that they should cast lots, two by two, who should die first. He who had the second lot should kill the first, and the next him, and so on, and the last should kill himself. It happened that Josephus and another were preserved to the last lot. When all the rest were killed, he without much difficulty persuaded that other person to yield up himself to the Romans. So they two escaped with their[k] lives.

This[l] has been judged to be a remarkable providence, by which Josephus was preserved to write the history, of which we are now able to make so good use.

[a] Cap. 2.

[b] Ετι δε παις ων περι τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατον ετος... συνιοντων αει των αρχιερεων και των της πολεως πρωτων υπερ τυ παρ' εμυ περι των νομιμων ακριβεστερον τι γνωναι. Cap. 2.

[c] ...μεγαλων δε δωρεων προς τη ευεργεσια ταυτη τυχων παρα Ποππαιας. C. 3.

[d] Μετ' εικοστον και εκτον ενιαυτον εις Ρωμην μοι συνεπεσεν αναβηναι. Ib.

[e] Felix must have been removed from his government some while before that; which may be thought to create a difficulty in this account: but it may be observed, that Josephus had heard of the good behaviour of those priests at Rome before he left Judea; consequently they had been some while at Rome before he set out on his journey.

[f] ...και πολλας επι τη Ρωμαιων αποστασει μεγα φρονουντας. Vit. c. 4.

[g] Vit. cap. 7, 8. De B. J. l. 2. c. 20.

[h] De B. J. l. 3. cap. 7. Conf. cap. 8. sect. 9.

[i] μεγιστη γαρ ην μοιρα του πολεμου ληφθεις. De B. J. l. 3. c. 8. in.

[k] De B. J. l. 3. c. 8. sect. 1....7.

[l] See Tillotson's Serm. numb. 186. Vol. 2. p. 564.

When [a] Josephus had surrendered, Vespasian gave strict orders that he should be kept carefully, as if he had intended to send him to Nero. Josephus then presented a request that he might speak to Vespasian in private, which was granted. When all were dismissed, except Titus and two friends, he spoke to Vespasian after this manner. 'You [b] think, Vespasian, that 'you have in Josephus a mere prisoner. But I am come to you a messenger of great tidings. 'Had I not been sent to you by God, I [c] know what the law of the Jews is, and how it becomes 'a general to die. Do you intend to send me to Nero? Are they, who are to succeed Nero 'before you, to continue? You, Vespasian, will be Cæsar: you will be emperor. So will likewise this your son. Bind me therefore still faster, and reserve me for yourself. For you are 'lord, not of me only, but of the earth, and the sea, and all mankind. And I for punishment 'deserve a closer confinement if I speak falsehood to you in the name of [d] God.' Vespasian, as he says, at first paid little regard to all this; but afterwards his expectations of empire were raised. 'Besides,' as he goes on to say, 'he found Josephus to have spoken truth upon other 'occasions: for when one of his friends, who was admitted to be present at that interview, said, 'It appeared strange to him that Josephus should not have foretold to the people of Jotapata 'the event of the siege, nor have foreseen his own captivity, if all he now said was not invention 'to save his own life; Josephus answered, that he had foretold to the people of Jotapata, that 'the place would be taken upon the forty-seventh day of the siege, and that himself should be 'taken alive by the Romans. Vespasian having privately inquired of the prisoners concerning 'these predictions, found the truth of [e] them.'

All these things I have inserted here for shewing the character of this writer; though the prolixity of my narration be thereby increased.

It is very likely, that he [f] often thought of Joseph in Egypt, and of Daniel at Babylon; and was in hopes of making a like figure at the court of Rome. But I suppose it to be no disparagement to Josephus to say, that he was not equal to them in wisdom, or in virtue and integrity. And the circumstances of things were much altered: the promised Messiah was come; and the Jewish people were no longer entitled to such special regard, as had been shewn them in times past. Nor was it then a day of favour and mercy for them, but the day of the Lord's vengeance against them, as Josephus himself saw: and they were entering into a long captivity, of which they have not yet seen the end, after a period of almost seventeen hundred years, though they are still wonderfully preserved.

Josephus was still a prisoner: but when Vespasian had been proclaimed emperor, he ordered his iron chain to be cut [g] asunder. When Vespasian went to Rome, Josephus continued to be with Titus, and was present at the siege of Jerusalem, and saw the ruin of his city and country.

After the war was over, when Titus went to Rome, he went with him; and Vespasian allotted him an apartment in the same house in which himself had lived before he came to the empire: he also made him a citizen of Rome, and gave him an annual pension; and continued to shew him great respect so long as he lived. His son Titus, who succeeded him, shewed him the like regard. And afterwards Domitian, and his wife Domitia, did him many kind [h] offices.

Josephus, however, does not deny that [i] he had many enemies: but the emperors, in whose times he lived, protected him. Indeed, it is very likely that the Jews should have little regard for a man who was with the Romans in their camp during the siege of their city. He particularly says, that [k] upon the first tidings of the taking of Jotapata, the people of Jerusalem made great and public lamentations for him, supposing that he had been killed in the siege:

[a] De B. J. l. 3. c. 8. sect. 8. [b] Ibid. sect. 9.

[c] That is, that a Jewish general should make away with himself, rather than be taken prisoner alive by heathen people. We know not of any such law in the books of the Old Testament. And it seems to be a manifest contradiction to what he says in the speech before referred to.

[d] Josephus's address to Vespasian is very precise and formal, predicting things then future. Possibly, this speech was improved afterwards, and at the time of writing this history made more clear and express, and more agreeable to the event, than when first spoken.

[e] Among other presages of Vespasian's empire, Suetonius has mentioned this of Josephus. Et unus ex nobilibus captivis, Josephus, cum conjiceretur in vincula, constantissime asseveravit, fore, ut ab eodem brevi solveretur, verum jam imperatore. Sueton. Vesp. c. 5.

[f] Josephus has several times spoken of his having had prophetic dreams, and of his ability to interpret dreams that were ambiguous. Vid. De B. J. l. 3. viii. 3 et 9, et de Vit. sect. 42.

[g] De B. J. l. 4. cap. x. sect. 7.

[h] Vit. cap. 76. [i] Ibid.

[k] De B. J. l. 3. cap. ix. sect. 7.

but when they heard that he had escaped, and was with the Romans, and was well used by them, they loaded him with all manner of reproaches, not excepting treachery itself. Nor do we find that [a] the Jewish people ever had any great respect for his writings; though they have been much esteemed, and often quoted, by Christian and [b] other writers, in early and latter times.

Of them [c] we are now to take some notice.

The first is The History of the Jewish War, and the taking of Jerusalem, in seven books. In which work he goes back to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees. In the preface he says, that he [d] first wrote it in the language of his own country, for the sake of such as lived in Parthia, Babylonia, Arabia, and other parts: and afterwards published it in Greek for the benefit of others, which is what we have: it is generally supposed to have been published by him in the seventy-fifth year of Christ, and the thirty-eighth year of his own age. He professeth to have written with great [e] fidelity; and for the truth of his history appeals to Vespasian and Titus, and King Agrippa, then [f] living. He [g] presented it to Vespasian and Titus; which last [h] not only desired the publication of it, but with his own hand signed the book, that should be reckoned authentic.

2. The Jewish Antiquities, in twenty books, or the history of the Jews from the creation of the world, to the twelfth year of Nero, in which the war began. This work was finished by him [i] in the fifty-sixth year of his own life, in the third year of the reign of Domitian, and the year of Christ 93.

3. To this work is subjoined, as a part of it, or an appendix to it, His Life, written by himself some time afterwards.

4. After the several above-mentioned works, he published another work in two books, entitled Of the Antiquity of the Jews, against Apion; being a vindication of the Jewish people against the calumnies of that Egyptian author.

5. To Josephus likewise is generally ascribed a book entitled, A Discourse of the Maccabees; but, as [k] Cave says, there is good reason to doubt of its genuineness: and [l] Mr. Whiston, who made an English translation of all the above-named works of this writer, declined to translate this, and would not publish it among the rest.

The works of Josephus, notwithstanding many things in them liable to exception, which may be observed by careful and impartial readers, are very valuable. In his larger work, The Jewish Antiquities, he confirms the truth of the history of the Old Testament: and, as in several of the last books of that work he has brought down the Jewish history from the ceasing of prophecy among them to the twelfth of Nero, he has let us know the state of affairs in Judea during the time of the evangelical history. And he had before done the like in the first two books of The Jewish War. What he has therein said of Herod and his sons, of the Roman governors in Judea, the Jewish sects and their principles, the manner of the Jewish people, and likewise concerning the Samaritans, greatly confirms and illustrates the history of our evangelists; as was formerly shewn in the first part of this work, The Credibility of the Gospel History; the design of which was to confirm the facts occasionally mentioned in the New Testament by passages of ancient [m] authors.

We are now to consider, whether there is any thing in the works of this Jewish author more directly confirming the principal facts of the New Testament: particularly, whether he affords any evidences of the fulfilment of our Lord's predictions concerning the destruction of the temple and city of Jerusalem, and the great calamities coming upon the Jewish people; and

[a] Quamvis enim ejus scripta apud Judæos in nullo pretio fuerint——Gentiles tamen pariter et Christiani Josephum, licet Judæum, ejusque opera, magni æstimârunt. Ittig. Proleg. pag. 88. ap. Havercamp.

[b] Josephus is quoted by Porphyry, not in his books against the Christians, but elsewhere. See the testimonies prefixed to the works of Josephus.

[c] Particular accounts of them are to be seen in Cav. Hist. Lit. Fabric. Gr. l. 4. cap. 6. tom. 3. p. 228, &c. Tillemont La Ruine des Juifs. art. 79. &c. Hist. des Emp. tom. i.

[d] De B. J. l. i. in Pro. sect. 2.

[e] In Proleg. sect. 5, &c. et l. 7. cap. ult. fin.

[f] In Vit. cap. 65. Adv. ap. l. i. c. 9.

[g] Αλλ' αυτοις απεδωκα τοις αυτοκρατορσι τα βιβλια. Vit. sect. 65. Conf. Adv. Ap. ut supr.

[h] ὡστε χαραξας τη ἑαυτθ χειρι τα βιβλια δημοσιευσεσθαι προσεταξεν. Vit. sect. 65.

[i] Ant. l. 20. cap. ult. fin.

[k] Nihilominus ad genuinum sit Josephi opus, justa est dubitandi ratio. Cav. H. L. de Josepho. p. 35.

[l] See his note at the end of his translation of Josephus.

[m] Quem in multis capitibus Evangelistarum narrationi suffragetur Josephus, erudite nuper demonstravit Nathanaël Lardnerus in opere Anglice edito, de Fide de Historiæ Evangelicæ. Lond. 1727, 8vo. 2 volum. J. A. Fabric. Lux Evangelii. p. 10. not. (A)

whether he has said any thing of John the Baptist, our Lord's forerunner, or of our Lord himself, or of any of his apostles.

I shall begin with the first article; for it is very likely, that in his History of the Jewish War we should find many things giving credit to the fulfilment of our Lord's predictions concerning the Jewish people.

II. Judea was first brought into subjection to the Romans by Pompey; who after a siege of three months, took Jerusalem in the year 63, before the Christian era, about the time of our [a] Midsummer. Josephus always dates [b] the loss of their liberty at that time. The same is said by [c] Tacitus.

But though the Jewish people then became subject to the Romans; and it may be said, that from that time forward the rod of heaven hung over them, they enjoyed many privileges, and the freedom of their worship, under the mild government of those masters; as appears both from Josephus, and from the historical books of the New Testament.

When Pompey became master of Jerusalem, he [d] and some of his officers entered into the temple, and the most holy places of it; but he took nothing away. There were then in it the table, the candlestick, with its lamps, the pouring vessels, and the censers, all of gold, and great quantities of spices, and two thousand talents in money; all which he left untouched: and the day after he gave orders that they who had the charge of the temple should cleanse it, and perform the accustomed sacrifices. And he restored the priesthood to Hyrcanus.

And that after this the Jewish people were, sometimes at least, in a flourishing condition, appears from many considerations. It was during this period that [e] Herod repaired the temple. Excepting the cloud of glory with which the first temple had been favoured, that erected by Herod may be reckoned to have been equal to it in the splendour and magnificence of the building, and in rich and costly presents, and other ornaments.

When the Jewish people, after their return from the Babylonish captivity, laid the foundation of the new house, "many of the priests and Levites, and chief of the fathers, who were ancient men, wept with a loud voice." Ezr. iii. 12. But God encouraged them by the prophet Haggai, in this manner, ch. ii. 3. "Who is left among you that saw this house in its first glory? and how do ye see it now? is it not in your eyes, in comparison of it, as nothing? Yet now be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord——and be strong, all ye people of the land, and work; for I am with you, saith the Lord of hosts——For thus saith the Lord of hosts——I will shake all nations: and the desire of all nations shall come: and I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of hosts. The silver is mine, and the gold is mine, saith the Lord of hosts. The glory of this latter house shall be greater than that of the former, saith the Lord of hosts. And in this place will I give peace, saith the Lord of hosts."

Here is, undoubtedly, a renewal of the great promise concerning the coming of the Messiah, the true Shechinah, whose presence would make this second temple more glorious than the first. But here is also a gracious assurance of external grandeur and splendour. 'Silver and gold, 'and all the riches of the world, says God, are mine, to bestow on whom I please. And not-'withstanding the present mean and despicable appearance of the building before your eyes, I 'will fill it with glory, and will cause it to equal, or even surpass, the former in splendour and 'magnificence——"For in this place will I give peace." My purpose is to bless you abun-'dantly, and to give you great prosperity.' Which gracious declaration was fulfilled.

That they were in flourishing circumstances at the time of our Lord's preaching among them, is apparent; though they were uneasy under subjection to the Romans. Josephus continually speaks of the temple, as very grand and magnificent; and it appears to be so from his large and particular description of it, in the fifth chapter of the fifth book of his Jewish War, just before its final ruin. And when Titus, upon the fire having seized the temple, entered it, with some of his officers, he says, 'that [f] Titus saw it to be far superior to the report

[a] See Prideaux, in the year before Christ 63, p. 439. And Joseph. Antiq. l. 14. c. iv. 4. De B. J. l. i. c. vii. sect. 6.

[b] Τοτε τα παθης τοις Ιεροσολυμοις αιτιοι κατεστησαν Υρκανος και Αριστοβηλος προς αλληλους στασιαζοντες. Την τε γαρ ελευθεριαν απεβαλομεν, και υπηκοοι Ρωμαιων κατεστημεν. Antiq. l. 14. iv. 5. And compare what Agrippa says to the Jews at Jerusalem. De B. J. l. 2. c. xvi. 4. p. 187.

[c] Romanorum primus Cn. Pompeius Judæos domuit, templumque jure victoriæ ingressus est. Tacit. H. l. 5. c. 9.

[d] De B. J. l. 1. c. vii. 6. Conf. Antiq. l. 14. cap. iv.

[e] Vid. Antiq. l. 15. cap. xi. De B. J. l. i. cap. xxi. et l. 5. cap. v.

[f] ——παρελθων μετα των ηγεμονων ενδον εθεασατο τε ναε το αγιον, και τα εν αυτω, πολυ μεν της παρα τοις αλλοφυλοις φημης αμεινω, τε δε κομπε και της παρα τοις οικειοις δοξης εκ ελαττω. De B. J. l. 6, cap. iv. 7.

'of strangers, and not inferior to our boastings concerning it.' And having related how it was burnt, he says, it might be justly lamented, 'since [a] it was the most admirable of all the works 'which we have seen or heard of, for its curious structure and magnitude, and for all the wealth 'bestowed upon it, as well as for the reputation of its sanctity.' And he expressly calls it [b] the temple that was built, or begun to be built in the second year of Cyrus, under the direction of the prophet Haggai. And our Lord's disciples bear witness to the same in some passages, that will come before us in reciting his predictions, of which we are now to take notice, and then observe the fulfilment of them.

III. We find our Lord's disciples speaking of the magnificence of the temple with admiration. So in Mark xiii. 10. "And, as he went out of the temple, one of his disciples saith unto him; Master, see what manner of stones, and what buildings are here! And Jesus, answering, said unto him; Seest thou these great buildings? There shall not be left one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down. And as he sat upon the mount of Olives, over against the temple, Peter, and James, and John, and Andrew, asked him privately: Tell us, when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign, when all these things shall be fulfilled? And Jesus answering them, began to say: Take heed, lest any man deceive you; for many will come in my name, and say; I am Christ. And will deceive many. And when ye shall hear of wars, and rumours of wars, be ye not troubled; for such things must needs be: but the end shall not be yet. For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom; and there shall be earthquakes in divers places; and there shall be famines and troubles: these are the beginnings of sorrows——And the gospel must first be published among all nations." And ver. 14—20. "But when ye shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing where it ought not, (let him that readeth understand) then let them that be in Judea flee to the mountains. And let him that is on the house-top not go down into the house, neither enter therein, to take any thing out of his house. And let him that is in the field not turn back again for to take up his garment. But woe to them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days. And pray ye, that your flight be not in the winter, for in those days shall be affliction, such as was not from the beginning of the creation, which God created, unto this time, neither shall be."

The like things are in St. Matthew xxiv. 1—35. "And Jesus went out, and departed from the temple; and his disciples came to him, for to shew him the buildings of the temple. And Jesus said unto them; See ye not all these things? Verily I say unto you, there shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down. And, as he sat upon the mount of Olives, the disciples came unto him privately, saying; Tell us when these things shall be, and what will be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world? And Jesus answered, and said unto them: Take heed that no man deceive you; for many will come in my name, saying, I am Christ; and will deceive many. And ye will hear of wars, and rumours of wars: see that ye be not troubled; for all these things must come to pass: but the end is not yet. For nation will rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and there will be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes, in divers places. All these are the beginnings of sorrows. Then shall they deliver you up to be afflicted, and shall kill you: and ye will be hated of all nations for my name sake. And then will many be offended, and will betray one another, and will hate one another. And many false prophets will arise, and will deceive many. And, because iniquity shall abound, the love of many will wax cold; but he that shall endure to the end shall be saved. And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations. And then shall the end come. When ye, therefore, shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place, (whoso readeth let him understand) then let them which are in Judea flee to the mountains. Let him which is on the house-top not come down to take any thing out of his house: neither let him that is in the field return back to take his clothes. And woe unto them which are with child, and to them that give suck, in those days. But pray ye, that your flight be not in the winter, neither on the sabbath-day. For then shall be great tribulation, such as was not from the beginning of the world to this time; no, nor ever shall be. And except those days should be shortened, there should no flesh be saved. But, for the elects' sake, those days shall be shortened. Then, if any say unto you; Lo, here is Christ, or there, believe it not: for there will arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders; inso-

[a] L. 6. iv. 8. Conf. l. 6. x. fin. [b] Απο δε της υστερου, ην ετει δευτερω Κυρω βασιλευοντος εποιησατο Αγγαιος. L. 6. c. iv. 3.

much that (if it were possible) they should deceive the very elect. Behold, I have told you before. Wherefore, if they shall say unto you, Behold he is in the desert, go not forth; Behold, he is in the secret chambers, believe it not. For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be; for wheresoever the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together.——Verily I say unto you, this generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled: Heaven and earth shall pass away; but my words shall not pass away."

Those inquiries of the disciples, and our Lord's answers to them, are made in private; but they plainly refer to things said by our Lord publicly in the courts of the temple; we may do well therefore to look back to what precedes, as related in St. Matthew's Gospel especially; where are recorded the many woes pronounced by our Lord upon the Scribes and Pharisees, and the people in general, who were under their influence and direction; Matt. xxiii. 29—39. "Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; because ye build the tombs of the prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous: and ye say, If we had been in the days of our fathers we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets: wherefore ye be witnesses unto yourselves, that ye are the children of them that killed the prophets. Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers. Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell! Wherefore, behold I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and Scribes: and some of them ye will kill and crucify; and some of them ye will scourge in your synagogues, and persecute from city to city; that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias, son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar. Verily I say unto you, All these things shall come upon this generation. O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee; how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings! and ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you desolate: for I say unto you, ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." Compare Luke xi. 47—51.

The like things are recorded by St. Luke, ch. xxi. 5—28, a part of which I shall also transcribe here. "And as some spake of the temple, how it was adorned with goodly stones, and gifts, he said; As for these things, which ye behold, the days will come, in the which shall not be left one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down. And they asked him, saying; Master, but when shall these things be? and what signs will there be when these things shall come to pass? And he said; Take heed that ye be not deceived; for many will come in my name, saying, I am Christ, and the time draws near: go ye not therefore after them. But when ye shall hear of wars and commotions, be not terrified; for these things must first come to pass: but the end is not by and by. Then said he unto them; Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and great earthquakes shall be in divers places, and famines, and pestilences, and fearful sights, and great signs shall there be from heaven: but before all these things they shall lay their hands upon you, and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues, and into prisons, being brought before kings and rulers for my name sake. And it shall turn to you for a testimony——And ye shall be betrayed both by parents, and brethren, and kinsfolk, and friends. And some of you shall they cause to be put to death. And ye shall be hated of all men for my name sake. But there shall not an hair of your head perish. In your patience possess ye your souls. And when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh: then let them which are in Judea flee to the mountains; and let them which are in the midst of it depart out. And let not them that are in the country enter thereinto: for these are the days of vengeance, that all things which are written may be fulfilled. But woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days. For there will be great distress in the land, and wrath upon this people: and they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations. And Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled."

And before this, when he was making his public entrance into Jerusalem, says St. Luke, xix. 41—44. "And when he was come near, he beheld the city, and wept over it, saying; If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong to thy peace! But now they are hid from thy eyes! For the days will come upon thee, that thy enemies shall cast

a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and will lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee: and they will not leave in thee one stone upon another, because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation."

And afterwards, when they were leading him away to be crucified, Luke xxiii. 27—31. "And there followed him a great company of people, and of women; which also bewailed and lamented him. But Jesus, turning unto them, said; Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children; for behold the days are coming, in the which they will say; Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps which never gave suck. Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us; and to the hills, Cover us. For if they do such things in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry!"

Our Lord delivers these predictions, of which he had the foresight, with marks of great and undissembled compassion and tenderness. If all these desolations and calamities had been now present, and before his eyes, and if they had been the calamities of his best friends, he could not have been more affected. He is particularly touched with the foresight of the difficulties of such as are most helpless, the distresses of women with child, or who have infants at their breasts. This is true compassion, the effect of the sensibility of the human nature; which he is not ashamed of, and does not dissemble. And that the apprehension of these calamities, impending on the Jewish people, lay much upon his mind, is manifest from his so often speaking of them.

And there are references likewise to the calamities coming upon the Jewish people in divers parables. Luke xiii. 6—9. Matt. xxii. 1—7. Luke xiv. 17—24. Matt. xxi. 33—46. Mark xii. 1—12. Luke xx. 9—19.——Luke xix. 11—27. Compare Matt. xxv. 14—30, and also in the miracle of the barren fig-tree. Matt. xxi. 18, 19. Mark xi. 12, 13, and 20, 21.

In what has been just transcribed from the evangelists, are observable these several things.

1. Our Lord foretels the destruction of the temple and city of Jerusalem.

2. He speaks of great and extraordinary afflictions and distresses, which the Jewish people would suffer at that time.

3. He says, that the doctrine of the gospel should be preached in all the world, or all over the Roman empire, before the final ruin and overthrow of the Jewish nation.

4. He foretels, that his disciples and followers would be brought before kings and governors for his name's sake, and would suffer many hardships; and that some of them would be put to death.

5. He intimates, that among his followers there would be great declensions, and that they would betray each other.

6. He foretels, that there would be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes, in divers places.

7. He speaks of wars and tumults in many places, preceding the final ruin of the Jewish nation, and as preludes of it.

8. He likewise says, that at that time, and before it, would appear many false prophets and impostors, by whom many would be deceived; and he warns men against hearkening to them.

9. He declares, that all these things would come to pass before the end of that age or generation of men.

10. He forewarns and advises those who regarded their own welfare, to flee out of Judea and Jerusalem, when they perceived the near approach of the calamities which had been spoken of by him; which they might know when they should see the Roman armies, with their idolatrous ensigns, standing where they ought not; that is, near Jerusalem, or in the land of Judea.

Of all these several things I propose to shew the fulfilment; though not exactly in the order in which they have been just now mentioned.

IV. Before I enter upon the history of the fulfilment of these predictions, it may be of use to observe, in general, the dates of some events.

The war began, as [a] Josephus says, in the second year of the government of Gessius Florus, who succeeded Albinus, successor of Porcius Festus, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, in the month of May, in the twelfth year of the emperor Nero, and the seventeenth year of

[a] Και δη την αρχην ελαβεν ο πολεμος δευτερῳ μεν ετει της επιτροπης Φλωρου, δωδεκατῳ δε της Νερωνος αρχης. Antiq. l. 20, xi. 1.

Και προσελαμβανε την αρχην ο πολεμος δωδεκατῳ μεν ετει της Νερωνος ηγεμονιας, εκταικαιδεκατῳ δε της Αγριππα βασιλειας, Αρτεμισιῳ μηνος. De B. J. l. 2. cap. xiv. 4.

Agrippa, mentioned Acts xxv. and xxvi. that is, in the month of May, in the year of our Lord 66.

'The [a] temple was burnt on the tenth day of the month of August, [in the year of Christ '70] the same day and month on which it had been burnt by the king of Babylon.' Which Josephus repeats again afterwards.

The [c] city was taken on the eighth day of September, in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, or the year of Christ 70.

That was the end of the siege of Jerusalem, which began, as the same author [d] observes several times, about the fourteenth day of the month Nisan, or our April.

The war therefore lasted four years and four months, computing from May 66, to September in the year 70: and the siege lasted about five months, computing from the fourteenth day of April to the eighth of September, in the year 70. If we carry on our computation to the taking of the castle of Massada, which happened in the year 73, (as we shall see hereafter) the war lasted seven years.

V. I think it proper here also to take notice of our Lord's expressions concerning the sign whereby the approach of these calamities might be discerned, Matt. xxiv. 15, 16. "When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation,——stand in the holy place; then let them which be in Judea, flee to the mountains." Mark xiii. 14. "When ye shall see the abomination of desolation standing where it ought not——then let them that be in Judea flee to the mountains." Luke xxi. 20. "And when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh."

By "the abomination of desolation, or the abomination that maketh desolate," therefore, is intended the Roman armies, with their ensigns. As the Roman ensigns, especially the eagle, which was carried at the head of every legion, were objects of worship, they are, according to the usual style of scripture, called "an abomination."

By "standing in the holy place," or "where it ought not," needs not to be understood the temple only, but Jerusalem also, and any part of the land of Israel.

There are several things in Josephus, which will confirm this interpretation. 'Pilate,' [e] says he, 'the prefect of Judea, sending his army from Cæsarea, and putting them into winter 'quarters at Jerusalem, brought the carved images of Cæsar, which are in the ensigns, into the 'city in violation of the Jewish laws; since our law forbids the making of images. For which 'reason the former governors were wont to come into the city with ensigns destitute of these 'ornaments. Pilate was the first who set up images in Jerusalem: and he did it privately, the 'army making their entrance in the night time: but, as soon as the people knew it, they went 'in a large body to Cæsarea, making earnest supplications that the images might be removed '——And at length Pilate gave orders for bringing back the images from Jerusalem to Cæsarea.'

And not long after that, Vitellius, president of Syria, received orders from Tiberius, to attack Aretas, king of Petra; whereupon he was going to march through Judea: 'But [f] some of their 'chief men waited on him, and entreated him not to lead his army through their country, 'because it was contrary to their laws that any images should be brought into it, whereas there 'were a great many in his army. And he hearkened to them, altered his intention, and marched 'his troops another way.'

Our Lord's disciples and followers therefore might well be alarmed as soon as they saw Roman armies, with their idolatrous ensigns, appear in an hostile manner in any part of the land of Israel: but as they approached to Jerusalem the danger would be more imminent and pressing.

And as men unwillingly leave their native country, and their accustomed habitations, and removals are always attended with dangers and difficulties, our Lord recommends flight in very urgent terms, lest any of those who loved him, and respected his doctrine, should partake in the dreadful calamities of the siege.

[a] Παρην δ' ἡ ειμαρμενη χρονων περιοδος, ἡμερα δεκατη Λωȣ μηνος, καθ' ἡν και το προτερον ὑπο τȣ των βαβυλωνιων βασιλεως ενεπρησθη. De B. J. l. 6. iv. 5.

[b] Θαυμασαι δ' αν τις εν αυτῃ της περιοδȣ την ακριβειαν· και μηνα γȣν, ὡς εφην, και ἡμεραν επετηρησε την αυτην, εν ᾗ προτερον ὑπο βαβυλωνιων ὁ ναος ενεπρησθη—— ἡ γεγονεν ετει δευτερῳ της Ουεσπασιανȣ ἡγεμονιας. Ib. sect. 8.

[c] Ἑαλω μεν ȣτως Ἱεροσολυμα ετει δευτερῳ της Ουεσπασιανȣ ἡγεμονιας, Γορπιαιȣ μηνος ογδοῃ. Ib. l. 6. cap. x. in.

[d] De B. J. l. 5. cap. iii. 1, cap. xiii. 7, l. 6. cap. ix. 3.

[e] Antiq. l. 18. c. iii. sect. 1.

[f] Antiq. l. 18. cap. vi. 3.

VI. We now observe some events spoken of by our Lord, which would precede the great calamity coming upon the Jewish nation.

1. One is, that "the doctrine of the gospel" should be preached throughout the Roman empire, and in other places adjoining to it.

"And this gospel of the kingdom," says he, "shall be preached in all the world, for a witness to all nations; and then shall the end come:" Matt. xxiv. 14. "And the gospel must first be published among all nations." Mark xiii. 10.

And however unlikely that might seem when those words were spoken by our Lord, they were verified. The epistles of the New Testament, still extant, and written to Christians in divers cities and countries, are a standing monument of it; for they are sent to believers at Rome, Corinth, Galatia, Ephesus, Philippi, Colosse, Thessalonica, and the Hebrews; all written by St. Paul. And the epistles of the apostle Peter are directed to Christians, residing in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia. And the four gospels, and the Acts of the apostles, afford evidence, that there were numerous converts to the faith of Jesus; for they were written for the use of such. St. Paul says, Rom. xv. 19, that "from Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum, he had fully preached the gospel of Christ." He reminds the Romans, i. 18, "that their faith was spoken of throughout the whole world." To the Colossians he observes, "that the gospel had been preached to every creature under heaven;" ch. i. 23, and see ver. 6. The prediction therefore of that great event had been accomplished within the limits of the time assigned for it.

And Tacitus [a] bears witness that the Christian religion, which had its rise in Judea, had spread into many parts, and had reached Rome itself, where the professors of it were numerous, and many of them underwent grievous torments in the reign of Nero, about the year of our Lord 64, and afterwards.

2. Our Lord says to his disciples, in his prophetical discourses concerning the coming calamities upon Judea; "Before all these things they will lay their hands upon you, and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues, and into prisons, being brought before kings and rulers for my name sake——And some of you shall they cause to be put to death. And ye will be hated of all men for my name sake." Luke xxi. 12; and 16, 17. And to the like purpose in the other evangelists.

The full accomplishment of these things is well known to Christians, from the book of the Acts, and the epistles of the New Testament. The apostles of Jesus met with great difficulties in preaching the gospel: and the converts made by them were exposed to many sufferings. Peter and John, and all the apostles, were brought before the Jewish council, and were imprisoned, and beaten, and further threatened: Acts iv. Stephen, an eminent disciple and evangelist, suffered death by stoning; vi. vii. James, the brother of John, was beheaded by King Agrippa; who also shut up Peter in prison, with intention to put him to death also: but he was miraculously delivered; ch. xii. Paul was kept in prison two years in Judea, and afterwards as long at Rome. He pleaded before Felix and Festus, Roman governors in Judea, and King Agrippa the younger, as well as before the Jewish council at Jerusalem; xxi.—xxviii. And there is good reason to believe that [b] he was brought before Nero himself. Many of his sufferings and dangers are enumerated in 2 Cor xi. 23—33.

They who received the doctrine taught by the apostles, had also their share of afflictions and trials. Paul, whilst he was their enemy, "made havoc of the Church, entering into every house; and, haling men and women, committed them to prison: and when they were put to death, he gave his voice against them:——He punished them in every synagogue, and persecuted them even into strange cities:" Acts viii. 3, and xxvi. 10, 11. And in his epistle to the Hebrews, he observes to them, that "they had endured a great fight of afflictions; partly whilst they were made a gazing stock, both by reproaches and afflictions; and partly whilst they became companions of those who were so used; and that they had joyfully taken the spoiling of their goods: ch. x. 32—34. And Agrippa, before-mentioned, began with "laying his hands upon certain of the church;" Acts xii. 1. And that the believers suffered afflictions in other places beside Judea, is manifest from 2 Thess. i. 3—6. James ii. 5—7. 2 Pet. iv. 12—19. And the Jews at Rome, whom Paul sent for to come to him, say; "As concerning this sect, we know that every where it is spoken against."

[a] Ann. l. 15. cap. 44. [b] See that fully proved in The Supplement to the Credibility, &c. this Vol. Ch. xii. sect. 10.

Tacitus confirms the truth of these predictions of our Lord. He has given a particular account of the suffering of many Christians at Rome, before the desolations of Judea. In the tenth year of Nero, the sixty-fourth of our Lord, there happened a great fire at Rome. Nero was suspected to have set it on fire himself. 'For [a] suppressing that common rumour, Nero 'procured others to be accused, and inflicted exquisite punishments upon those people, who 'were in abhorrence for their crimes, and were commonly known by the name of Christians.' And he says, that 'they were condemned, not so much for the crime of burning the city, as for 'their enmity to mankind.' Thus Tacitus bears witness, not only to their undeserved sufferings, but also to the reproaches they underwent, agreeably to what our blessed Lord had said, that "they would be hated of all men for his name sake." However, these innocent sufferers had their supports: for their unerring Master, all whose words were true, has said; "Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake."

3. Further, our Lord intimates, that, before the full accomplishment of his predictions concerning the miseries coming upon the Jewish nation, there would be declensions of zeal among his own professed disciples and followers.

"And then shall many be offended, and shall betray one another——and because iniquity will abound, the love of many will wax cold;" Matt. xxiv. 10. 12, and see *Mark xiii.* 12, 13, and Luke xxi. 16.

What is said of this matter in the gospels may be verified from the epistles of the New Testament. The whole epistle to the Hebrews, is an argument to stedfastness, implying the great danger of apostasy from the faith, or of abatements of zeal for it: "Let us," says he, "hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering——And let us consider one another, to provoke unto love and good works; not forsaking the assembly of ourselves together, as the manner of some is; Heb. x. 23—25; and onwards to ver. 39. And ch. xii. 12. "Wherefore lift up the hands which hang down, and the feeble knees." In ch. vi. 4—9, he shews the great guilt, and the deplorable condition, of such as apostatize. In his second epistle to Timothy, ch. i. 15; "This thou knowest," says he, "that all they which are of Asia [probably meaning such as were then at Rome] are turned away from me; of whom are Phygellus and Hermogenes." And afterwards, ch. iv. 16, he complains of other Christians at Rome, who deserted him when he made his appearance there before Nero. "At my first answer [or apology] no man stood with me; but all men forsook me." And again, in the same epistle, ch. ii. 17, he speaks of Hymeneus and Philetus: "who concerning the truth have erred, saying that the resurrection is past already, and overthrow the faith of some:" and see 1 Tim. i. 19, 20. I allege nothing more from the books of the New Testament.

Tacitus, in his account of Nero's persecution of the Christians, already quoted more than once, does also confirm the truth of this prediction of our Lord: who says that 'at [b] first they 'only were apprehended, who confessed themselves to be of that sect: afterwards, many more 'were taken up, whom they discovered to be of their number.'

Nor ought this to be thought exceeding strange, notwithstanding the perfection of the Christian doctrine, and the evidences of its truth. For, in a great number of men, it is very likely that some should be overcome by the difficulties and dangers attending the profession of it. So says the chief sower of his heavenly doctrine: "some seed fell in stony places. The same is he that heareth the word, and anon with joy receiveth it: yet hath he not root in himself, but dureth for a while; for when tribulation or persecution ariseth because of the word, by and by he is offended."

4. Our blessed Lord said that before the great calamity, predicted by him, there would be "famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes, in divers places."

We know, from the history in the Acts of the apostles, that there was a famine in Judea in the time of the emperor Claudius; ch. xi. 25—30. It was not an accidental scarcity at Jerusalem only, but it was a famine all over that country. It began in the fourth year of that emperor, and lasted several years. We have a particular account of it in [c] Josephus. He also

[a] Ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos, et exquisitissimis pœnis affecit, quos, per flagitia invisos, vulgus Christianos appellabat——Igitur primo correpti qui fatebantur; deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens, haud perinde crimine incendii, quam odio humani generis convicti sunt, &c. Ann. 15. c. 44.

[b] Igitur primo correpti, qui fatebantur; deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens. &c. Ann. 15. c. 44.

[c] Ant. l. 20. ii. 6.

says it was a very severe [a] famine. And in another place [b] he mentions the high price of corn at that season; and says that this famine happened in the reign of Claudius, not long before the war.

That famine is also taken notice of by Eusebius in [c] his Chronicle, and [d] in his History, and by [e] Orosius.

There was also a famine at Rome, and in Italy, mentioned [f] by Dion Cassius; which began in the first year of Claudius, and continued in the next year.

There was another famine in the same reign, mentioned [g] by Tacitus and [h] Eusebius; which seems to have been chiefly in the tenth or eleventh year of that emperor.

To all these [i] Suetonius seems to refer, though he does not mention the years in which they happened.

Concerning the famines in the reign of the emperor Claudius, some [k] modern historians and chronologers might be consulted.

Our Lord speaks also of "pestilences." By Josephus we are informed that, about the year of Christ 40, there was [l] a pestilence at Babylon, in which the Jews suffered.

In the [m] sixty-fifth year of the Christian æra there was a great mortality at Rome. At the same time there were other calamities in divers parts of the Roman empire, as we learn from [n] Tacitus and [o] Suetonius, as well as from [p] Orosius, who might transcribe from them.

——and "earthquakes."

Tacitus [q] speaks of an earthquake at Rome in the time of Claudius, and of another [r] at Apamea in the same reign.

In the reign of Nero there was an earthquake at Laodicea, mentioned by [s] Tacitus; and likewise by [t] Eusebius in his Chronicle; who says that in Asia three cities, namely Laodicea, Hierapolis, and Colosse, were overturned by an earthquake. And in like manner [u] Orosius. Possibly the earthquake, which was most violent at Laodicea, was felt in the other cities likewise.

In the same reign there was an earthquake in Campania, mentioned by [x] Tacitus and [y] Seneca. By the former it seems to be placed in the year of Christ, 62, by the latter in the year 63. And there may have been other earthquakes in the time of the just mentioned emperors.

[a] Επι τουτοις δη και μεγαν λιμον κατα την Ιουδαιαν συνεβη γενεσθαι. Ib. cap. v. 2.

[b] ——ου μην αλλα και τα δε τα πολεμια μικρον εμπροσθεν, Κλαυδιε Ρωμαιων αρχοντος, και λιμος την χωραν ημων καταλαβοντος, ως τεσσαρων δραχμων πωλεισθαι τον ασσαριον. Ant. l. 3. xv. 3. [c] Chr. p. 160.

[d] H. E. l. 2. cap. xii. [e] Or. l. 7. cap. 6.

[f] Dio. l. 60, p. 671. al. 949.

[g] Frugum quoque egestas, et orta ex eo fames, in prodigium accipiebatur. Tac. Ann. l. 12. c. 43.

[h] Fames facta in Græciâ. Modius sex drachmis venumdatus est. ——Magna fames Romæ. Chr. p. 160, infr. m.

[i] Arctiore autem annonâ propter assiduas sterilitates, &c. Suet. Claud. c. 18. Vid. et cap. 19, et 20.

[k] Vid. Pagi. A. D. 72. n. vii. Reimari annot. ad Dion. Cass. p. 948. See also Credib. P. i. B. i. ch. x.

[l] ——φθορα εν Βαβυλωνι εγενετο αυτων. Ant. l. 18, ix. 8.

[m] Vid. Pagi. A. D. 67. n. iii.

[n] Tot facinoribus fœdum annum etiam Dii tempestatibus et morbis insiguivere. Vastata Campania turbine ventorum, qui villas, arbusta, fruges passim disjecit, pertulitque violentiam ad vicina urbi; in quâ omne mortalium genus vis pestilentiæ depopulabatur, nullâ cœli intemperie, quæ occurreret oculis. Sed domus corporibus exanimis, itinera funeribus complebantur. Non sexus, non ætas periculo vacua. Servitia perinde ac ingenua plebes raptim exstingui, inter conjugum et liberorum lamenta; qui dum assident, dum deflent, sæpe eodem rogo cremabantur. Equitum, senatorumque interitus, quamvis promiscui, minus flebiles erant, tamquam communi mortalitate sævitiam principis prævenirent. Tacit. Ann. 16, cap. 13.

[o] Accesserunt tantis ex principe malis, probrisque, quædam et fortuita: pestilentia unius autumni, quo triginta funerum millia in rationem Libitinæ venerunt; clades Britannica, quâ duo præcipua oppida, magnâ civium sociorumque cæde direpta sunt: ignominia ad Orientem, legionibus in Armeniâ sub jugum missis, ægreque Syriâ retentâ. Sueton. Nero. cap. 39. [p] Oros. l. 7, c. 7.

[q] Multa eo anno prodigia evenere. Insessum diris avibus Capitolium; crebris terræ motibus prorutæ domus. Ann. 12. cap. 43.

[r] Tributumque Apamiensibus, terræ motu convulsis, in quinquennium remissum. Id. l. 12. c. 58.

[s] Eodem anno ex illustribus Asiæ urbibus Laodicea, tremore prolapsa, nullo a nobis remedio, propriis viribus revaluit. Ib. l. 14, c. 27.

[t] In Asiâ tres urbes terræ motu conciderunt. Laodicea, Hierapolis, Colossæ. Eus. Chr. p. 161.

[u] Oros. l. 7. cap. vii.

[x] Iisdemque Consulibus gymnasium ictu fulminis conflagravit, effigiesque in eo Neronis ad informe æs liquefacta. Et motu terræ celebre Campaniæ oppidum Pompeii magnâ ex parte proruit. Ann. l. 15, c. 22.

[y] Pompeios, celebrem Campaniæ urbem——desedisse terræ motu, vexatis quâcumque adjacentibus regionibus, Lucili virorum optime, audivimus: et quidem diebus hibernis, quos vacare a tali periculo majores nostri solebant promittere. Nonis Febr. fuit motus hic, Regulo et Virginio Consulibus, qui Campaniam nunquam securam hujus mali, indemnem tamen, et toties defunctam metu, magnâ strage vastavit. Nam et Herculanensis oppidi pars ruit, dubieque stant etiam quæ relicta sunt. Et Nucerinorum colonia, ut sine clade, ita non sine querelâ est. Neapolis quoque privatim multa, publice nihil amisit, leviter ingenti malo perstricta. Villæ vero præruptæ passim sine injuriâ tremuere. Adjiciunt his sexcentarum ovium gregem exanimatum, et divisas statuas, &c. Sen. Nt. Qu. l. 6, c. 1.

5. Our Lord foretels "wars and commotions" preceding the final ruin: Matt. xxiv. 6; Mark xiii. 7; Luke xxi. 9.

Josephus [a] has a long story of a disturbance in Mesopotamia, occasioned by the ambition and indiscretion of two Jews, who were brothers. It seems to have happened [b] about the year of Christ 40. Josephus says it [c] was not inferior to any calamity which the Jews had suffered hitherto; and that it [d] occasioned the death of more than fifty thousand people.

When Cuspius Fadus came procurator into Judea, in the reign of Claudius, in the year of Christ 44 or 45, as [e] Josephus says, 'he found the Jews in Peréa in a riot, fighting with the 'Philadelphians about the limits of the village Mia. And indeed the people of Peréa had taken up arms without the consent of their chief men, and had killed a good number of the Philadel-'phians. When Fadus heard of it, he was much displeased that they had taken up arms, and 'had not left the decision of the dispute to him, if they thought the Philadelphians had done 'them any injury. Three of the principal men, who were the causes of the sedition, were 'apprehended and put in prison, one of whom was afterwards put to death, and the two others 'banished.'

Afterwards, in the year of our Lord 49, whilst Cumanus was procurator of Judea, there [f] happened a tumult at Jerusalem at the time of the Passover. The number of Jews that perished in it was not less than twenty thousand, as it is in his Antiquities: but in the Jewish War the number is no more than ten thousand.

Whilst Cumanus was yet in Judea there [g] happened a disturbance between the Jews and the Samaritans, in which many were killed on both sides.

Josephus also says that [h] under Cumanus the troubles of the Jewish people began, and that in his time they suffered very much.

These disturbances went on increasing. At Cæsarea there had long been *contentions* between the Jewish people and the other inhabitants. 'And,' as [i] Josephus says, 'in one 'hour's time more than twenty thousand Jews were destroyed, and all Cæsarea was at once 'emptied of its Jewish inhabitants. Some fled, whom Florus caught, and sent them bound to 'the gallies: at which the whole nation was enraged. They therefore divided themselves into 'several parties, and laid waste the villages of the Syrians, and their neighbouring cities, Phila-'delphia, Sebonitis, Gerasa, Pella, and Scythopolis: and after them Gadara and Hippos: and 'falling upon Gaulanitis, some cities they demolished there, others they set on fire. Then they 'went to Kedasa, belonging to the Syrians, and to Ptolemais, and Gaba, and Cæsarea. Nor 'was Sebaste or Ascalon able to withstand the violence with which they were attacked. When 'they had burnt these to the ground, they demolished Anthedon and Gaza. Many also of the 'villages round about these cities were plundered; and an immense slaughter was made of 'the men found in them.'

'The [k] Syrians destroyed not a less number of the Jews: so that the disorders all over Syria 'were terrible. For every city was divided into parties armed against each other; and the 'safety of the one depended upon the destruction of the other. The days were spent in 'slaughter, and the nights in terrors, which were the worst of the two. It was common to see 'cities filled with dead bodies, lying unburied, those of old men mixed with infants, all dead, 'and scattered about promiscuously, and women without covering for their nakedness.'

'At [l] Scythopolis the contention was carried so far, that above thirteen thousand Jews were 'killed.'

'After that [m] other cities also rose up against the Jews that were among them. They of 'Ascalon slew two thousand and five hundred; they of Ptolemais two thousand, and put many 'others into prison. The Tyrians acted in the like manner: as did also Hippos and Gadara, and 'divers other cities of Syria.'

[a] Antiq. l. 18, cap. ix.

[b] Vid. Usser. A. P. J. 4753. p. 864. Basnag. ann. 40. n. xiii. Tillem. Ruine des Juifs. art. xxviii.

[c] Γινεται δε και περι τους εν τη Μεσοποταμια και μαλιστα την Βαβυλωνα οικουντας Ιουδαιους συμφορα δεινη, και ουδεμιας ης τινος ελασσων, φονος τε αυτων πολυς, και ὁποσος ουχ ισορημενος προτερον. Ib. sect. 1.

[d] Ib. sect. 9.

[e] Ant. l. 20. cap. i. 1.

[f] Antiq. l. 20. c. v. 3. De B. J. l. 2. c. xii. 1.

[g] Antiq. l. 20. vi. 1. De B. J. l. 2. xii. 3.

[h] ——εφ' ὁ θορυβοι τε ηρξαντο, και φθορα παλιν Ιουδαιων εγενετο. De B. J. l. 2. c. xii. 1.

[i] Της δε αυτης ημερας και ωρας, ωσπερ εκ δαιμονιου προνοιας, ανηρουν οι Καισαρεις τους παρ' αυτοις Ιουδαιους ως ὑπο μιαν ωραν αποσφαγηναι μεν ὑπερ δισμυριους, κενωθηναι δε πασαν των Ιουδαιων Καισαρειαν. De B. J. l. 2. cap. xviii. 1.

[k] Ibid. sect. 2.

[l] Ib. sect. 3.

[m] Ib. sect. 5.

'At [a] Alexandria fifty thousand lay dead in heaps: nor would the remainder have been 'spared if they had not petitioned for mercy.'

Not long after that, the [b] men of Damascus having got the Jewish inhabitants into the place of exercise, ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ, they came upon them unarmed, and slew ten thousand in an hour's time.

These are what our Lord calls "the beginning of sorrows," when there were "wars and rumours of wars, one people and nation rising up against another. The end was not yet." Jerusalem was not yet besieged, nor the people in it shut up for universal destruction. But that period was nigh. See Matt. xxiv. 6—8; Mark xiii. 7, 8; Luke xxi. 9, 10.

VII. And now I think it may not be improper for us to take notice of Josephus's accounts of the occasion of the war.

Giving an account of the contentions of the Jews and Greeks, or Syrians, at Cæsarea, where the latter obtained a decree from Nero that the government of the city belonged to them, he says: 'And this [c] occasioned the war which began in the twelfth year of Nero.' Soon after which the Jews at Cæsarea were treated very contemptuously and injuriously, till they were all destroyed, as he there proceeds to relate; and we have already in part transcribed from him.

In the last chapter of the Jewish Antiquities he complains much of Albinus, and still more of Florus, who succeeded him, and exceeded him in avarice and cruelty: insomuch, that the Jews were ready to consider Albinus as a benefactor. 'Finally,' [d] says he, 'without adding any 'thing more, it was Florus who compelled us to take up arms against the Romans, thinking it 'better to be destroyed all at once than by little and little.'

In his own life he says: 'I [e] have mentioned all these things to shew that the Jews' war 'with the Romans was not their own choice, but rather that they were compelled by necessity.'

In another place he says: 'And [f] at the temple Eleazar, son of Ananias the high-priest, a 'young man of a daring temper, and then governor, persuaded those who officiated in the divine 'service not to accept of the gift or sacrifice of a foreigner. That was the origin of the war 'with the Romans: for thus they rejected the sacrifice of Cæsar for them.' [That is, as I apprehend, they refused to offer prayers and sacrifices, as subjects ought to do, for the emperor, and for the prosperity of the Roman empire.] 'And though many of the high-priests, and of 'the principal men of the nation, earnestly entreated them not to omit the customary respect 'for their governors, they could not prevail.'

Afterwards, near the conclusion of his History of the Jewish War, when the city was actually taken, he says: 'But [g] that which principally encouraged them to the war, was an ambiguous 'oracle, found also in their sacred writings, that about this time some one from their country 'should obtain the empire of the world. This they understood to belong to themselves; and 'many of the wise men were mistaken in their judgment about it: for the oracle intended the 'government of Vespasian, who was proclaimed emperor in Judea.'

That is a very remarkable passage: some farther notice shall be taken of it by and by.

That the Jewish people were uneasy under subjection to the Romans, even in our Saviour's time, long before the war broke out, appears from many things recorded in the gospels: as their great aversion to the publicans, though Jews, who were employed in collecting the Roman tribute; from the question brought to our Saviour "whether it was lawful to give tribute to Cæsar or not:" Matt. xxii. 15—22; Mark xiii. 13—17; Luke xx. 19—26; from the attempt of some who followed our Lord for a time to make him a king: John vi. 15: from their frequent and importunate demands that he would "shew them a sign from heaven," meaning some token that he intended to work out for them a temporal deliverance, "that they might believe in him," and have full assurance of his being the Christ: Matt. xii. 38; xvi. 1—4; and elsewhere: and from divers other things, which must be obvious to all who have read the gospels with attention.

[a] Ibid. sect. 7, 8. [b] De B. J. l. 2. c. xx. sect. 2.

[c] Εν δε τουτῳ και οι Καισαρεων Ελληνες νικησαντες παρα Νερωνι της πολεως αρχην, τα της κρισεως εκομισαν γραμματα. Και προσελαμβανε την αρχην ὁ πολεμος δωδεκατῳ μεν ετει της Νερωνος ἡγεμονιας. De B. J. l. 2. c. xiv. 4.

[d] Και τι δει πλειω λεγειν; Τον γαρ προς Ρωμαιους πολεμον ὁ καταναγκασας ἡμας αρασθαι, Φλωρος ἡν, κρειττον ἡγεμενες αθροως, ἡ κατ' ολιγον απολεσθαι. Antiq. l. 20. xi. 1.

[e] —— ὁτι ὁ προαιρεσις εγενετο τοις πολεμοις προς Ρωμαιους Ιουδαιοις, αλλα το πλεον αναγκη. Vit. sect. 6.

[f] ——αναπειθει μηδενος αλλοφυλοις δωρον ἡ θυσιαν προσδεχεσθαι. Τουτο δε ἡν τοις προς Ρωμαιους πολεμοις καταβολη. Την γαρ ὑπερ τουτων θυσιαν Καισαρος απερριψαν. De B. J. l. 2. xvii. 2.

[g] De B. J. l. 6. cap. v. 4.

This uneasiness under the Roman yoke continued and increased. Observable here is the answer which was made by Titus, after the temple was burnt, to the petition of Simon and John, the two great leaders of the factions in Jerusalem: 'You [a] have never ceased rebelling 'since Pompey first made a conquest of your country: and at length you have declared open 'war against the Romans.—Our kindness to you has encouraged your enmity against us; who 'have let you live in your country in peace and quietness. In the first place we gave you your 'own country to live in, and set over you kings of your own nation; and farther, we preserved 'to you your own laws: and withal we have permitted you to live either by yourselves, or 'among others, as you liked best. And, which is the greatest favour of all, we have given you 'leave to gather up that tribute which you pay to God, together with all such other gifts as are 'dedicated to him. Nor have we called those to account who carried such donations, nor given 'them any obstruction: till at length you became richer than ourselves, even when you were 'our enemies, and you have made preparations for the war against us with our own money.'

There are other things likewise in Josephus, which deserve to be taken notice of in this place. Giving an account of the assessment made in Judea after the removal of Archelaus, he 'says: 'At [b] the persuasion of Joazar the high-priest, the Jews did generally acquiesce. 'However, Judas the Gaulanite, of the town called Gamala, associating to himself Sadduc a 'pharisee, excited the people to rebellion, telling them that an assessment would bring upon them 'right slavery, and exhorting the whole nation to assert their liberty. The whole nation heard 'their discourses with incredible pleasure. And it is impossible to represent the evils the 'nation has suffered, which were owing to these men: for Judas and Sadduc brought in among 'us this fourth sect: and there being many who embraced their sentiments, they not only 'caused disturbances in the government at that time, but laid the foundation of those evils 'which followed: which indeed are owing to this principle, till then unknown among us.'

He then delivers the character and principles of the three chief and more ancient sects of the Jews, as he calls them: and after that returns again to the men of whom he had been speaking before. 'Judas [c] the Galilean was the leader of the fourth sect. In all other points they 'hold the same sentiments with the pharisees: but they have an invincible affection for liberty, 'and acknowledge God alone their Lord and governor. From that time the nation became in-'fected with this principle: and Florus, by abusing his power when he was governor, threw them 'into despair, and provoked them to rebel against the Romans.'

Those two passages were cited by [d] me formerly; and divers observations were made upon them, which still appear to me not impertinent. But I am unwilling to repeat them here: and I think that, in the connection in which they are now cited by me, it must be apparent from them, without farther remarks, that the nation in general was infected with the doctrine of Judas of Galilee. They had an invincible zeal for liberty, scorned subjection to the Romans, their masters, and took up arms against them. As Capellus says, 'Florus,[e] by his exactions, 'forced them against their consent, or rather drove them who were already disposed to it, and 'wanted no incitement to rebel against the Romans.'

I would now take farther notice of the passage above cited, wherein our Jewish historian says, 'what principally encouraged them to the war was an ambiguous oracle found in their 'sacred writings, that about that time some one from their own country should obtain the empire 'of the world.'

The truth and importance of that observation, as I apprehend, may be confirmed and illustrated by the accounts which Josephus has given of numerous impostors or false prophets, which arose among them about this time, agreeably to our Lord's predictions, as I shall now shew.

'Whilst [f] Fadus was procurator of Judea, a certain impostor, called [g] Theudas, persuaded a 'very great multitude, taking their effects with them, to follow him to the river Jordan: 'assuring them that he was a prophet, and that, causing the river to divide at his command, he 'would give them an easy passage over: by such speeches he deceived many. But Fadus was 'far from suffering them to go on in their madness; for he sent out a troop of horse, who,

[a] De B. l. 6. cap. vi. 2.
[b] Antiq. l. 18, c. i. sect. 1.
[c] Ibid. sect. 6.
[d] Vol. i. p. 119, &c.
[e] Florus, pessimus homo, qui modis omnibus Judæos cum vexaret et opprimeret, cogit vel invitos, aut potius ultro ruentes impulit, adversus Romanos rebellare. L. Capp. Hist. Jud. p. 121.
[f] Ant. l. 20. cap. v. 1.
[g] That Theudas is different from him mentioned by Gamaliel, Acts v. 36, as was shewn formerly, Vol. i. p. 221, &c.

'coming upon them unexpectedly, slew many, and took many prisoners. Theudas himself was 'among the last mentioned. They cut off his head and brought it to Jerusalem. These things 'happened in Judea whilst Cuspius Fadus was procurator.'

Fadus was sent into Judea by the emperor Claudius, after the death of Herod Agrippa. This affair of Theudas therefore must be rightly placed in the year of Christ 45 or 46.

That is transcribed from the twentieth and last book of the Antiquities. In the same book afterwards, in another chapter, in the history of transactions in the time of Nero, Josephus says: 'But[a] affairs in Judea went on continually growing worse and worse. The country was again 'filled with robbers and impostors, who deceived the people; but Felix time after time appre- 'hended and put to death many of them.' A little lower: And[b] indeed, by means of the crimes 'committed by the robbers, the city was filled with all sorts of impiety: and impostors and 'deceivers persuaded the people to follow them into the wilderness; where, as they said, they 'should see manifest wonders and signs performed by the providence of God. And many heark- 'ening unto them, at length suffered the punishment of their folly: for Felix fetched them back 'and punished them. About the same time there came a man out of Egypt to Jerusalem, who 'said he was a prophet: and having persuaded a good number of the meaner sort of people to 'follow him to the mount of Olives, he told them that thence they should see the walls of Jeru- 'salem fall down at his command, and promised through them to give them entrance into the 'city. But Felix being informed of these things, ordered his soldiers to their arms; and, 'marching out of Jerusalem with a large body of horse and foot, he fell upon the Egyptian, and 'killed four hundred of them, and took two hundred prisoners: but the Egyptian getting out of 'the fight escaped.'

This same story is also in The War, with some differences in the numbers, which were con- sidered[c] formerly.

There the account concludes in this manner: 'When[d] they came to engage the Egyptian 'fled, followed by a few only. A large part of those who were with him were either slain or 'taken prisoners. The rest of the multitude, being scattered, shifted for themselves as they 'could.'

This is supposed to have happened in the year of Christ 55.

In the War, in the paragraph preceding his account of the Egyptian impostor, having just before related how Judea then abounded with robbers, called Sicarii, he says: 'Beside[e] them, 'there was another body of wicked men, whose hands indeed were cleaner, but their intentions 'were as impious; who disturbed the happy state of the city no less than those murderers. For 'deceivers and impostors, under a pretence of divine inspiration, aiming at changes and innova- 'tions, made the people mad; and induced them to follow them into the wilderness, pretending 'that God would there give them signs and wonders. Felix judging these proceedings to be no 'less than the beginning of a revolt, sent out his soldiers, both horse and foot, and destroyed 'great numbers of them.'

In the forecited chapter of the twentieth book of the Antiquities, speaking of the robbers in the time of Porcius Festus, about the year of Christ 60, he says that 'he[f] also sent out both 'horse and foot to fall upon those who had been seduced by a certain impostor, who had 'promised them deliverance and freedom from the miseries under which they laboured, if they 'would but follow him into the wilderness. The forces destroyed him that had deceived them, 'and those that followed him.'

Josephus speaks of six thousand who perished in the outer courts of the temple after it had been set on fire. 'The[g] soldiers,' says he, 'set fire to the portico; whereupon some threw 'themselves headlong down the precipice, others perished in the flames: and not one out of so 'great a number escaped. A false prophet was the occasion of the ruin of those people, who on 'that very day had made proclamation in the city, assuring them that God commanded them to 'go up to the temple, where they would receive signs of deliverance. And indeed there were 'then many prophets suborned by the tyrants to impose upon the people, and telling them that 'they ought to wait for help from God.'

And presently after, proceeding to relate the omens and prodigies foresignifying the calamities coming upon the Jewish people, and the city of Jerusalem, which shall be recited by and by, he

[a] Antiq. l. 20. cap. viii. 5. [b] Ib. sect. 6. [c] Ib. sect. 4. [d] De B. J. l. 2, c. xiii. 5. [e] Ant. l. 20. cap. viii. sect. 10. [f] Vol. i. p. 225, &c. [g] De B. J. l. 6, cap. v. sect. 2.

says: 'Impostors,[a] who spake lies in the name of God, deceived this miserable people. They 'neither attended to, nor believed, the manifest signs foresignifying the coming desolation: but 'like infatuated men, who have neither eyes to see, nor minds to perceive, they neglected the 'divine denunciations.'

So truly did our Lord say: "I am come in my Father's name, and ye receive me not. If another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive:" John v. 43.

Our blessed Lord says, Matt. xxiv. 24. "For there will arise false Christs, and false prophets, and will shew great signs and wonders, insomuch that (if it were possible) they will deceive the very elect." But our Lord does not intend to say that any of those false prophets would exhibit or perform great wonders. The original word is δωσουσι, they will give: the same word that is in the Septuagint version of Deut. xiii. 1. "If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and he giveth thee a sign, or a wonder; και δω σοι σημειον η τερας, that is, shall propose, or promise, some sign or wonder, as the sequel shews. Parallel with the text just cited from St. Matthew is Mark xiii. 22. "For false Christs and false prophets will arise, and will shew signs and wonders," the same word again, και δωσουσι σημεια και τερατα, "in order to seduce, if it were possible, even the elect."

The accounts which Josephus has given of the impostors in his time, shew the exact accomplishment of these predictions of our Lord: "They persuaded the people to follow them into the wilderness, where, as they said, they would see manifest signs and wonders, performed by the power of God:" or, assuring them, "that God would there give them signs and wonders:" or, that "they should there receive signs of deliverance," and the like.

The passages of Josephus bear witness to the fulfilment of our Lord's prediction, "that many false prophets would arise, and deceive many." Matt. xxiv. 11.

Our Lord does also say there, at ver. 5. "And many will come in my name saying, I am Christ: and will deceive many." And it is easy to believe that[b] some of the many false prophets did expressly take to themselves that title, though Josephus does not say it. But whether they did or not, our Saviour's predictions are verified in the appearance of those false prophets. 'Jose-'phus,' says[c] archbishop Tillotson, 'mentions several of these; of whom, though he does not 'expressly say that they called themselves the Messias, ye the says that which is equivalent—that 'they undertook to rescue the people from the Roman yoke. Which was the thing which the 'Jews expected the Messias would do for them. And therefore we find that the disciples who 'were going to Emmaus, and knew not that Christ was risen, and were doubtful what to think of 'him, say: "We hoped this had been he that should have redeemed Israel:" that is, they hoped 'this had been the Messias; that being, it seems, a common periphrasis of the Messias, that he 'was "he that was to deliver Israel."' Which is agreeable to a note of[d] Grotius upon the place. All they therefore, who pretended that they were inspired, and sent by God to deliver the Jewish people, were indeed "false Christs." They took upon themselves the character of the Messiah.

We may now readily admit the truth of what Josephus says in the passage transcribed not long ago: 'That what principally excited the Jewish people, the wise men, as he calls them, as 'well as others, to the war with the Romans, was the expectation of a great deliverer to arise 'among them, who should obtain the empire of the world.' This great deliverer was the Messiah. The numerous "false prophets" and "false Christs," of whom Josephus speaks so frequently and so distinctly, are full proofs of it.

The expectation of the coming of the Messiah, about the time of the appearance of Jesus, was universal, and had been so for some[e] while. But with the idea of a prophet, or extraordinary teacher of religion, they had joined also that of a worldly king and conqueror, who should deliver the Jewish people from the burdens under which they laboured, raise them to a state of independence, and bring the nations of the earth into subjection to them, to be ruled and tyrannized over by them; and because our Lord did not perform, nor attempt this, they rejected and crucified him. If he would but have assumed the state and character of an earthly prince, scribes and

[a] Ibid. sect. 3.

[b] See Tillemont Ruine des Juifs, art. 36. A. D. 52.

[c] Vol. 3. p. 552.

[d] Christi nomine populus Judaïcus intelligebat vindicem libertatis. Nam illud, ἡμεις δε ελπιζομεν, ὁτι αυτος εστιν ὁ μελλων λυτρουσθαι τον Ισραηλ, descriptio est nominis Christi. Quare quicumque se missos divinitus liberatores populi Judaïci dicebant, eo ipso Christos se profitebantur, et erant ψευδοχριστοι. &c. Grot. in Matt. xxiv. 5.

[e] Proofs of this, together with divers remarks, may be seen in Vol. i. p. 73, &c.

pharisees, priests and people, would all have joined themselves to him, and have put themselves under his banner. Of this we see many proofs in the gospels. This disposition prevailed to the last. The people therefore, though they had already met with many disappointments, when our Lord entered into Jerusalem, in no greater state than riding upon an ass, accompanied him with loud acclamations, and other tokens of respect, saying: "Hosanna to the son of David. Blessed is the king that cometh in the name of the Lord." And Jesus, our Lord, not assuming then the character of an earthly prince was a fresh disappointment, and left deep resentments; which rendered them susceptible of the worst impressions from the chief priests, and their other rulers. And at their instigation they desired Pilate, the Roman governor, to set Barabbas at liberty, and crucify Jesus. With which clamorous and importunate demand he at length complied, still bearing testimony to the innocence of him whom he unwillingly condemned. The account of St Matthew alone, without any other, will suffice for shewing this amazing transaction: "Pilate saith unto them: What shall I do then with Jesus, who is called Christ? They all say unto him: Let him be crucified. The governor said: Why! what evil has he done? But they cried out the more, saying: Let him be crucified. When Pilate saw that he prevailed nothing, and that rather a tumult was made, he took water and washed his hands before the multitude, saying: I am innocent from the blood of this just person: see ye to it. Then answered all the people: His blood be upon us, and upon our children. Then released he Barabbas unto them. And when he had scourged Jesus, he delivered him to be crucified:" Matt. xxvii. 22—26.

The continued expectation of the Messiah, as a worldly king and conqueror, as we have just seen in Josephus, and their uneasiness under the Roman yoke, were the immediate occasions of their rebelling against the authority to which they were then subject. And the same principles that induced them to reject and crucify Jesus, brought upon them their utter and final ruin.

As the sin of the Jewish people in rejecting and crucifying Jesus, after a life of perfect innocence and consummate virtue, after speaking as no man had done before, and doing works which no other man had done, at Jerusalem, and in every part of the land of Israel; after such preparations as had been made for his reception by the prophets, and by the testimony of John the Baptist, his forerunner; was[a] very great and aggravated: and as they rejected the renewed offers of mercy, and repeated and earnest calls to repentance, made by Christ's apostles, and went on increasing in wickedness; God at length suffered the Romans to come upon them with an armed force, demolished their temple, and made desolate their city, and their whole country, with many circumstances of uncommon and even unparalleled distress. All which having been foreseen and often foretold by the Lord Jesus, in his public discourses; the accomplishment of these predictions, in the event, is an argument of great force in favour of his divine mission, and of his being indeed the Messiah, additional to the excellent doctrine and wonderful works of his ministry.

VIII. Having shewn the occasion and causes of the war, and having also observed the several things foretold by the Lord Jesus, as preceding it, I now proceed to The history of the War itself, collecting it from Josephus, and making my extracts in his own words.

The disturbances still increasing at Jerusalem, and the animosity against Florus being very great, 'Cestius Gallus,[b] president of Syria, judged it not proper for him to lie still any longer; 'he therefore determined to march into Judea: whereupon he took out of Antioch the twelfth 'legion entire, and out of the rest two thousand chosen men, with six cohorts of foot, and four 'troops of horse, beside the auxiliaries which were sent by the kings: of which Antiochus sent 'two thousand horse, and three thousand foot, all archers. Agrippa sent a thousand horse and 'two thousand foot. Sohemus followed with four thousand. He then marched to Ptolemais. 'Agrippa accompanied Cestius as a guide in the journey, and as capable of being useful to him 'in other respects. After he was come thither, Cestius took a part of his army and marched 'hastily to Zabulon, a strong city of Galilee, which separates the country of Ptolemais from our 'nation: that he found destitute of its men, the multitude having fled to the mountains, but full 'of all good things, which he allowed the soldiers to seize as plunder: and he set fire to the 'city, though its buildings were very beautiful, resembling those of Tyre and Sidon, and Berytus. 'After that he overran the neighbouring country, seizing whatever came in his way, and setting

[a] "If ye were blind, ye should have no sin: but now you say, we see, therefore your sin remaineth:" John ix. 41. "If I had not come and spoken to them, they had not had sin: but now they have no cloak for their sin. If I had not done among them the works which no other man did, they had not had sin: but now have they both seen, and hated, both me and my father:" John xv. 22.—24.

[b] De B. J. l. 2. cap. xviii. sect. 9.

'fire to the villages: and then returned to Ptolemais.' At this very time, as Josephus adds in the same paragraph, the Jews found means to destroy about two thousand Syrians at Berytus, and near it, Cestius being at a distance.

'Now[a] Cestius himself marched from Ptolemais, and came to Cæsarea; and then sent part 'of his army before him to Joppa; who coming suddenly upon that people, who were prepared 'neither for flight nor for their own defence, slew them all with their families, and then 'plundered and burnt the city. The number of the slain were eight thousand and four hundred. 'In like manner he sent a number of horse into the toparchy of Narbata, not far from Cæsarea, 'who slew many of the inhabitants, plundered their goods, and set fire to the villages.'

'Now[b] also Cestius sent Gallus, commander of the twelfth legion, into Galilee, where he 'slew more than two thousand.'

'Gallus[c] then returned to Cæsarea, and Cestius moved with his whole army and came to An-'tipatris. Thence he set forward to Lydda, where he found the place empty of men, the people 'being gone up to Jerusalem upon account of the feast of Tabernacles. However, he found 'there fifty men, whom he slew, and burnt the city, and then marched onward; and going up 'by Bethoron, he pitched his camp at Gaba, fifty furlongs from Jerusalem.'

'The[d] Jews, seeing the war approaching to their metropolis, relying upon their numbers, 'went out to fight in a hasty and disorderly manner, even in the time of the festival. But the 'rage which made them forget their religion did also make them superior to their enemies. 'Cestius with his whole army was in danger. Five hundred and fifteen of the Romans were 'slain, whilst the Jews lost only two-and-twenty. The most valiant of the Jews were Monobazus, 'and Kenedæus, related to Monobazus king of the Adiabenes. Next to them were Niger of 'Peréa, and Silas of Babylon, who had deserted from king Agrippa to the Jews, and Simon son 'of Gioras, to be hereafter often mentioned. After that the Jews retired into the city. Cestius 'staid there three days.'

'At[e] this time Agrippa with the consent of Cestius sent to the Jews two ambassadors, Bor-'cæus and Phœbus, men well known to them, with assurances of plenary forgiveness from 'Cestius if they would lay down their arms and submit. But the Jews would not so much as 'receive the ambassadors. Phœbus they fell upon, and slew him, before he had spoken a word. 'Borcæus too was wounded: but he retreated and escaped.'

'Soon[f] after that Cestius moved forward with his whole army, and encamped upon an elevated 'spot of ground called Scopos, [signifying the prospect or watch-tower.] Here he rested three 'days. On the fourth day, which was the thirtieth of October, he brought his army into the 'city. The seditious,' as Josephus calls them, 'were much terrified, and retired from the 'suburbs to the inner part of the city and the temple. Cestius soon set fire to the place called 'Bezetha, or the new city, and to the wood-market. After which he came forward to the upper 'part of the city, and pitched his camp over against the royal palace. And if at that time he 'had attempted to make his way within the walls by force, he would have won the city presently 'and put an end to the war at once. But Tyrannus Priscus, a general in the army, and many 'officers of the horse, who had been corrupted by Florus, diverted him from that design; which 'was the occasion that this war lasted so long, and the Jews were involved in such grievous 'calamities.'

So writes Josephus. And afterwards he says: 'If[g] Cestius had continued the siege a little 'longer he had certainly taken the city. But God, as I think, for the wickedness of the people 'abhorring his own solemnities, suffered not the war to come to an end at that time.'

'Cestius[h] then withdrew from the city. The Jews resumed courage, and went after him; 'and coming upon his rear, destroyed a good number both of horse and foot. That night Cestius 'lay at his former camp, Scopos. As he went farther off the next day, he even invited his 'enemies to pursue him. The Romans suffered greatly. Among the slain were Priscus, com-'mander of the sixth legion, Longinus, a tribune, and Æmilius Secundus, commander of a 'troop of horse. It was not without a great deal of difficulty that they got to Gabao, their 'former camp, and leaving behind their baggage. There Cestius staid two days, and was in 'great perplexity how to proceed. On the third day he judged it expedient to move.'

'That[i] he might march on with the greater expedition, he threw away every thing that

[a] Sect. 10. [b] Ib. sect. 11. [c] Ib. cap. xix. sect. 1. [d] Ib. sect. 2. [e] Ib. sect. 3.
[f] Ib. sect. 4. [g] Sect. 6. [h] Sect. 7. [i] Sect. 8.

'might retard his march. He killed the mules, and the other beasts, excepting only such as 'carried weapons of war; which the Romans kept for their own use, and that they might not 'fall into the hands of the Jews to be afterwards employed against them. In that march they 'met with such difficulties that the Jews were near taking the whole army of Cestius prisoners; 'and would have effected it if night had not come on.'

'In [a] their flight they left behind them many engines for sieges, and for throwing stones, 'and a great part of their other instruments of war. The Jews pursued them as far as Anti-'patris, and then returned, taking up the engines, spoiling the dead bodies, and gathering up 'the prey which the Romans had left behind them. So they came back to their metropolis with 'great rejoicings. They lost but a few men themselves. But they had slain of the Romans and 'their auxiliaries five thousand and three hundred foot, and three hundred and eighty horse. 'These things happened on the eighth day of November, in the twelfth year of the reign of 'Nero.'

'After [b] that calamity had befallen Cestius,' says Josephus, 'many of the most considerable 'of the Jewish people forsook the city, as men do a sinking ship.'

And it is very likely that at this time many of the Christians also withdrew from Jerusalem and Judea. Eusebius says that [c] before the war began the Christians left Jerusalem, and went to a place beyond Jordan called Pella. Epiphanius [d] speaks to the like purpose. Eusebius does not quote any ancient author for what he says: but it might be founded upon tradition, and such as could be relied upon. As he resided near the place he might have satisfactory information of it, and receive the account from the descendants of those Jewish believers.

However, some of them may have gone abroad into the other countries. St. John, as is well known, lived for some time in Asia. When he came thither we cannot say exactly; but probably in the year of Christ 66, or sooner. Some of the Jewish believers might go with him out of Judea, or come to him into Asia afterwards. St. John, in his third epistle, ver. 6, speaks of "strangers" who were under difficulties. Some learned men have supposed that [e] thereby are meant Jewish believers, who had been driven out of Palestine, or had fled from it, induced thereto by the necessity of the times and their fidelity to Christ, and had left their substance behind them.

I think we may reckon it to be certain, or at least highly probable, that none of the faithful disciples of Jesus were shut up in Jerusalem at the siege: and that most of them left it some while before it began, in the year of Christ 66, or thereabouts, or sooner.

Our blessed Lord, speaking of the difficulties of these times, and of the declensions of some of his followers, encourages faithfulness in strong terms: Mark xiii. 13. "And ye shall be hated of all men for my namesake; but he that shall endure unto the end shall be saved." And Luke xxi. 17—19. "And ye shall be hated of all men for my namesake; but there shall not an hair of your head perish. In your patience possess ye your souls." And compare Matt. x. 21, 22. These gracious assurances were now fulfilled. The difficulties which the followers of Jesus met with were very great; and the "love of many waxed cold," and some apostatized to Judaism, to avoid sufferings: nevertheless they gained nothing by it. They joined themselves to the unbelieving part of the nation, and had part with them in the heavy calamities which befell them. But the faithful followers of Jesus, who were steady to their profession, and attended to his predictions concerning coming calamities, and observed the signs of their near approach, escaped, and obtained safety, with only the lesser difficulties of a flight, which was necessary in the time of a general calamity.

The [f] Jews, who had defeated Cestius, upon their return to Jerusalem, appointed governors and commanders for several places. Joseph, son of Gorion, and Ananus the high priest, were chosen to govern the city, and to repair the walls. Josephus, son of Matthias, our historian, was made governor of both the Galilees. Others were sent to other places.

Cestius [g] sent messengers to Nero in Achaia, to give him an account of what had happened, and of the state of affairs in Judea, and to lay the blame of all the disturbances upon Florus.

[a] Ib. sect. 9.

[b] Μετα δε την Κεστιε συμφοραν, πολλοι των επιφανων Ιουδαιων, ωσπερ βαπτιζομενης νεως, απενηχοντο της πολεως. De B. J. l. 2. c. xx. sect. 1.

[c] ——προ τε πολεμε, μεταστηναι της πολεως, και τινα της Περαιας πολιν οικειν——Πελλαν αυτην ονομαζουσιν. H. E. l. 3. c. v. p. 75. A.

[d] H. 29. sect. vii.

[e] See this volume, chap. xx. sect. v.

[f] Ib. c. xx. sect. 3, 4.

[g] Ib. c. xx. sect. 1.

Nero, [a] as Josephus says, was not a little moved at these things, though he dissembled his concern. However, he chose for a general a man of known valour and experience in war, several of whose important services are here mentioned by Josephus, agreeably to the testimony of the Roman [b] authors, who represent Vespasian to have been chosen for this service out of regard to his merit, when upon some accounts he was disagreeable to Nero.

Vespasian [c] sent his own son Titus from Achaia, where he then was, to Alexandria, to fetch thence the fifth and tenth legions. Himself having crossed the Hellespont, went by land into Syria, where he gathered together the Roman forces, and a good number of auxiliaries from the neighbouring princes.

The [d] Jews, elevated by the advantages which they had gained over Cestius, determined to carry the war to a greater distance. Accordingly they marched to Ascalon, a city always at enmity with them, distant from Jerusalem five hundred and fifty furlongs; [more than sixty miles.] Here the Jewish people were defeated in two attacks, losing more than eighteen thousand men, and two of their generals, John the Essene, and Silas the Babylonian. Niger the Periate, the third general, narrowly escaped with his life.

Vespasian, [e] when he arrived at Antioch, the metropolis of Syria, reckoned the third city of the Roman empire for magnitude and dignity, found there Agrippa waiting for him: and taking the whole army with him he soon marched forward to Ptolemais.

Titus, [f] making greater expedition than could have been expected, especially in the winter season, came to his father at Ptolemais, bringing with him the fifth and tenth legions: to which were added the fifteenth legion, and eighteen cohorts. There were also five cohorts from Cæsarea, with one troop of horse, and also five other troops from Syria. There was also a considerable number of auxiliaries from the kings Antiochus [of Comagene] and Agrippa, and Seleucus, and Malchus the Arabian. So that the whole arms of Romans and auxiliaries, horse and foot, amounted to about sixty thousand men, beside servants, whom Josephus represents as far from being useless, according to the Roman discipline.

Thus we have pursued the history to the end of the year 66, and into the beginning of the year 67.

Vespasian [g] staid some while at Ptolemais. However Placidus, who was before sent into Galilee, destroyed many whom he met with in the open countries. He also made an attack upon Jotapata, but was repulsed.

Vespasian [h] leaves Ptolemais, and marcheth with his army in great order into Galilee.

The [i] first place taken by Vespasian was Gadara, which at that time had in it few men of a military age. But he slew all the young people: the Romans, from hatred of the Jews, and resenting the defeat of Cestius, having no mercy on any age. He also set fire to the city, and burnt all the villages and smaller towns round about; making some totally desolate, in others taking some captives.

Josephus [k] leaves Tiberias, and enters Jotapata on the twenty-first day of May.

The [l] next day Vespasian marches to Jotapata, at [m] the siege of which he received a slight wound in one of his feet.

'Whilst [n] Vespasian lay with his army before Jotapata, he sent Trajan, commander of the tenth legion, to Japha, not far off. The place was strong and surrounded by a double wall. A

[a] De B. J. l. 3. c. i. sect. 1, 2.

[b] Missu Neronis, Vespasianus fortunâ famâque, et egregiis ministris, &c. Tacit. Hist. L. v. cap. 10.

Claudio principe, Narcissi gratiâ legatus legionis in Germaniam missus est; inde in Britanniam translatus, tricies cum hoste conflixit.——Peregrinatione Achaïca inter comites Neronis, cum, cantante eo, aut discederet sæpius, aut præsens obdormisceret, gravissimam contraxit offensam. Prohibitusque non contubernio modo, sed etiam publicâ salutatione, secessit in parvam ac deviam civitatem, quoad latenti, etiamque extrema metuenti, provincia cum exercitu oblata est. Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus et constans opinio, esse in fatis, ut eo tempore Judææ profecti rerum potirentur. Id, de Imperatore Romano (quantum eventu postea patuit) prædictum, Judæi ad se trahentes, rebellarunt; cæsoque præposito, legatum insuper Syriæ consularem suppetias ferentem, raptâ aquilâ fugaverunt. Ad hunc motum comprimendum cum exercitu ampliore, et non instrenuo duce, cui tamen tuto tanta res committeretur, opus esset, ipse potissimum delectus est; et, ut industriæ expertæ, nec metuendus ullo modo ob humilitatem generis ac nominis. Additis igitur ad copias duabus legionibus, octo alis, cohortibus decem, atque inter legatos majore filio assumto, ut primum provinciam attigit, proximas quoque convertit in se; correctâ statim castrorum disciplinâ: uno quoque et altero prœlio tam constanter initio, ut in oppugnatione castelli lapidis ictum genu, scuto sagittas aliquot exceperit. Sueton. Vespasian. c. iv.

[c] De B. J. l. 3. c. i. sect. 3.

[d] Ib. c. ii. sect. 1, 2, 3.

[e] Ibid. sect. 4.

[f] Ib. c. iv. n. 2.

[g] L. 3. c. vi. 1.

[h] Ib. n. 2, 3.

[i] Cap. vii. 1.

[k] Sect. 3.

[l] Ib. 4.

[m] Ib. sect. 22.

[n] Ib. sect. 31.

'large number made a sally upon the Romans. Being beaten back they retired within the 'outer wall: but when they came to the inner wall, their fellow-citizens refused to admit them, 'lest the Romans should also force their way in with them. And [a] now,' says Josephus, 'it 'might be seen that God had given up the Galileans to the Romans to be destroyed by their 'cruel enemies. The number of the slain in the distress between the two walls, was twelve 'thousand. Of this Trajan gave information to Vespasian, desiring him to send his son Titus thither, that he might have the honour of completing the conquest.'

'Vespasian, suspecting there might still be some difficulty, sent Titus with five hundred 'horse and a thousand foot. When the place was taken all the people, young and old, were 'destroyed. None were saved excepting the male infants and the women, who were made 'slaves. The number of those who were slain now, and in the former attack, were fifteen 'thousand. The prisoners were two thousand a hundred and thirty. This calamity befell the 'Galileans on the five-and twentieth day of May.'

At [b] the same time the Samaritans got together in a riotous manner at mount Garizim. Whereupon Vespasian sent against them Cerealis, commander of the fifth legion, with six 'hundred horse, and three thousand foot; who slew them all, to the number of eleven thousand and six hundred. This happened on the twenty-fifth day of the month of June.

Now [c] the final attack was made upon Jotapata, which was taken after a siege of forty-seven days. All of every age were slain, except infants and women. The captives were a thousand and two hundred. The number of slain in the last attack, and in the former encounters, was forty thousand. Vespasian ordered the city to be demolished, and set fire to all the castles. Thus *Jotapata* was taken on the first day of July, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero.

I think it may be worth the while to observe here, for shewing the violent and desperate disposition of the Jewish people at this time, 'that [d] in the distress of the last attack, when the 'Romans were got within the walls of Jotapata, many of the people made away with them-'selves, rather than come into the hands of the Romans. Josephus calls them chosen men, who 'were near his person: they could not kill the Romans; and they resolved not to be killed by 'them.'

Undoubtedly my readers recollect here what was taken notice of [e] formerly, which happened presently afterwards, in the cave where [f] Josephus and forty other persons of distinction had hid themselves. And several other like instances may appear hereafter, as we proceed in this history, which ought not to pass unnoticed.

Josephus [g] now came into the hands of the Roman general. He was still a prisoner, and carried a chain: but he had change of apparel given him, and was otherwise well used.

The [h] siege of Jotapata being over, on the fourth of July Vespasian returned to Ptolemais. Thence he went to Cæsarea by the seaside. Here he put two legions, for some while, for their refreshment; but sent the tenth and fifth to Scythopolis, that Cæsarea might not be overburdened.

'In [i] the mean time he sent some of his soldiers, both horse and foot, to Joppa. Which, 'though it had been domolished not long since by Cestius, was repeopled by men who had 'escaped from other cities. Here they built many ships, and exercised a kind of piracy. Upon 'the approach of the Romans, they betook themselves to their ships, which met with a violent 'storm, and were cast away. The number that perished was computed to be four thousand and 'two hundred. Here [k] also some, rather than be drowned, or be cast on the shore, and then be 'killed by the Romans, put an end to their own lives. The place was now entirely demolished. 'However, by Vespasian's direction, a number of horse and foot were left here, with orders to 'destroy the neighbouring villages. So those troops overrun the country, as they were ordered, 'and laid waste the whole region.'

In [l] a short time Vespasian went from Cæsarea before mentioned, to Cæsarea Philippi, to pay

[a] Θεος δ' ην αρα, ὁ Ρωμαιοις τα Γαλιλαιων παθη χαριζομενος. κ. λ. Ibid.

[b] Ibid. p. 32. [c] Sect. 33—35.

[d] Τουτο πολλης και περι τον Ιωσηπον επιλεκτων, επ' αυτοχειριαν παρωξυνε. Καπιδοντες γαρ, ὡς ουδενα των Ρωμαιων ανελειν δυνανται, τοτε μη θελειν αυτοι ὑπο Ρωμαιων προελαβον, και συναθροισθεντες επι τα καταληγοντα της πολεως σφας αυτους ανειλον. Sect. 34. [e] See p. 489.

[f] ——ενθα τεσσαρακοντα μεν των επισημων ανδρας καταλαμβανει λανθανοντας. Ib. c. viii. 1.

[g] Ib. sect. 9. [h] Ibid. cap. 9. sect. 1.

[i] Sect. 2, 3, 4.

[k] Τινες δε, ὡς κηφοτερω, την θαλασσαν εφθασαν, τω σιδηρω σφας αυτους αναιρουντες. Ib. sect. 3.

[l] Ibid. sect. 7.

a compliment to king Agrippa, by whom he had been invited, and by whom he was now entertained twenty days.

Hearing [a] of the revolt of Taricheas, Vespasian sent thither his son Titus. Taricheas [b] was a strong place, and had been fortified by Josephus. The number of people who perished in the several attacks, and in taking the city was six thousand and five hundred.

After [c] which Vespasian sat on his tribunal to consider what should be done with the people that remained. And at length by his order all the old men, and other useless people, to the number of twelve hundred, were slain. Out of the young men he chose six thousand of the strongest, whom he sent to Nero to work at the Isthmus. The rest he sold for slaves, who were in number thirty thousand and four hundred. This was done on the eighth day of September.

The place [d] to which Vespasian went was Gamala. Where he met with great difficulties, and many of the Romans were slain. It was taken at last on the twenty-third day of October. When there was no way of escaping left, many Jews threw their children, their wives, and themselves, from the hill on which the citadel was built, into the deep valley below. The number of those who thus precipitated themselves was computed to be five thousand. The rest amounted to four thousand. For here the Romans spared none, not even infants. None escaped except two women.

To Gischala [e] Vespasian sent Titus: here about six thousand were slain. But John, son of Levi, who had commanded in the place, escaped and got to Jerusalem, with some others: which, [f] as our historian says, was the work of God, who saved John for the destruction of Jerusalem.

'Thus,' says [g] Josephus, 'was all Galilee subdued, after it had cost the Romans much 'labour.'

The [h] next chapter of our author contains an account of the state of things in Jerusalem after John came into it. Where he likewise says: 'At [i] the same time there were disturbances and 'civil wars in every city. And all they who were quiet from the Romans, turned their hands 'one against another. At this time robbers, and others of the worst characters, came into the 'city, where it had been long usual to receive all who came: but their numbers consumed those 'provisions, which might have been of use in a siege.'

They [k] now exercised tyranny over the most considerable men. Antipas, a man of royal lineage, the most potent man in the city, to whom the care of the public treasure had been committed, they laid hold of, and sent to prison: and after him Levias, a man of great distinction, and Sophas, son of Raguel, a man of like eminence, and both of royal lineage. And [l] not thinking themselves safe whilst they were living, they sent some men, of desperate characters, to put them to death in the prison.

Dissensions [m] increasing, there were slain [n] in one night eight thousand and five hundred; and afterwards [o] twelve thousand of the better sort, beside many others. Here also are mentioned by name, as put to death by the zealots, or others, divers men of great eminence, whose deaths our historian laments in pathetic terms: Ananus, [q] the most ancient of the high-priests; Jesus, also high-priest, inferior to Ananus, but yet a person of great eminence; and Zacharias, son of Baruch; different from Zacharias mentioned in Matt. xxiii. 35, and Luke xi. 51, as was shewn in another [q] place.

Soon [r] after this, was put to death by the zealots, Gorion, a man of great eminence for his own virtues, as well as upon account of his family, nor did Niger, the Peraite, escape their hands, though he had been so serviceable to them in this war. 'When [s] they were killing him, 'he uttered this imprecation upon them—that, beside the war, they might undergo famine and 'pestilence, and after that come to the mutual slaughter of each other. All which imprecations 'God ratified against those wicked men. And most justly did they soon after reap the fruit of 'their madness in their mutual dissentions.'

[a] Ib. sect. 7. [b] ——Cap. x. 1—10.
[c] Sect. 10. [d] De B. J. l. 4. cap. 1. sect. 1—10.
[e] Ibid. cap. ii. n. 1—5.
[f] Θεῳ δε ην το εργον, αρα τῳ σωζοντος τον Ιωαννην επι τον των Ἱεροσυλυμων ολεθρον. sect. 3.
[g] Γαλιλαια μεν ουτως ἑαλω πασα, πολλοις ἱδρωσι τροπαιουμενοις Ῥωμαιους. sect. 5.
[h] Ib. cap. 3. [i] Ib. sect. 2, 3.
[k] Sect. 4. [l] Sect. 5.
[m] L. 4. cap. v. Et Conf. cap. iii. sect. 7.
[n] Cap. v. sect. 1.
[o] Μυριοι δε και δισχιλιοι των ευγενων ἑτω διεφθαρησαν. sect. 3. [p] Sect. 2, et 4.
[q] See Vol. i. p. 217. &c.
[r] Ib. cap. vi. sect. 1. [s] Ib. sect. 1.

These [a] things being heard of in the Roman camp, the commanders were for hastening the attack upon the city: but Vespasian, as Josephus says, answered them, that the Jews were not now making armour, nor building walls; but they are every day tearing themselves to pieces by intestine wars and dissentions, and suffer greater miseries than could be inflicted upon them by us, if they were in our hands. And it was the best way to let the Jews destroy one another.

These things we suppose to have happened at the end of the year 67, and the beginning of 68.

'However, Vespasian was not inattentive to affairs, and took care to reduce other places before he went to Jerusalem. He then left Cæsarea for a while, and marched to Gadara, the 'metropolis of Perea,' as Josephus says, 'and entered it on the fourth day of March.'

'After which he returned to Cæsarea, and left Placidus to carry on the war in those parts; 'who [b] took Abila, Julias, and Besemoth, and other smaller cities and villages, as far as the lake 'Asphaltites; insomuch that now all Perea was in the hands of the Romans, excepting 'Macherus. This expedition was very fatal to the Jews. Many of the Jewish people were slain 'by the sword, others were driven into the river Jordan. The number of the slain was not less 'than fifteen thousand, beside two thousand and two hundred which were made captives. And 'Placidus had a rich booty of asses and sheep, camels and oxen. This disaster was equal to any 'that had yet befallen the Jews.'

In the mean time [c] Vespasian with a part of his army went from Cæsarea to Antipatris; where he spent two days in settling the affairs of that city. On the third day he marched on, laying waste and burning all the villages. And when he had laid waste all the places about the toparchy of Thamnas, he passed on to Lydda and Jamnia; and then came to Ammaus. Thence he went to the toparchy of Bethleptephon; and destroying that and other neighbouring places, he slew more than ten thousand, and made captives more than a thousand: and on the second day of the month of July he pitched his camp at Corea, not far from Neapolis, called by the people of the country Mabortha, and then went to Jericho.

Not long afterwards he returned to Cæsarea. And [d] now, when he was getting ready all his forces for the siege of Jerusalem, he hears of the death of Nero, which happened on the tenth of June, in the year of our Lord 68. Wherefore Vespasian for a while put off his intended expedition against Jerusalem, waiting to see to whom this empire would be transferred, and expecting to receive orders from him.

During the remaining part of the year 68 and the year 69, little [e] was done by the Romans in the war against the Jews. They kept garrisons in the places already conquered, and fortified some places: but they made little progress, and the siege of Jerusalem was deferred. This delay was a favourable opportunity for the Jewish people to consider and relent, and make peace with the Romans their enemies, having first repented of their sins, and humbled themselves before God: but nothing of that kind came to pass. They went on in their old way, quarrelling among themselves, and forming parties, weakening themselves by divisions and contentions, and thereby hastening their ruin.

Our Lord foresaw this, as appears from the terms of all his predictions concerning them. He foresaw that nothing would reclaim them, after his own teachings had failed of the effect. "When he was come near he beheld the city, and wept over it, saying: If thou hadst known, even thou, in this thy day the things that belong to thy peace; but now they are hid from thine eyes: for the days will come upon thee that thy enemies shall compass thee round, and lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee, because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation:" Luke xix. 41—44. He would still send among them prophets, wise men, and scribes, his apostles and evangelists; but they would not hearken to them. They would reject their message, and abuse them: Matt. xxiii. 34.

At [f] this time, says Josephus, a new war began at Jerusalem. And Simon, son of Gioras, who for a while had been troublesome to the people there by his furious attacks upon the place, was admitted [g] into the city in the month of April, near the end of the third year of the war.

On the third day of July, in the year of our Lord 69, Vespasian was proclaimed emperor [h]

[a] Ib. sect. 2. [b] L. 4. cap. vii. [f] Επανιστανται δε αλλος τοις Ιεροσολυμοις πολεμος. L. 4. c. ix. sect. 3. in.
[c] Ib. cap. viii. 1. [d] Ib. cap. ix. 1, 2. [g] Cap. ix. sect. 12. [h] Ib. cap. x.
[e] Nihil hoc anno alicujus momenti in Judæâ gestum. Pagi ann. 69. n. xiii.

by the Roman army in Judea; as [a] he had been proclaimed on the first day of the same month at Alexandria; which day was reckoned the beginning of his reign.

And may we not be allowed to suppose that Vespasian and Titus were thus advanced by way of recompense for their services, as instruments in the hand of Providence of inflicting that punishment upon the Jewish people which their crying sins deserved, and thus accomplishing the predictions concerning it? We cannot say that they were truly virtuous; but they were persons of great eminence, and many abilities: and they had a more social and benevolent disposition than many others. Titus in particular is represented by Roman authors as a man of a very amiable [b] character. And Josephus, who was present with him in the war, often says that he unwillingly treated the Jewish people so severely as he did, and that he often made them offers of mercy, if they would lay down their arms, and accept of reasonable terms.

Vespasian, [c] not long after this, went to Alexandria, and thence to Rome, leaving his son Titus to carry on the war in Judea.

Vespasian staid some months at Alexandria, waiting for a fair wind and good weather, or upon account of some political views and considerations. Several extraordinary things are related to have happened during his stay there, which are related very briefly by [d] Dion Cassius, more particularly by [e] Suetonius, and still more prolixly by [f] Tacitus.

'Two men of low rank at Alexandria, one of them blind, the other lame in one of his hands, 'came both together to him in a humble manner, saying that they had been in a dream admo-'nished by the god Serapis to apply to him for cure of their disorders; which they were assured 'might be done for the one, if he would be pleased to anoint his eyes and face with his spittle, 'and for the other, if he would vouchsafe to tread upon his hand. Vespasian, as it is said, hesitated 'for a while. However, the physicians having been consulted, they gave their opinion that the 'organs of sight were not destroyed in the blind man, and that sight might be restored if 'obstacles were removed; and that the other's hand was only disjointed, and with proper 'remedies might be set right again. At length, moved by the entreaties of the distempered 'persons, and encouraged by the flatteries of those about him, Vespasian performed what had 'been desired, and the effect was answerable; one of them presently recovered the use of his 'hands, and the other his sight.'

I do not see reason to believe that any miracle was now wrought. It was a contrivance between Vespasian and his friends and favourites. Nor [g] could it be safe for any to examine and make remarks upon an event, which an emperor and his favourites recommended to public belief.

Suetonius has accounted for these stories in the introduction to his narration, saying, that 'somewhat was wanting to give dignity and authority to a new chosen emperor.' And at the

[a] Initium ferendi ad Vespasianum Imperii Alexandriæ cœptum, festinante Tiberio Alexandro, qui Kal. Jul. sacramento ejus legiones adegit. Isque primus principatus dies in posterum celebratus, quamvis Judaicus exercitus v. nonas Jul. apud ipsum jurâsset, eo ardore, ut ne Titus quidem filius exspectaretur, Syriâ remeans, et consiliorum inter Municianum et patrem nuntius. Tacit. Hist. 2. cap. 79. Conf. Sueton. Vespasian. cap. 6. Vid. et pagi, ann. 69. n. vii. et Basnag. ann. 69. n. xxi.

[b] Titus, cognomento paterno, amor ac deliciæ humani generis. Sueton. Tit. cap. i.

[c] Jos. de B. J. l. 4. cap. xi.

[d] Dio. l. 66. n. 8. p. 1082.

[e] Auctoritas et quasi majestas quædam, ut scilicet inopinato et adhuc novo principi, deerat: hæc quoque accessit. E plebe quidam luminibus orbatus, item alius debili crure, sedentem pro tribunali pariter adierunt, orantes opem valetudinis, demonstratam a Serapide per quietem, restituturum oculos, si inspuisset; confirmaturum crus, si dignaretur calce contingere. Cum vix fides esset rem ullo modo successuram, ideoque ne experiri quidem auderet; extremo, hortantibus amicis, palam pro concione utrumque tentavit, nec eventus defuit. Sueton. Vespas. cap. vii.

[f] Per eos menses, quibus Vespasianus Alexandriæ statos æstivis flatibus dies, et certa maris operiebatur, multa miracula evenere, quis cœlestis favor et quædam in Vespasianum inclinatio numinum ostenderetur. Ex plebe Alexandrinâ quidam, oculorum tabe notus, genua ejus advolvitur, remedium cœcitatis exposcens gemitu; monitu Serapidis dei, quem dedita superstitionibus gens ante alios colit. Precabaturque principem, ut genas et oculorum orbes dignaretur respergere oris excremento. Alius manu æger, eodem deo auctore, ut pede ac vestigio Cæsaris calcaretur, orabat. Vespasianus primo irridere, aspernari; atque, illis instantibus, modo famam vanitatis metuere, modo obsecratione ipsorum, et vocibus adulantium, in spem induci: postremo æstimari a medicis jubet, an talis cœcitas ac debilitas ope humanâ superabiles forent. Medici varie differere: Huic non exesam vim luminis, et redituram, si pellerentur obstantia; illi illapsos in pravum artus, si salubris vis adhibeatur, posse integrari. . . Igitur Vespasianus cuncta fortunæ suæ parere ratus, nec quidquam ultra incredibile, læto ipse vultu, erectâ quæ astabat multitudine, jussa exsequitur. Statim conversa ad usum manus, ac cœco reluxit dies. Utrumque, qui interfuere, nunc quoque memorant, postquam nullum mendacio pretium. Tacit. Hist. 4. cap. 81.

[g] Ad rei ipsius veritatem quod adtinet, non facile adfirmantibus credere licet, cum vix tutum esset id negare, quo Imperatori obsequentiores Ægyptii, et quod proinde intererat Imperatoris, verum videri. Fraudes ejus retegere, qui fallere vult, et omnibus Reipublicæ copiis instructus est, nunquam tutum fuit, &c. Cleric. Ann. 138. n. iii.

beginning of his life of Vespasian, he observes, that 'the [a] Flavian family was not renowned for 'its antiquity.' And it is easy for any to discern, from several things said by Suetonius and Tacitus, that Vespasian was very willing to encourage the belief of extraordinary things concerning himself.

I think that what [b] Spartian writes of some miracles ascribed to Adrian may illustrate this history: and therefore I have transcribed him below very largely. Spartian lets us know that Marius Maximus, who before him had written the life of Adrian, and some other emperors, said those miracles were mere fictions. And says the learned and judicious Reimar, in his notes upon Dion Cassius: 'Nor [c] ought we to form any other judgment of the miracles ascribed 'to Vespasian.' And perhaps it may deserve notice, that, notwithstanding such fine things were ascribed to Vespasian, Dion presently afterwards says 'he [d] was not at all acceptable to 'the Alexandrians; but they hated him, and ridiculed and reproached him both in public and 'private.'

However, Crevier's observation is to this effect: 'At [e] the same time we ought carefully to 'observe that these disorders, which Vespasian cured, were not of an incurable nature: and 'consequently we are at liberty to think that the healing them did not exceed the power of the 'dæmon.' And indeed popish saints and heathen dæmons are much alike: nor is there any great difference between heathen and popish credulity.

I cannot forbear to take notice of one remarkable history in this [f] reign. Sabinus [g] in Gaul engaged with some others in a revolt from the Romans, but was soon defeated. He might then have escaped into Germany; but affection for his wife, the best of women, whom he could not carry with him, led him into another scheme, which he communicated to two only of his freedmen, in whom he could confide. His country-house was burnt down, and he was supposed to have perished in the flames: but really he retired into a large subterraneous cavern, which he had near it. It was universally believed that he had made away with himself: and his wife Epponina abandoned herself to all the excesses of grief, and for three days and three nights refused to take any sustenance. Sabinus hearing of it, and dreading the consequences, sent one of his freedmen to her, to assure her of his life, and to advise her to keep up the appearance of a mourner, still avoiding extremities. Afterwards she had access to him, and bore two children, of which she delivered herself in the cavern. By various artful pretences, and the faithfulness of friends, the truth was kept secret, and Sabinus lay concealed nine years: in which interval there were once some hopes of obtaining the emperor's pardon; and Epponina had Sabinus to Rome, so disguised that none knew him. But, being disappointed in those expectations, they returned to the place of their retreat. At length [h] Sabinus was discovered. He, and Epponina, and their two sons, were brought before Vespasian. She behaved with becoming firmness, yet endeavoured to move the emperor's pity. Presenting her two sons to him: 'These,' says she, 'Cæsar, I have brought forth, and nursed in the cavern, that I might increase the 'number of your supplicants.' And, as is said, neither the emperor himself, nor any others with him, could refrain from tears. However, perceiving that he did not yield, she then upbraided him; and told him she had lived more happily in the darkness of a cave than he upon his throne. Sabinus and his wife were condemned, but the children were spared. Plutarch says, 'that thereby [i] Vespasian provoked the vengeance of heaven, and brought upon 'himself the extinction of his family. It was,' says he, 'the most tragical action of that reign;

[a] Imperium suscepit, firmavitque tandem gens Flavia, obscura illa quidem, ac sine ullis majorum imaginibus. Vespasian. cap. i.

[b] Eâ tempestate supervenit quædam mulier, quæ diceret, somnio se monitam, ut insinuaret Adriano, ne se occideret, quod esset bene valiturus: quod cum non fecisset, esse cœcatam: jussam tamen iterum Adriano eadem diceret, atque genua ejus oscularetur, receptura visum, si id fecisset. Quod cum insomnium implêsset, oculos recepit, quum aquâ quæ in fano erat, ex quo venerat, oculos abluisset. Venit et de Pannoniâ quidam natus cœcus ad febrientem Adrianum, eumque contigit; quo facto et ipso oculos recepit, et Adrianum febris reliquit: quamvis Marius Maximus hæc per simulationem facta commemoret. Spartian. Hadrian. cap. 25.

[c] Sed Marius Maximus hæc per simulationem facta commemorat. Ita diserte Spartianus, Hadr. c. 25. Nec aliter de Vespasiani miraculis existimandum. Reimar. in Dion Cass. l. 66. sect. 50. p. 1083.

[d] Το μεν θειον τετοις αυτον εσεμνυνεν. Ου μεντοι και Αλεξανδρεις εχαιρον αυτω, αλλα και παυ ηχθοντο. κ. λ. Dio. p. 1082.

[e] Hist. of the Rom. Emp. Vol. 6. p. 32.

[f] See Tillem. Vespasian. art. vi. et xvii. Crevier's Hist. of the Roman Emperors, Vol. vi. p. 103, 104.

[g] Fusi Lingones. Sabinus festinatum temere prœlium pari formidine deseruit. Utque famam exitii sui faceret, villam, in quam perfugerat, cremavit; illic voluntariâ morte interisse creditus. Sed quibus artibus latebrisque vitam per novem annos traduxerit, simul amicorum ejus constantiam, et insigne Epponinæ uxoris exemplum, suo loco reddemus. Tacit. Hist. 4. cap. 67.

[h] Dio. l. 66. p. 1090.

[i] Erot. sub fin.

'a thing which neither gods nor dæmons could bear the sight of.' Indeed, not only he, but Tacitus and Dion shew a dislike of that action. But we have not Tacitus's conclusion of the story, he having deferred it to a following book, which is now wanting. It must appear a little strange, that a general and his wife should be put to death nine years after a disturbance had been suppressed, and which had no bad consequences. When likewise, of the two remaining rebels and tyrants at Jerusalem, one only was condemned to death, and the other to perpetual imprisonment. Vespasian did not live long after this. We now proceed in our history.

About [a] this time the Jews became divided into three parties, or factions; the leaders of which were John, Eleazar, and Simon; by whom the city, and every part of it, and the temple itself, were filled with slaughter and bloodshed. This happened, as [b] Josephus expressly says, whilst Titus was with his father at Alexandria, and must therefore be rightly placed by us in the year 69, and perhaps not far from the end of it. 'So,' as the same writer says, 'one faction fought 'against the other: which [c] partition in evil cases may be said to be a good thing, and the effect 'of divine justice.'

Eleazar [d] had the temple, John was below him in the city, Simon had the upper part of the city. Simon [e] had with him ten thousand, beside the Idumeans: his own men had fifty commanders, of which he was supreme. The Idumeans that joined with him were five thousand, and had ten commanders. With Eleazar were two thousand and five hundred of the zealots. John had six thousand armed men under twenty commanders; but soon after the beginning of the siege these two parties united into one; after which there were but two factions, John's and Simon's.

'But before that union, whilst they were in three parties, out of spite to each other, as it 'seems, they set fire [f] to several storehouses that were full of corn and other provisions; as if 'they had done it on purpose to serve the Romans: destroying what had been sufficient for a 'siege of many years. So they were taken with the famine; which could not have been, if they 'had not by this means have brought it on themselves.' So says our Jewish historian.

Titus [g] now leaves Alexandria, and comes to Cæsarea, designing to move forward to Jerusalem, and lay siege to it, having with him an army of about sixty thousand men, Romans and auxiliaries. He [h] pitched his camp at the place called Scopus; making however two other encampments at a small distance, one of which was on the Mount of Olives. He [i] presented himself before the city about the time of Passover, which was on the fourteenth day of the month of April, in the year of Christ 70: here he met with difficulties at the first, as the Jews made furious sallies upon his army; some of his soldiers were put by them into disorder, and suffered very considerably.

The [k] city of Jerusalem was surrounded by three walls, excepting in such parts where were deep vallies, which rendered the place inaccessible: there it had but one wall. On [l] the fifteenth day of the siege, which was the seventh day of May, the Romans got possession of the first wall, and demolished a great part of it. Titus [m] then encamped within the city, in a place called the Assyrian's camp. On [n] the fifth day after that, he got possession of the second wall, but was repulsed, and beat out of it again. 'Whereupon those Jews, who were armed, and were the 'fighting men,' as our historian says, 'were much elevated, persuading themselves that the 'Romans could never conquer the city: for [o] God had blinded their minds for the transgressions 'which they had been guilty of, so that they did not consider the superior force of the Romans, 'nor discern how the famine was creeping in upon them; for hitherto they had fed themselves 'out of the public distresses, and drank the blood of the city. But poverty was now become 'the lot of many good men, and a great many had already perished for want of necessaries: but 'they supposed the destruction of the meaner people to be a benefit to them.' However, Titus renewed the attack. The Jews defended themselves resolutely for three days: but on the fourth

[a] L. 5. cap. i. sect. 1. [b] Ibid.

[c] ὅπερ αν τις, ὢν εν κακοις, αγαθον ειποι, και δικης εργον. Ibid. [d] Ib. sect. 2, 3.

[e] L. 5. cap. vi. 1. Vid. et cap. iii. 1.

[f] ——ὑπεμπιπρα τας οικιας σιτω μεστας, και παντοδαπων επιτηδειων——καταλαηναι δε πλην ολιγα παντα τον σιτον, ὁς αν αυτοις ηκ επ' ολιγα διηρκεσεν ετη πολιορκουμενοις. Λιμω γαν ἑαλωσαν, ὑπερ ἡκιστα δυνατον ην, ει μη τουτον ἑαυτοις προπαρεσκευασαν. L. 5. cap. 1. sect. 4.

[g] De B. J. l. 4. cap. xi. n. 5. L. 5. cap. i. et cap. ii. 1.

[h] Cap. ii. sect. 3. [i] Cap. iii. 1.

[k] L. 5. cap. iv. [l] ——cap. vii. sect. 2.

[m] ——ib. sect. 3. [n] Cap. viii. sect. 1, 2.

[o] Επεσκοτει γαρ αυτων ταις γνωμαις δια τας παρανομιας ὁ Θεος. κ. λ. ib. sect. 2.

day he again became master of that wall; and then he demolished all that part which lay to the north, and fortified the south side with towers, and placed soldiers in them; and then considered how he might attack the third and inmost wall.

Now Titus thought fit to relax the siege for a while, in order to ease the soldiers, and to pay them subsistence-money, as also to see whether the Jews would relent, and make some proposals for surrendering, that he might shew them mercy.

Moreover Josephus, [b] by order of Titus, took this opportunity to address the Jews in a pathetic discourse: having sought out a place to stand in, where he might be heard, and be in safety. In that speech he entreats the Jews to save themselves, their temple, and their country, and tells them that they were fighting against God.

'Moreover,' says he, 'as for Titus, those springs which were almost dried up when they 'were in your power, since his coming they run more plentifully than they did before; accordingly, you know that Siloam, as well as all the other springs about the city, did so far fail, that 'water was sold in pitchers; whereas they now have such a quantity for your enemies, as 'is sufficient for themselves, and for their cattle, and for watering gardens. The same wonderful sign you had experience of formerly, when the aforementioned king of Babylon made war 'against us, who took this city, and burnt the temple; though [c] the men of that time, I believe, 'were far from being such transgressors as you are.'

With regard to that particular, the flowing of the springs without the city in the time of the king of Babylon, Mr. Whiston says in a marginal note upon the place: 'The history of this is 'now wanting elsewhere.'

Four days were spent in that relaxation. On the fifth day, when no offers of peace came from the Jews, Titus began to raise new banks at several places.

'The [d] famine now began to be very severe; and with the famine increased also the madness 'of the seditious' [as Josephus calls them, meaning John and Simon, and the officers under them]. 'There could no corn appear publicly any where, but those robbers came running for 'it: they also searched private houses; if they found any corn, they tormented the people, 'because they had denied it; if they found none, they tormented them nevertheless, because they 'supposed the people had concealed it.'

Here [e] Josephus enlargeth upon the miseries of the people, and the great wickedness of their present governors. 'But,' says he, 'it is impossible to enumerate every instance of the iniquity 'of those men: but, in a word, never did any city suffer so great calamities; nor was there ever 'from the beginning of the world, any time more fruitful of wickedness than that——These 'were the men who overthrew the city, and compelled the Romans unwillingly to gain a disagreeable victory. They did little less than throw fire upon the temple, and seemed to think 'it came too slowly.'

'At [f] this time many came out of the city to seek for food, or with a view of making an 'escape, who were apprehended by the Romans, and crucified before the walls; and many of 'them were scourged before they were crucified. This seemed to Titus very grievous; for 'five hundred Jews were taken in a day, and sometimes more; nevertheless he allowed of it. To 'dismiss them and let them go off, would not have been safe; nor could he spare men enough 'to keep guard upon so many. Moreover, he hoped that the sight of these miserable objects 'might dispose them in the city to think of surrendering. The soldiers, out of anger, and hatred 'of the Jews, hung them upon the crosses, some one way, some another, as it were in jest; and so 'great was the number, that room was wanting for crosses, and crosses were wanting for bodies.'

'Now [g] also Titus ordered the hands of some of them that had come out of the city to be 'cut off; and then he sent them back, to let the people within the city know that henceforward 'he should carry on the siege with vigour; however still wishing them to repent and not compel 'him to destroy their city, and their admired temple. But they who stood upon the wall re'turned reproaches upon him, and upon his father Vespasian, telling him that death was better 'than slavery, and that so long as they had breath they would do the Romans all the harm they 'could. As for the temple, they believed it would be preserved by him who inhabited it: 'having him for their helper, they despised all his threatenings; for the event depended upon 'God only.'

[a] L. 5. cap. ix. sect. 1. [b] Sect. 3, 4. [c] ——οὐδεν οιμαι των τοτε ησεβηκοτων τηλικουτον ἡλικα ὑμεις. Ib. sect. 4. p. 350. Havere. [d] L. 5. cap. x. sect. 1, 2. [e] Cap. x. sect. 4, 5. [f] Cap. xi sect. 1. [g] Ib. sect. 5.

The[a] Romans were employed in raising batteries: but though they had begun to raise them on the twelfth day of May, they had much ado to finish them by the twenty-ninth day of the same month, after having laboured hard for seventeen days successively: in which time however four batteries were completed.

But John found means to undermine them: so that they fell down all at once, causing great confusion among the Romans; and after that, Simon and his men made a furious sally upon the Romans.

The Roman army was greatly discouraged to see their batteries ruined in one hour, which had cost them so much labour: and many despaired, thinking it impossible to take the city with the usual engines of war.

Titus[b] consulted with his officers what might be fit to be done: at length it was determined to encompass the city with a wall; which was completed in three days, with towers at proper distances to place soldiers in as garrisons.

Our blessed Lord says, Luke xix. 43: "For the days will come upon thee, that thy enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side." Some think that this prophecy was now particularly fulfilled in the building of the wall here mentioned by Josephus: others may suppose that it had it's accomplishment when the Romans laid siege to the city of Jerusalem and encompassed it with an army.

'The[c] famine now increasing, it devoured whole houses. For a while they, who had no 'relations to take care of them, were buried at the public expense: afterwards the dead were 'thrown over the wall into the ditch.

'When[d] Titus, in going his rounds near the vallies below the walls, saw the dead bodies, and 'the putrefaction issuing for them, he fetched a deep sigh; and, lifting up his hands to heaven, 'called God to witness that this was not his doing.' However, he proposed erecting new platforms, which was a difficult work, as all the timber near the city was already consumed, and it was now to be fetched from a great distance.

In the next chapter[e] Josephus relates the death of Matthias, son of Boethus, one of the high-priests, and several other persons of eminence, and divers others, who were slaughtered by order of Simon in a most shameful manner. Matthias was the person who had advised the admitting of Simon into the city, contrary to the inclinations of many others. Matthias had four sons, one of which had saved himself by getting away to Titus; the other three were all put to death together with their father; but with this express order from Simon—that the sons should be first slain before the eyes of their father; nor was burial allowed to them. The execution was committed by Simon to Ananus, son of Bamadus, the most barbarous man of his guards. After them were slain Ananias a priest, and Aristeas, scribe of the Sanhedrim, and fifteen other men of eminence among the people. They also slew such as made lamentation for these persons, without farther examination.

'Many[f] did still find means to get out of the city: some leaped down from the wall, others 'went out of the city with stones in their hands, as if they were going to fight with the Romans: 'but most of them died miserably. Some perished by excessive eating upon empty stomachs. 'Moreover some of them had swallowed gold, and were detected afterwards in searching for it 'in their excrements. This having been observed in a few instances excited the avarice of the 'soldiers, who concluded that all the deserters were full of gold; they therefore cut up their 'bellies and searched their entrails. In this way,' as Josephus says, 'there perished two thou-'sand in one night. Nor does it seem to me that any misery befell the Jews more terrible than 'this.'

'When Titus heard of it he was greatly displeased; especially when he found that not only 'the Syrians and Arabians had practised this cruelty, but the Romans likewise: he therefore 'gave orders that all, who for the future acted in that manner, should be put to death; but the 'love of money prevailed against the dread of punishment: and indeed it was God who had con-'demned the whole nation, and defeated every method taken for their preservation.'

About[g] this time John melted down many of the sacred utensils in the temple to make use of them as instruments of war. He also distributed the sacred wine and oil for common use to persons who, in drinking and anointing themselves, wasted them in a profuse manner.

'But[h] why do I stay to relate particularly these several calamities? for at this time Mannæus

[a] Sect. 4. [b] Cap. xii. sect. 1, 2. [c] Sect. 3. [d] Sect. 4. [e] Cap. xiii. sect. 1.
[f] Sect. 4, 5. [g] Sect. 6. [h] Sect. 7.

'son of Lazarus, fled out of the city, and came to Titus; and told him that through the one 'gate, which had been intrusted to his care, there had been no fewer than a hundred and fifteen 'thousand eight hundred and eighty dead bodies, from the day that the Romans encamped near 'the city, the fourteenth day of the month of April, to the first day of July. That was a pro-'digious number! The man was not a governor at the gate, but he was appointed to pay the 'public allowance for carrying the bodies out, and therefore was obliged to number them. Others 'were buried by their relations, though their burial was no other than to bring them and cast 'them out of the city. After that man there came to Titus several other deserters of good con-'dition, who told him that the whole number of the poor, who had been thrown out at the gates, 'was not less than six hundred thousand: the number of the rest could not be exactly known. 'They farther told him that, when they were no longer able to carry out the dead bodies of the 'poor, they laid them in heaps in large houses, and then shut them up. They likewise said that 'a measure of wheat had been sold for a talent: and that afterwards, when it had been impossible 'to come out to gather herbs, because the city was encompassed with a wall, some were driven 'to such distress, as to search the common shores and old dunghills of cattle, and to eat the 'dung which they found there; and that what they could not before endure to see, they now 'made use of for food. When the Romans heard of these things, they commiserated their case: 'but the seditious, who saw them, did not repent till the same distress reached themselves; for[a] 'they were blinded by that fate which was coming upon the city and themselves.'

There ends the fifth book of our author's history of the Jewish war. The sixth book contains the progress of the siege, and the miseries of the people, till the city was taken by Titus.

The[b] Roman batteries are now raised at the end of one-and-twenty days hard labour, and the miseries of the city increase. The Romans begin to batter upon the walls of the tower called Antonia: the Jews make a vigorous defence: but the Romans gained possession of it about the middle of July.

'Titus[c] thereupon ordered his soldiers to dig up the foundations of the tower Antonia, to 'make way for him to come up with his whole army: and being informed that on that very day 'the seventeenth of July, the daily sacrifice had failed, and that it had not been offered up for 'want of men, and that the people were greatly concerned at it, he sent for Josephus, and com-'manded him to say to John the same things that had been said before. Accordingly Josephus 'sought for a proper place to stand in; and in the name of Titus himself earnestly exhorted 'John, and those that were with him, to spare their own country, and to prevent that fire which 'was ready to seize upon the temple, and to offer to God therein their usual sacrifices. But John 'cast many reproaches upon Josephus, with imprecations; adding withal, that[d] he did not fear 'the city should ever be taken, which was God's own city: after which Josephus went on with 'a pathetic speech, which, though it did not persuade John and his adherents, was not altogether 'without effect.'

And[e] some, watching for an opportunity, fled to the Romans; of whom were the high priests Joseph and Jesus, and of sons of high-priests three, and four sons of Matthias, as well as one son of the other Matthias, formerly mentioned, who with three his sons had been killed by order of Simon, son of Gioras; and many others of the nobility: all of whom Titus received very kindly, and sent them to Gophna, a small city, where they might live quietly, following their own customs; which offer they cheerfully accepted: but as they did not appear, the seditious within the city gave out that those men had been slain by the Romans. It was in vain therefore, they said, for any to go over to the Romans, unless they were willing to be put to death.

Titus[f] therefore sent for those men from Gophna, and let them go round near the wall with Josephus, to assure the people that they might come over to him with safety.

If all this be true, as Josephus writes, it is a proof of the good temper of Titus. Moreover, the Romans were now pushing their conquests upon the temple itself, which Titus seems unwilling to have destroyed.

'And,'[g] as Josephus adds, 'Titus was much affected with the present state of things, and 'reproached John and those with him: reminding them of the regard which had been shewn to 'the temple by the Romans, who had allowed them to erect in the courts of it a partition wall,

[a] Πεπληρωντο γαρ ὑπο της χρεων, ὁ τητε πολει και αυτοις ηδη παρην.

[b] L. 6. cap. i. sect. 1.. 8.

[c] Cap. ii. sect. 1.

[d] ... ὡς εκ αν ποτε δεισειεν ἁλωσιν, Θεου γαρ ὑπαρχειν την πολιν.

[e] Ibid. cap. ii. sect. 2.

[f] Ibid. sect. 3.

[g] Sect. 4.

'with inscriptions in Greek, forbidding all foreigners to enter within those limits, and allowing 'them to kill such as did so, though they were Romans. I call to witness,' says he, 'the gods 'of the country, and every god, who ever had a regard to this place; (for I do not now suppose 'it to be regarded by any of them;) I also call to witness my own army, and the Jews who are 'with me, and your own selves, that I do not compel you to pollute your sanctuary: and if you 'will change the place of combat, no Roman shall come near it; for I will endeavour to preserve 'your temple whether you will or not.'

[a] Such things were spoken by Titus, and by Josephus after him in Hebrew, to John and the rest with him; but they perverted it, as if all these fine offers proceeded from fearfulness, and not from any good will to them.

Titus [b] therefore proceeded in his attacks. His soldiers fought with the Jews at the temple, whilst he continued on the higher ground in Antonia to observe their conduct.

They [c] had now made a broad way from the tower of Antonia to the temple, and began to play on the temple with their battering engines.

The [d] fight was very desperate. A cloister near Antonia was set on fire. On the twenty-fourth day of July the Romans set fire to another cloister, when the fire proceeded fifteen cubits farther.

'Whilst [e] the Jews and Romans were thus fighting at the temple, the famine prevailed in the 'city, till at length they did not abstain from girdles and shoes. The very leather that belonged 'to shields they took off and gnawed. Wisps of old straw became food to them.'

At [f] this time a woman named Mary, of a good family beyond Jordan, who had fled from her native place to Jerusalem, to avoid the inconveniences of the war in the open country, when all she had brought with her was consumed, or taken from her by the rapaciousness of the tyrants and their adherents, was reduced to such extremity that she killed her sucking child, and dressed it for food.

On [g] the eighth day of the month of August the Roman batteries were completed, and Titus ordered the batteries to play upon the temple. The battle between the Jews and Romans was very desperate.

'Titus [h] retired to the tower of Antonia, and resolved the next day early in the morning to 'storm the temple with his whole army, and to encamp about it. But certainly the divine 'sentence had long since condemned it to the fire: and now the fatal day was come, according 'to the revolution of ages: it was the tenth day of the month August, the same day upon which 'it had been formerly burnt by the king of Babylon.'

'The [i] temple was now on fire: nevertheless Titus, still desirous to save it, if possible, came 'near and went into the sanctuary of the temple with his commanders, and saw it, with what was 'in it: which he found to be far superior to the accounts of foreigners, and not inferior to our 'boastings and persuasion concerning it.'

As [k] the fire had not yet reached the inner parts of the temple, Titus gave fresh orders for extinguishing the fire, and preserving the temple; but to no purpose: such was the enmity of the soldiers against the Jews; filled also with the hopes of plunder, and now animated with the rage of war.

'Nor [l] can we forbear to wonder at the accuracy of the period: for this happened, as before 'said, in the same month, and day of the month, in which the temple had been burnt by the 'Babylonians. And the number of years, from it's first foundation by King Solomon to this its 'destruction in the second year of Vespasian, are collected to be one thousand and thirty, and 'seven months, and fifteen days. And from its second building by Haggai, in the second year 'of king Cyrus, to it's destruction by Vespasian, there were six hundred and thirty-nine years, 'and forty-five days.'

Whilst [m] the temple was burning, every thing was plundered that came to hand, and ten thousand of those who were caught, were slain: nor was there any regard had to age or condition; but children and old men, profane persons and priests, were all slain in the same manner.

'At [n] this time the treasury chambers were burnt, where was an immense quantity of money, 'and an immense number of garments, with other precious things: for there it was that the riches 'of the Jews were heaped up. The soldiers also came to the rest of the cloisters in the outer 'court, where were women and children and a mixed multitude of people, to the number of six

[a] Sect. 5. [b] Sect. 5, 6. [c] Sect. 7. [d] Sect. 8, 9. [e] Cap. iii. Sect. 3. [f] Sect. 4.
[g] Cap. iv. sect. 1. [h] Sect. 5. [i] Sect. 7. [k] Ibid. [l] Sect. 8. [m] Cap. v. Sect. 1. [n] Sect. 2.

'thousand: and before Cæsar had given any orders about it, the soldiers in a rage set fire to the 'cloister. Nor did any one of that multitude escape with his life. A false prophet was the occa- 'sion of their destruction; who that very day had made proclamation in the city that God 'commanded them to go up to the temple, where they would receive signs of deliverance. And 'indeed there was then a great number of false prophets suborned by the leaders of the faction, 'to impose upon the people, who told them that they should wait for deliverance from God.'

'Thus,'[a] as our author goes on in the words next following, 'was this miserable people deceived 'by impostors, who spoke lies in the name of God. But they did not attend nor give credit to 'those prodigies which evidently foretold their future desolation; but like men infatuated, who 'have neither eyes to see nor minds to consider, they disregarded the divine denunciations. 'There[b] was a star, a comet resembling a sword, which stood over the city and continued 'for a year. And before the rebellion, and before the war broke out, when the people 'were come together in great multitudes to the feast of unleavened bread, on the eighth day 'of the month of April, at the ninth hour of the night, so great a light shone round the altar 'and the temple that it seemed to be bright day: which light continued for half an hour. 'This, to the unskilful seemed to be a good sign; but, by the sacred scribes, it was judged 'to portend what has since happened. And at the same festival a heifer, as she was led by 'the high-priest to be sacrificed, brought forth a lamb in the midst of the temple. Moreover, the 'eastern gate of the inner court of the temple, which was of brass, and very heavy, which was 'not without difficulty shut in the evening by twenty men, and rested upon a basis armed with 'iron, and was fastened with bolts that went deep into the floor, which was made of one entire 'stone, was seen to open of it's own accord at the sixth hour of the night: whereupon they who 'kept watch at the temple went to the captain and told him of it. He then came up thither, 'and not without difficulty had it shut again. This also appeared to the vulgar a good sign; as 'if thereby God opened to them the gate of happiness. But the wiser men concluded that the 'security of the temple was gone, and that the gate was opened for the advantage of their 'enemies: and they said it was a signal of the desolation that was coming upon them. Beside 'these, a few days after that festival, on the one-and-twentieth day of the month of May, there 'appeared a wonderful phenomenon, almost exceeding belief; and the account of it might seem 'fabulous if it had not been related by those who saw it, and if the following events had not been 'answerable to such signs: for before sunset chariots and troops in armour were seen carried 'upon the clouds, and surrounding cities. And at the festival, which we call the Pentecost, as 'the priests were going by night into the inner court of the temple, as the custom was, to per- 'form their ministrations, they first felt, as they said, a shaking, accompanied with a noise, and 'after that a sound, as of a multitude, saying, "Let us remove hence." But, which is still more 'awful, there was one Jesus, son of Ananus, of a low condition, and a countryman, who four 'years before the war began, when the city enjoyed profound peace and flowing prosperity, came 'up to the festival, in which it is the custom for us all to make tabernacles, who on a sudden 'began to cry out in the temple: "A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from 'the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem and the temple, a voice against the bridegrooms and 'the brides, a voice against the whole people." This was his cry, as he went about both by 'day and by night, in all the lanes of the city. Some of the chief men were offended at this ill- 'boding sound, and, taking him up, laid many stripes upon him, and had him beaten severely. 'Yet he said not a word for himself, nor made any peculiar complaint to them that beat him; 'but went on repeating the same words that he had said before. Hereupon the magistrates, 'thinking it to be somewhat more than ordinary, as indeed it was, bring him before the Roman 'governor; where he was whipped till his bones were laid bare. All which he bore without 'shedding any tears or making any supplications: but with a mournful voice at every stripe, 'cried out: "Woe to Jerusalem." Albinus, the governor, asked him who he was, and whence 'he came, and why he uttered those words. To all which he made no answer, but continued 'making his mournful denunciations to the city. Albinus, thinking him to be mad, dismissed 'him. And thenceforward, to the time of the war, he did not go to any of the citizens; nor was

[a] Ib. sect. 3.

[b] Τοῦτο μὲν ὂτε ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ἄστρον ἐστὴ ῥομφαία παραπλήσιον, καὶ παρατείνας ἐπι ἐνιαυτὸν κομήτης.

Mr. Whiston's translation is; 'Thus there was a star, 'resembling a sword, which stood over the city; and a comet 'that continued a whole year.' And he has a note to this purpose; 'Whether Josephus means that this star was different 'from that comet which lasted a whole year, I cannot cer- 'tainly determine. His words most favour their being different 'one from another.'

'he seen speaking to any; but only went on with his mournful denunciation, as if it had been 'his premeditated vow: "Woe, woe to Jerusalem." He did not give ill language to those who 'beat him as many did frequently; nor did he thank those who gave him food: but went on 'repeating to all the doleful presage. But especially at festivals his cry was the loudest. And 'so it continued for seven years and five months, without his growing hoarse, or being tired 'therewith, till he saw his presage fulfilled in the siege; then he ceased: for going round upon 'the wall, with his utmost force he cried out: "Woe, woe once more, to the city, and to 'the people, and to the temple." And then at last he added: "Woe, woe to myself also." 'At which instant there came a stone out of one of the engines that smote him, and killed him 'immediately: and whilst he was uttering these mournful presages he gave up the ghost.'

'If[a] any one considers these things,' adds Josephus, 'he will be convinced that God takes 'care of mankind, and by all ways possible foreshews to our race what is for their benefit; and that 'men perish by those miseries which they madly and voluntarily bring upon themselves.'

Thus I have transcribed this whole article of Josephus at length, and in the place and order in which it stands in his own work. I must be so candid as to take notice of the reflections which some learned men have made upon it.

To this purpose speaks Dr. Willes, in his first[b] discourse upon Josephus: 'The prodigies, 'that he saith happened before the destruction of Jerusalem, would agree better to Livy or 'Tacitus, than to a Jewish historian.—The flying open of the great brazen gate of the temple is 'the same as happened at Thebes just before the great battle of the Lacedemonians at Leuctra, 'when the great gates of the temple of Hercules opened of themselves, without any one's touch-'ing them. I omit many other things of the like nature; whence it is evident that Josephus, 'endeavoured to Grecise and shape the history of the Jews, as like as he could, to those of the 'Greeks and Romans.' So Dr. Willes. And I shall transcribe below the passage of *Cicero* de Divinatione,[c] to which he refers.

Basnage[d] in his History of the Jews speaks after this manner: 'Besides, deception was easy 'in many of the things related by him. The bright light round the altar in the night-time, the 'cow that brought forth a lamb as she was led to the altar: the chariots of fire that were seen 'in the air, and passed over the city with a frightful noise, are very liable to suspicion: the 'opening of the temple seems to be rather better attested than the others, because it is said that 'the magistrate came to shut it. But the meaning was doubtful. To some it seemed to be an 'assurance that God had opened the treasures of his benediction; whilst others concluded that 'he had abandoned the protection of his temple. But it is not easy to deny the truth of the 'history of the man that cried, "A voice from the east, a voice from the west," and every day 'predicted the ruin of the city: for this man was brought before Albinus, who examined him. 'He was severely scourged, and he was often beaten by the people, who could not endure so 'dismal a noise: but he was all along unmoved. His cry continued for the space of seven years. 'At length he was killed upon the walls of the city at the beginning of the siege. This is not a 'thing about which men might be deceived. Josephus, who relates it, was at Jerusalem when 'this preacher, who was treated as a madman, denounced its desolation: and he might inform 'himself concerning his death. So that if there are any things to which we ought to attend, it 'is this, in which we must acknowledge somewhat extraordinary.' So says Basnage.

I am inclined to go over and examine every one of these prodigies.

'There[e] was a star, a comet resembling a sword, which stood over the city, and continued 'for a year.'

How Mr. Whiston understood this has been seen already. L'Estrange translates thus: 'What shall we say to the comet that hung over Jerusalem, for one whole year together, in the 'figure of a sword?' Archbishop Tillotson[f] in this manner: 'At a little before the destruction,' he tells us, 'there hung over their city a fiery sword, which continued for a year together. A

[a] Sect. 4.

[b] Prefixed to L'Estrange's edition of Josephus, p. 3, 4, 8vo.

[c] Quid? Lacedæmoniis paullo ante Leuctricam calamitatem, quæ significatio facta est, cum in Herculis fano arma sonuerunt, Herculisque simulacrum multo sudore manavit? At eodem tempore Thebis, ut ait Callisthenes, in templo Herculis valvæ, clausæ repagulis, subito se ipsæ, aperuerunt; armaque, quæ fixa in parietibus fuerant, ea sunt humi inventa. De Divin. l. 1, c. 24. n. 74.

[d] L. i. ch. viii. sect. 3. p. 224.

[e] Τετο μεν ὁτε ὑπερ την πολιν ἀστρον ἐσῃ ξιφοειδὲς παραπλησιον, και φαρατεινας ἐπ' ενιαυτον κομητης.

[f] As before. p. 554.

'little before their rebellion against the Romans there appeared a comet, which shined so clear 'in the temple, and about the altar, as if it had been day.' It must be confessed that is not exact. Tillemont: 'There was also a comet which appeared for a year, and over Jerusalem 'an extraordinary star, which seemed to be a sword. But Josephus does not say the time.' Neither is this very exact. However, I have also transcribed below the words of Josephus himself.[a]

This is the first prodigy. And indeed it is a wonderful and very awful thing. A star, resembling a sword, hanging over a city, for a whole year.—Upon this we cannot forbear to observe that Josephus has not told us the time when this star or comet appeared. He says, 'it 'continued for a year.' But does not say when. A very strange omission. I must take the liberty to add, that if, about the time of the siege of Jerusalem, or some period within a few years before, there had been a star resembling a sword, which hung over that city for a year together, I should expect to find it in some author beside Josephus, and an author that does not depend upon him or borrow from him.

Tacitus[b] has mentioned several of the prodigies preceding the ruin of the Jewish people, but he does not mention this: however, it must be owned that his omitting it is of no great importance, as he does not appear to have been careful to put down every thing of this kind.

2. It follows: 'And before the rebellion, and before the war broke out, when the people 'were come together in great multitudes to the feast of unleavened bread, on the eighth day of 'the month of April, at the ninth hour of the night,' or three hours after midnight, 'so great a 'light shone round the altar, and the temple, that it seemed to be bright day: which light con-'tinued for half an hour.' This prodigy is related by Josephus so particularly and circumstantially, as happening too at the time of passover when Jerusalem was full of people, and in the year 65, as it seems, that I am not at all disposed to contest the truth of it. I think it must have so happened. But the design of this appearance is ambiguous. And, as Josephus says, some thought it to portend good, others bad things. But that does not affect the truth of the fact.

3. 'And at the same festival a heifer, as she was led by the high-priest to be sacrificed, brought 'forth a lamb in the midst of the temple.' Here again I hesitate. I am surprised to see so trifling a story in a grave writer. I think Josephus inserted this to gratify his Greek readers.

4. The next prodigy is the opening of the 'eastern gate of the inner court of the temple at 'midnight:' which, as before observed by Dr. Willes, has such a resemblance with like stories told by credulous heathen people, that it seems to be only an imitation of them, and has therefore the appearance of a fiction, by way of accommodation to the judgment of heathen readers.

5. 'Beside these, a few days after that festival, on the one-and-twentieth day of the month 'of May, there appeared a wonderful phenomenon, almost exceeding belief: and the account of 'it might seem fabulous, if it had not been related by those who saw it, and if the following 'events had not been answerable to such signs. For before sunset chariots and troops of soldiers 'in armour were seen carried upon the clouds, and surrounding cities.'

Such seeming appearances have often been the effect only of imagination, without any reality. But this is related by Josephus so particularly, and with so much solemnity, that it is hard to contest the truth. And if it be true, this, and the 'light surrounding the altar and the temple' beforementioned, may be some of those things intended by our Saviour when he said: "And fearful sights, and great signs, shall there be from heaven:" Luke xxi. 11. Of this[c] Crevier speaks in this manner: 'I say nothing of the armed chariots and troops of warriors that were seen fight-'ing in the air. That might be the natural effect of a phenomenon then not understood, but 'which we are now well acquainted with, and call the Aurora Borealis, or northern light.' A wise observation truly! Who ever before saw or heard of an Aurora Borealis in the day time? Josephus expressly says that these chariots and warriors were seen 'before sun-setting.'

6. 'And at the festival, which we call the Pentecost, as the priests were going by night into 'the inner court of the temple, as the custom was, to perform their ministrations, they first felt, 'as they said, a shaking, accompanied with a noise, and then a sound, as of a multitude, saying, '"Let us remove hence."'

[a] Il parut aussi une comète pendant un an, et sur Jérusalem un astre extraordinaire, qui sembloit être une épée. Joseph n'en marque pas le temps. Ruine des Juifs. art. 41.

[b] Evenerant prodigia, quæ neque hostiis neque votis piare fas habet gens superstitioni obnoxia, religionibus adversa. Visæ per cœlum concurrere acies, rutilantia arma, et subito nubium igne collucere templum. Expassæ repente delubri fores, et audita major humanâ vox: "Excedere Deos:" simul ingens motus excedentium. Tacit. Hist. l. 5. c. 13.

[c] History of the Rom. Emp. Vol. vi. p. 240.

This passage is quoted by [a] Eusebius, and this particular is taken notice of by [b] divers ancient Christian writers: but they do not always quote so accurately as might be wished.

I beg leave to observe upon it; First of all, this is said to have happened in the 'night time,' and therefore deserves the less regard. Secondly, I do not know what ministrations the priests had to perform in the inner temple in the night. Doubtless they kept watch at the temple by night as well as by day: but, so far as I can recollect, the ministrations at the temple, which were by divine appointment, were performed by daylight. Thirdly, the sound of a multitude, saying, "Let us go hence," has much of an heathenish air.

All these signs or prodigies, just mentioned, (excepting the star like a sword, of which before), seem to be placed by Josephus in the year of Christ 65; the year before the war commenced.

7. The seventh and last is that of 'Jesus, son of Ananus, who four years before the war began 'came up to the festival, which we call the feast of tabernacles, and on a sudden began to cry 'out: "A voice from the east——a voice against Jerusalem and the temple." And so it con-'tinued for seven years and five months, till he saw his presage fulfilled in the siege.' He therefore began this cry near the end of the year 62. This last Josephus calls 'more awful than the 'rest,' το δε τουτων φοβερωτατον. And, as Le Clerc [c] observes, 'if it be true, Josephus rightly says 'it was somewhat divine.' I hope we may depend upon the truth of this history, which is related with so many particulars and circumstances.

All these things Josephus has recorded as affecting signs, warnings, and presages of great calamities coming upon the Jewish nation: omitting entirely the warnings, and predictions, and admonitions, of Jesus Christ, and of his apostles after him; and also the three hours darkness over the whole land of Judea, and the rending the veil of the temple, and the earthquake near Jerusalem at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion. And though all these signs and warnings, related by himself, are considered by him as very affecting, he acknowledgeth that they made not any great impression upon his nation. And says: 'But they did not attend or give credit to 'those prodigies, which evidently foretold their desolation; but like men infatuated, who have 'neither eyes to see, nor minds to consider, they disregarded the divine denunciations.' And his history verifies the truth and justness of this observation.

'Now [d] the Romans brought their ensigns to the temple, and set them over against the 'eastern gate. There they offered sacrifices to them, and there they made Titus emperor, with 'the greatest acclamations of joy. And all the soldiers had such vast quantities of spoils, which 'they got by plunder, that in Syria a pound weight of gold was sold for half its former value.'

There [e] were some priests, as Josephus says, sitting upon the wall of the temple, who continued there till they were pined with hunger; then they came down and surrendered themselves. When they were brought by the guards to Titus they begged for their lives. But Titus answered, that the time of pardon was over as to them, that being destroyed, for the sake of which alone he should have saved them; and that it was very fit that priests should perish with their temple. Whereupon he ordered them to be put to death.

Now [f] Simon and John, and they that were with them, desire a conference with Titus; which he granted. He placed himself on the western side of the outer court of the temple, and there was a bridge that parted them. There were great numbers of Jews waiting with those two tyrants, and there were also many Romans on the side of Titus. He ordered the soldiers to refrain their rage, and appointed an interpreter: and, being conqueror, he spoke first. He then reproached them in very bitter terms, and very justly. And then concluded: 'However, I 'will not imitate your madness. If you will throw down your arms, and deliver up your bodies 'to me, I grant you your lives. *I will act like a mild father of a family. What cannot be healed* 'shall be destroyed. *The rest I will reserve for my own use.*'

[a] H. E. l. 3, c. viii. Dem. Ev. l. 8, p. 402. And see the Credib. Vol. ii. p. 301.

[b] Και Ιωσηπος δε μετα βραχυ γενομενος χρονον, εφη, τινες αγγελος της επι παραμενοντας, ει μη βαληθειεν εκεινοι μεταστηναι, καταλιπειν αυτους. Chr. in Jo. Hom. 64, al. 65. p. 390. T. 8.

Josephus quoque refert, virtutes angelicas, præsides quondam templi, tunc pariter conclamásse: Transeamus ex his sedibus. Hieron. in Matt. xxvii. 51. T. 4. p. 135. Conf. ep. ad Hedib. sect. viii. T. 4. P. i. p. 176.

Unde et Josephus in suâ narrat historiâ, quod, postquam Dominus crucifixus est, et velum templi scissum est, sive liminare templi fractum corruit, audita sit vox in adytis Templi. Virtutum cœlestium, Transeamus ex his sedibus. *Id. in Ezech. c. 47. p. 1058.*

[c] *Quæ si vera sunt, non immerito Josephus rem divinitus contigisse censuit.* Cleric. *H. E. An. 62. n. v.*

[d] L. 6, c. vi. sect. 1.

[e] Ibid. [f] Sect. 2.

'They answered, they could not consent to that, because they had sworn never to do it. 'They asked leave to go through the wall that surrounded them with their wives and children; 'for they would go into the desert and leave the city to him. At which Titus was greatly 'provoked, that, when they were now already in the case of men taken captives, they should pre-'tend to make their own terms with him, as if they were conquerors. He then gave orders that 'proclamation should be made to them, that henceforward none should be allowed to come over 'to him as deserters, not hope for security; for that now he would spare nobody, but fight them 'with his whole army. He therefore gave orders to the soldiers both to burn and to plunder the 'city. On that day however they did nothing. But the day following they set fire to the reposi-'tory of the archives, to the council houses, to Acra, and to the place called Ophilas: at which 'time the fire proceeded as far as to the palace of queen Helena, which was in the middle of 'Acra. The lanes also were burnt down, as were all the houses that were full of the dead bodies 'of such as had died by the famine.'

'On[a] the same day the sons and brothers of king Izates, and[b] with them many other eminent 'men of the city, got together, and besought Titus to give them his right hand for their security. 'Whereupon, though he was now very angry and much displeased with all who were still remain-'ing, he did not depart from his wonted moderation, but received them. However he kept them 'all in custody. And having bound the king's sons and kinsmen, he took them with him to 'Rome, to be kept there as hostages for the fidelity of their country.'

Here, as I apprehend, we see a proof of the zeal of the Jewish proselytes at this time. For such were the relations of king Izates. These persons had chosen to reside much in the holy city of Jerusalem: or they had come up thither to the feast of the Passover this year, notwithstanding the danger it was in from the approaches of the Roman army. And it was, as seems to me, a remarkable instance of the moderation of this prince, that he now shewed mercy to these persons who might have come over to him long before, and did not surrender themselves till matters were brought to the utmost extremity, and after he had publicly declared that he would spare none.

Titus[c] still had difficulties remaining in taking the rest of the city.

'Some[d] there were who deserted to Titus, notwithstanding the care of the tyrants to prevent 'it. These were all received by the Romans, because Titus grew negligent as to his former 'orders, and because the soldiers were weary of killing, and because they hoped to gain money 'by sparing them. They therefore sold them with their wives and children, though at a very 'low price. For there were many to be sold, and but a few purchasers. Indeed the number of 'those who were sold was prodigious. And[e] yet there were forty thousand of the people saved, 'whom Titus permitted to go where they pleased.'

And now were fulfilled those words of Moses: "And ye shall be sold for bondmen and bondwomen; and no man shall buy you:" Deut. xxviii. 68. And likewise those words of our Lord, Luke xxi. 24: "And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations. And Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled."

'At[f] this time one of the priests, son of Thebuthus, whose name was Joshua, upon his having 'security given him by the oath of Cæsar that he should be preserved, upon condition that he 'should deliver to him certain of the precious things deposited in the temple, came out and 'delivered to him from the wall of the temple two candlesticks, like to those that lay in the 'temple, together with tables and cisterns, and vials, all of solid gold, and very heavy. He also 'delivered to him the veils, and the garments of the high priests, with the precious stones, and 'many other vessels belonging to the sacred ministrations. And now was seized the treasurer of 'the temple, whose name was Phineas, who discovered to him the coats and girdles of the priests 'with a great quantity of purple and scarlet, which were reposited for the use of the veil; as 'also a great deal of cinnamon and cassia, and other sweet spices, which used to be mixed and 'offered to God as incense every day. A great many other precious things and ornaments of 'the temple were delivered by the same person. Which things so delivered to Titus, obtained 'for that man the same pardon that was allowed to such as deserted of their own accord.'

[a] Sect. 4.

[b] ——ωρος οἱς πολλοι των επισημων δημοτων εκει συνελθοντες, ἱκετευσαν Καισαρα, κ, λ.

[c] Cap. vii. et viii.

[d] Cap. viii. sect. 2.

[e] Οἱ δημοτικοι δε διεσωθησαν ὑπερ τετρακισμυριες, ἐς διαφηκε Καισαρ, ἡ εἰλον ἡν ἑκας-ῳ. Ibid.

[f] viii. sect. 3.

'At [a] length, after great labour, and against a furious opposition, the Romans became masters 'of the rest of the city, and set their ensigns upon the walls in triumph, and with great joy. They 'then plundered the houses, and killed every one whom they met with in the streets. They set 'fire to the city, and made the streets run with blood to such a degree, that the fire of many 'houses was quenched with men's blood. However it so happened that, when the slayers had 'left off in the evening, the fire greatly prevailed in the night. As all was burning, the eighth 'day of the month of September, came on to Jerusalem, a city which had suffered so many 'calamities during the siege, of which it was upon no account so deserving, as upon account of 'its producing such a generation of men as occasioned its overthrow.

'When [b] Titus was come into this upper city, he admired some places of strength in it, and 'particularly those strong towers which the tyrants in their madness had relinquished. And he 'expressed himself in the following manner: "We [c] have certainly had God for our helper in 'this war. It is God who has ejected the Jews out of these fortifications. For what could 'the hands of men, or any machines do, towards throwing down such [d] fortifications?" At which 'time he had many like discourses with his friends. He also set at liberty such as had been 'bound by the tyrants, and were still in the prisons. And when he entirely demolished the 'rest of the city, and overthrew it's [e] walls, he left those towers to be monuments of his for-'tune, which had fought with him, and had enabled him to take what otherwise would have been impregnable.'

'The [f] soldiers were weary of killing. But there were many still alive. Titus therefore gave 'orders that none should be killed but such as were in arms or made resistance, and to take the 'rest captive. Nevertheless the soldiers slew the aged and the infirm: but for those who were 'in their flourishing age, and might be useful to them, they drove them together into the temple 'and shut them up within the walls of the court of the women; over whom Titus set one of his 'freed men, and Fronto, one of his friends, who was to determine the fate of each one accord-'ing to his desert. Many were ordered to be slain. But of the young men he chose out the 'tallest, and the most beautiful, and reserved them for the triumph. Such as were above seven-'teen years of age he bound, and sent them to work in the mines in Egypt. Titus also sent a 'great many into the provinces, as presents to them, that they might be destroyed in their 'theatres, either by the sword or by wild beasts. They who were under seventeen years of age 'were sold for slaves. And during the time that Fronto was determining the fate of these men, 'there perished eleven thousand for want of food. Some of them had no food through the ill-'will of those who guarded them. Others would not take what was given them. And indeed 'there were so many that there was not food for them.'

Josephus does not here speak of any Jews being crucified at this time. Nevertheless, I apprehend that many now suffered in that manner. For in [g] one of the last sections of his life, giving an account of things presently after the city was taken, he says he was sent by Titus with Cerealis, one of his generals, and a thousand horse, to a village called Thekoa, to see whether it was a place fit for a camp. 'As I came back,' says he, 'I saw many of the captives 'crucified. Among them I discerned three of my former acquaintance, which gave me great 'concern. I therefore went to Titus with tears in my eyes, and spoke to him; who immedi-'ately gave orders to have them taken down, and that the best care should be taken of them 'for their recovery. However, two of them died under cure: the third survived.'

[a] Sect. 4, 5. [b] Cap. ix. sect. 1.

[c] Συν Θεω γ' επολεμησαμεν——κ. λ. ib.

[d] Undoubtedly Titus, upon entering into that part of the city which was now taken, and so becoming master of the whole city of Jerusalem, had some discourses with his generals suitable to the occasion. But Josephus, in imitation of the Greek and Roman historians, who made speeches for their generals, embellisheth here; and he makes Titus say some things which he did not say. The tyrants, as Josephus calls them, were guilty of mad conduct in their divisions, in destroying, as they had done, many stores proper for sieges, and in other respects. But Titus could not charge them with folly and madness in relinquishing the three towers here referred to. Josephus has given a particular description of them. De B. J. l. 5, c. iv. sect. 3. They were strong and lofty buildings, raised upon the north wall of the city. Herod had displayed his magnificence in them: but they were not fit for garrisons, or to be made places of defence. They were rather summer-palaces, fitted for diversion and entertainment, with splendid apartments and sumptuous furniture. The Jews did not relinquish any places of defence. They vigorously defended their several walls, and the tower Antonia, and the temple. They had fully exercised all the military skill and courage of Titus, and his many generals, and tired his soldiers: and induced them more than once to despair of victory, as our historian himself has informed us. It appears however from Josephus, that Simon made use of the tower Phasælus for his own habitation, during a good part of the siege, Τουτοις γεμην τυραννειον απεδειχθη τω Σιμωνος. Ib. sect. 3. p. 330, in.

[e] Αυθις δε την αλλην αφανιζων πολιν, και τειχη καταςκαπτων, τετες τες πυργες κατελιπε μνημειον ειναι της αυτω τυχης, η συστρατιωτιδι χρησαμενος εκρατησε των αλωναι μη δυναμενων. L. 7. c. ix. sect. 1.

[f] Cap. ix. sect. 2. [g] De Vit. sect. 75.

The [a] number of those who were taken captive during the whole war was computed to be ninety and seven thousand: and the number of those who perished during the siege eleven hundred thousand. The greater part of them were indeed of the same nation, but not inhabitants of the city. For they were come up from all the country to the festival of unleavened bread, and were on a sudden shut in by the army; which occasioned [b] so great a straitness that there came on a pestilential disorder, and then a famine, which was more severe.'

And presently afterwards: 'This [c] great multitude was collected from other places. The whole nation was shut up as in a prison: and the Roman army encompassed the city, when it was crowded with inhabitants. Accordingly, [d] the multitude of those who perished therein exceeded all the destructions that men or God ever brought on the world.'

'As [e] many were hid in caverns, the Romans made searches after them. If any were found alive they were presently slain. But beside them they found there more than two thousand; some killed by themselves, and by one another, and more destroyed by famine. The ill savour of the dead bodies was offensive: nevertheless, for the sake of gain, many of the soldiers ventured into the caverns, where was found much treasure.'

'John [f] and his brethren, who were with him in the cavern, wanted food. Now therefore he begged that the Romans would give him the right hand for security, which he had often rejected before. But Simon struggled hard with the distress he was in, till he was forced to surrender himself, as we shall relate hereafter. So he was reserved for the triumph, and to be then slain. John was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. And [g] now the Romans set fire to the extreme parts of the city, and burnt them down, and demolished the walls to the foundation.'

'Thus [h] was Jerusalem taken in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, on the eighth day of the month of September. It had been taken five times before. This is the second time of its desolation.' Josephus then enumerates these several times, and computes how many years it was from the time of its being first built, and then adds: 'But neither its antiquity, nor its immense riches, nor the reputation of the nation, celebrated throughout the whole world, nor the great glory of its religion, has been sufficient to preserve it from destruction. Such was the end of the siege of Jerusalem.' These are the last words of his sixth book of the Jewish War.

Then, at the beginning of the seventh book, he says: 'And [i] now, when no more were left to be slain, nor any more plunder remained for the soldiers, Cæsar gave orders that they should demolish to the foundation the whole city, and the temple; leaving only the forementioned towers Phasælus, Hippicus, and Mariamne, and so much of the wall as was on the west side of the city: that was spared in order to afford a camp for those who were to lie in garrison; but [k] as for all the rest of the whole circumference of the city, it was so thoroughly laid even with the ground, by those who dug it up to the foundation, that there was nothing left to make those who came thither to believe it had ever been inhabited.' So said our Lord, Luke xix. 44, "And they shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee: and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another, because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation."

The soldiers who were left in garrison near the city must have been instruments in digging up every part of it to the foundation. For Josephus, afterwards describing the journey of Titus through Palestine to Alexandria, and observing how Titus was affected at the sight of the deplorable condition of the place, has these expressions: 'And [l] no small part of its riches had been found in its ruins: this the Romans dug up. They found a great deal of gold and silver, and other precious things, which the owners had treasured up under ground against the uncertain fortunes of war; and they were assisted by the captives in the discovery of such things.'

And Eleazar, in one of his speeches at Massada, to be farther taken notice of hereafter,

[a] Sect. 3.

[b] Ὡς̓ε το πρωτον αυτοις την ξενοχωριαν γενεσθαι λοιμωδη φθοραν, αυθις δε και λιμον ωκυτερον. [c] Sect. 4.

[d] Πασαν γαρ ανθρωπινην και δαιμονιον φθοραν ὑπερβαλλει το πληθος των απολωλοτων. Ib. [e] Sect. 4.

[f] Ibid. sect. 4.

[g] Ῥωμαιοι τας τε εσχατιας τε αξεος ενεπρησαν, και τα τειχη κατεσκαψαν. Ibid.

[h] Cap. x. ibid. [i] L. 7. cap. i. sect. 1.

[k] Αλλον απαντα της πολεως περιβολον ὡτως εξωμαλισαν οι κατασκαπτοντες . . . κ. λ. ib.

[l] L. 7, cap. v. sect. 2, p. 412. Hav. Et. Conf. l. 6. cap. ix. sect. 4.

where he persuades the people with him to consent to be put to death, has these expressions: 'Where [a] is now that great city, the metropolis of the whole Jewish nation? ... Where is the 'city which we believed to have God inhabiting in it? It [b] is rooted up to the foundation, and 'has no other monument left but the army of those who have destroyed it, encamping upon its 'ruins.... Who can consider these things and not be sorry that he is still alive? I cannot but 'wish that we had all died before we had seen that holy city overthrown by its enemies, and [c] the holy temple so profanely dug up to the foundation.'

And Whitby, in his notes upon Matt. xxiv. 2, says: 'The Jewish Talmud and Maimonides 'add, that Turnus [i. e. Terentius Rufus] captain of the army of Titus, did with a plough-'share tear up the foundations of the temple, and thereby signally fulfil those words in Micah 'iii. 12: "Therefore shall Zion for your sakes be ploughed as a field, and Jerusalem become 'heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of the forest."'

Grotius has well observed upon Matt. xxiv. 1: 'That the temple, which had been repaired, 'or rebuilt by Herod, was rightly esteemed to be the same temple that had been built by Zerub-'babel. So therefore Josephus says that the temple had been twice destroyed; once by the 'Chaldeans, a second time by Titus. And the Jewish masters call the destruction made by 'Titus, "the destruction of the second temple." Whilst this temple stood the Messiah was to 'be expected, not only according to the prophecy of Daniel, but likewise of Haggai, ch. ii. 8, 'and Malachi, ch. iii. 1.'

'Cæsar [d] determined to leave there as a guard the tenth legion, with some troops of horse 'and companies of foot. Having now completed the war, he returned thanks to his whole army, 'and distributed rewards among them. For this purpose he had a large tribunal erected for 'him in the place where he formerly encamped. That was a work of three days.'

'The [e] rest of the army was sent away to several places; but he permitted the tenth legion 'to stay as a guard upon Jerusalem. Then he went to Cæsarea by the seaside, taking with 'him two legions, the fifth and the fifteenth, to attend him, till he should go to Egypt. At 'Cæsarea he laid up the spoils in great quantities, and gave orders that the captives should be 'kept there.'

'From [f] that Cæsarea Titus went to Cæsarea Philippi, where he stayed some while, and 'exhibited all sorts of shews. Here many of the captives were destroyed: some were thrown 'to wild beasts, others in great numbers were compelled to fight with each other. Whilst he 'was there he heard of the seizure of Simon, son of Gioras, who during the siege had com-'manded in the upper city, and who had concealed himself under ground as long as he could, 'but now fell into the hands of Terentius Rufus, who had been left to keep guard at the ruins 'of Jerusalem. When Titus was returned to Cæsarea by the seaside, Simon was brought bound 'before him, who ordered him to be kept for the triumph at Rome.'

'At [g] Cæsarea Titus solemnized the birthday of his brother Domitian, on [h] the twenty-fourth 'day of October, in a splendid manner, doing honour to him in the punishment of the 'Jews; for the number of those now slain, in fighting with beasts, or were burnt to death, or 'fought with one another, exceeded two thousand and five hundred: yet did all this seem to 'the Romans, though they were destroyed ten thousand ways, beneath their deserts. After-'wards Titus went to Berytus, a city in Phœnicia, and a Roman colony; there he stayed a 'longer time, and exhibited a more pompous solemnity on his father's birthday, [November 17.] 'Here a great number of the captives were destroyed in the like manner as before.'

'Having [i] stayed some while at Berytus, he set forward to Antioch; and as he went exhi-'bited magnificent shews in all the cities of Syria, making use of the captives as public instances 'of the overthrow of the Jewish nation.'

At [k] Antioch he was received with loud acclamations. Thence he went to Zeugma, which lies upon the Euphrates: whither came to him messengers from Vologesus, king of Parthia, who brought him a crown of gold, congratulating him upon his victory over the Jews, which he accepted. There he feasted the king's messengers, and then returned to Antioch.

It does not appear that Titus celebrated any shews there; and when the people of that place

[a] L. 7. cap. viii. sect. 7, p. 430. Hav.
[b] Προρριζος εκ βαθρων ανηρπασται...
[c] ...πριν τον ναον τον αγιον ἐτως αγοσιως εξορωρυγμενον. Ibid.
[d] L. 7. cap. i. sect. 1.
[e] Sect. 2.
[f] Cap. ii. sect. 1.
[g] Cap. iii. sect. 1.
[h] Vid. Pagi ann. 70. n. iii. et Basnag. ann. 70. n. xviii.
[i] Cap. v. sect. 1.
[k] ... Sect. 2.

requested him to expel the Jews out of their city, he refused to comply with them, and confirmed to them all the privileges which they had hitherto enjoyed there.

Having [a] sent away the two beforementioned legions by which he had been attended, one to Mysia, the other to Pannonia, and having given orders for sending Simon and John, and seven hundred of the tallest and handsomest of the captives, to appear in the triumph at Rome, he went to Alexandria, and thence to Rome; and, passing through Palestine, in his way to Egypt, he was much moved, as Josephus says, at the sight of the desolations of that country.

When [b] Titus came near Rome he was received with great rejoicings by the people, who came out to meet him, as also by his father Vespasian: and though the senate had decreed to them two several triumphs, they chose to have but one. Josephus has not informed us exactly concerning the time of it; and learned critics are now of different opinions: some [c] place it near the end of the month of April, in 71: others [d] argue that it must have been later.

'Many [e] other spoils,' says Josephus, 'were carried in great abundance; but the most considerable of all were those taken out of the temple at Jerusalem. There was the golden table 'of many talents; and the candlestick, likewise of gold, with its seven lamps, a number much 'respected by the Jews: the last of all the spoils was the law of the Jews: after which were 'carried images of victory, made of gold or ivory; after which came Vespasian first on horse-'back, then Titus; Domitian also was there splendidly attired, and riding upon a beautiful 'horse.'

'The [f] end of this pompous shew was at the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. When they 'came thither they stood still; for it was the ancient custom of the Romans to stay till word 'was brought that the general of the enemy was slain. This was Simon, the son of Gioras, 'who had been led in the triumph among the captives. A rope was put about his neck, and he 'was led to a proper place in the forum, where malefactors were put to death. When tidings 'of his death were brought, all the people set up the shout of joy, and sacrifices were offered 'up, with the accustomed prayers. The emperor then went to his palace, and feastings were 'made every where.'

'And [g] now Vespasian determined to build a temple to Peace, which was finished in a short 'time, and in a splendid manner. Here he laid up those golden vessels and instruments, that 'were taken out of the Jewish temple, as ensigns of his glory: but their law, and the purple 'veils of the holy place, he ordered to be deposited in his palace.'

'That [h] temple was adorned with paintings and statues. In it were collected and reposited 'all such curiosities as men are wont to wander all over the world to obtain a sight of.'

The book of the law does not now appear in what is called the triumphal arch of Titus, though the table and the candlestick are very visible.

Josephus, in his Life, says, that 'when the city was taken, Titus gave him leave to ask 'what he pleased.' One of his requests [i] was to have the sacred books, which were granted to him. Here, in the history of the war, he seems to say they [k] were deposited in the emperor's palace: possibly they were placed there: but Josephus was allowed to have the use of them when he desired it.

The temple of Peace, according to the description which Josephus has given of it, appears to have resembled our British Museum, and other like rich cabinets of princes in several parts of Europe.

The temple of Peace was burnt down in the reign of Commodus; but it is likely that many of the curiosities deposited in it were preserved from the flames. And the Jewish spoils were in being in the fifth century, and afterwards, though not at Rome, as we learn from [l] Adrian. Reland.

We have seen the overthrow of the city and temple of Jerusalem; but there still remained some strong places in Judea not yet taken by the Romans, of which Josephus has given an account; and it is fit we should trace him to the end of his History of the Jewish War: for, as

[a] Sect. 2, 3.
[b] Sect. 3, 4.
[c] Vid. Pagi ann. 70. n. vi.
[d] Basnag. 71. n. iii.
[e] Sect. 5.
[f] Sect. 6.
[g] Sect 7.
[h] Ib. Sect. 7.
[i] ...και βιβλιων ιερων ελαβον χαριταμενε Τιτε. Vit. sect. 75.
[k] Τον δε νομον αυτων, ... προσεταξεν εν τοις βασιλειοις αποθεμενους φυλαττειν. L. 7. c. v. sect 7.
[l] Imperante Commodo deflagravit hoc templum Pacis, teste Herodiano, L. i. cap. 14. sed cum eo non periisse spolia Hierosolymitana certum est, quoniam seculo quinto a Christo nato ea in Africam delata sunt, ut mox videbimus, &c. Reland. De Spoliis Templ. Hieros. cap. 13, p. 133.

our Lord said, "Wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together:" Matt. xxiv. 28. And see Luke xvii. 37.

Lucilius Bassus[a] was sent into Judea by Vespasian as lieutenant, where he received a sufficient army from Cerealis Vitellianus: he soon took Herodion, and made the garrison prisoners.

'He[b] then determined to go to Machærus: by means of an accident, well improved, he became master of it without much loss on either side.

'Having[c] settled affairs there, he marched hastily to the forest of Jardes; where, as he was 'informed, many were gathered together who during the siege had escaped from Jerusalem and 'Machærus. When they engaged the battle was fierce and obstinate on both sides; nevertheless, of the Romans there were not more than twelve killed, and not many wounded; but of 'the Jews not one escaped out of the battle, but they were all killed, being not fewer in number 'than three thousand: and with them their general, Judas, the son of Jairus, who had been 'captain of a band in the siege of Jerusalem, and by getting out, through a vault under ground, 'had privately escaped.'

'About[d] this time the emperor sent orders to Lucilius Bassus, and Liberius Maximus, that 'all Judea should be exposed to sale: for he founded not any city there, but reserved the 'country to himself. However, he assigned a place for eight hundred men, whom he dismissed 'from the army, which he gave them for their habitation. It is called Ammaus, and is distant 'from Jerusalem sixty furlongs: he also laid a tribute upon the Jews wherever they were, requiring that every one of them should bring two drachmas [half a shekel] every year to the capitol; 'the same that they had been used to pay to the temple at Jerusalem.'

Bassus[e] having died in Judea, Flavius Silva was sent to succeed him in the government of that country; who soon made an expedition against Massada, the only remaining fortress: it was in the possession of Eleazar, a commander of the Sicarii: he was a descendant of Judas, who had persuaded many of the Jews, as formerly related, not to submit to the assessment made by Cyrenius when he came into Judea after the removal of Archelaus.

When[f] there was no room left for escaping, Eleazar called together the principal persons, and consulted with them what might be best to be done: at which time he made an oration to them to induce them to kill themselves rather than fall into the hands of the Romans.

That[g] oration had great effect upon many: some however there were who hesitated: he therefore went on, and made another oration to the like purpose: all now were persuaded.

'They[h] then chose ten men of the number by lot to slay all the rest. When these ten men 'had without fear slain all the rest, men, women, and children, as determined, they cast lots 'upon themselves, and he who had the first lot killed the other nine, and then himself. These 'people so died with the intention that they might not leave so much as one man among them to 'be subject to the Romans. However, there was one ancient woman, and another woman 'related to Eleazar, who exceeded most women in knowledge and prudence, and five children, 'who had hid themselves in a cavern under ground: they had carried water with them for 'their drink, and lay quiet there, whilst the rest were intent upon the slaughter of each other. 'The whole number of these people, including the just mentioned women and children, was nine 'hundred and sixty. This slaughter was made on the fifteenth day of the month of April in 'the year 73, as may be computed.'

When the Romans entered the place the next morning their surprise was very great, as may be well supposed.

Soon[i] after this some turbulent Jews were the occasion of disturbances at Alexandria, where six hundred were slain; and after that in Cyrene, where more than three thousand suffered. The disturbance there was occasioned by the imposture of Jonathan, a weaver, who[k] persuaded many people of the meaner sort to follow him into the wilderness, where he promised to shew them signs and wonders. Moreover Vespasian sent express orders that the Jewish temple of Onias, as it was called, built in the præfecture of Heliopolis in Egypt, should be demolished: which was done in the year of Christ 74, about two hundred and twenty-four years after it had been first built, as[l] Prideaux computes.

We before saw what was the number of those who were computed to have perished in the

[a] L. 7. cap. vi. 1. [b] Ib. sect. 1—4. [k] . . εκ ολιγες των απορων ενεπεισε προσεχειν αυτω, και προηγαγεν εις την ερημον, σημεια και φασματα δειξειν υποσχομενος. cap. xi. sect. 1.
[c] Ib. sect. 5. [d] Sect. 6. [e] Cap. viii. sect. 1.
[f] Sect. 6. [g] Ib. sect. 7.
[h] Cap. ix. sect. 1, 2. [i] Cap. x. xi. [l] See his Connexion, &c. year before Christ 149. p. 206.

siege of Jerusalem: but, taking in also those who had suffered in other places out of Jerusalem, these, added to the eleven hundred thousand that perished in the siege, make the whole number thirteen hundred and thirty-seven thousand four hundred and ninety; an innumerable company still being omitted that perished through famine, banishment, and other[a] miseries. Which I think to be no aggravation at all.

IX. Let us now reflect.

1. All these things have we seen in Josephus, who at the beginning of his work says: 'I[b] 'Josephus, son of Matthias, by birth a Hebrew of Jerusalem, and a priest, who myself at first 'fought against the Romans, and was afterwards forced to be present at the things that were 'done, have written this history.'

The conclusion of the whole work, at the end of the seventh and last book of the Jewish War, is to this effect: 'Here[c] we put an end to our history, which we promised to deliver with all 'accuracy to those who are desirous to know how this war of the Romans with the Jews was 'managed. Concerning the style let the readers judge: concerning the truth, I may boldly say 'that only has been aimed at throughout the whole work.'

Perhaps likewise it may not be amiss to observe what he says of this work in his first book against Apion, written long afterwards, near the period of his life.

'As[d] for myself I have composed a true history of that war, and of all the particulars that 'occurred therein, as having been concerned in all its transactions: for I acted as general among 'those among us who are called Galileans, as long as it was possible for us to make any opposi- 'tion: and when I was taken captive by the Romans, Vespasian and Titus had me kept under 'a guard, but obliged me to attend them continually. At first I was in bonds; afterwards I 'was set at liberty, and was sent to accompany Titus when he came from Alexandria to the siege 'of Jerusalem; during which time nothing was done which escaped my knowledge. What 'happened in the Roman camp, I saw, and wrote it down carefully; what information the 'deserters brought out of the city, I was the only man that understood it: afterwards I got 'leisure at Rome: and when all my materials were prepared I procured the help of one to assist 'me in writing Greek. Thus I composed the history of those transactions. And I was so well 'assured of the truth of what I related, that I first appealed to those who had the supreme com- 'mand in that war, Vespasian and Titus, as witnesses for me; for to them I first presented those 'books, and after them to many of the Romans who had been in the war. I also communicated 'them to many of our own men, who understood the Greek philosophy; among whom were 'Julius Archelaus, and Herod, a person of great gravity, and king Agrippa himself, who deserved 'the greatest admiration: all these bore testimony to me that I had the strictest regard to truth; 'who would not have dissembled the matter, nor have been silent, if through ignorance, or out 'of favour to either side, I had altered or omitted any thing.'

2. Josephus's History of the Jewish War is an ample testimony to the fulfilment of all the predictions of our Lord, concerning the demolition of the temple and city of Jerusalem, and the miseries to be endured by the nation during the siege, which were such as had never before happened to any people, nor were likely to happen again.

3. The sufferers in these calamities were generally men of the worst characters, robbers and Sicarii, and others too much resembling them. It is reasonable to believe that no Christians were then shut up in the city, nor many other good men, to partake in the miseries of that long and grievous siege. As St. Peter says, having instanced in the preservation of "Noah the eighth person, when God brought in the flood upon the world of the ungodly, and then delivering just Lot, when the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah were turned into ashes," adds, with a view to other like cases, and probably to the destruction of Jerusalem itself: "The Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptations, and to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment to be punished." 2 Pet. ii. 5—9.

4. I think it ought to be observed by us that there was not now any pestilence at Jerusalem, but the Jews perished by the calamities of war. It might have been expected that the bad food, which they were forced to make use of in the straitness of the siege, and the noisome smell of so many dead bodies lying in heaps in the city itself, and in the vallies or ditches without the walls, should have produced a plague: but nothing of that kind appears[e] in the History; which must

[a] See Usher's Annals, p. 907. in English, Lond. 1658.
[b] De B. Jud. l. i. Pr. sect. 1.
[c] L. 7. cap. xi. sect. 5.
[d] Contr. Ap. l. i. sect. 9.
[e] Il est difficile que tant de peuples renfermés dans un

have been owing to the special interposition of Divine Providence. Josephus, in some of the places where he speaks of the putrefaction of the dead bodies, may use expressions equivalent to pestilential; but he never shews that there was an infection: if there had, it would [illegible] affected the Romans and the Jews, and the siege of the place must have been broken up, and the Romans would have gone off as fast as they could.

5. None can forbear to observe the time when all these things came to pass. Our Lord says, Matt. xxiii. 36. "Verily, I say unto you, all these things shall come upon this generation." And xxiv. 34. "Verily, I say unto you, This generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled." So likewise Mark xiii. 30. and Luke xxi. 32. So it was. All these things foretold by our Lord came to pass before the end of that generation of men. Jerusalem and the temple were no more, before the end of the year 70 of the Christian epoch, and within forty years after his crucifixion.

Concerning the time also our Lord said: "And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witness to all nations:" Matt. xxiv. 14. Comp. Mark xiii. 10.

This we know from Christian writings, particularly the books of the New Testament, most of which were written before the destruction of Jerusalem. They bear witness that the gospel had been preached to Jews and Gentiles in Judea, Syria, Asia, Greece, Macedonia and Rome, and other places, and with great success: and the preaching of the gospel throughout the world was a testimony to all nations that the calamities inflicted upon the Jewish people were just and fit. They bear witness that the Jewish nation had been called upon to repent, and were faithfully, and affectionately, and earnestly, warned and admonished; but they refused to hearken. See the Acts of the apostles, and Mark xvi. 20. Rom. x. 18, Col. i. 6, and 23.

Says archbishop Tillotson: 'We[b] have this matter related, not by a Christian (who might 'be suspected of partiality and a design to have paralleled the event with our Saviour's *predic-* 'tion), but by a Jew, both by nation and religion, who seems designedly to have avoided, as 'much as possibly he could, the very mention of the Christian name, and all particulars relating 'to our Saviour, though no historian was ever more punctual in other things.'

Says Mr. Tillemont:[c] 'God has been pleased to chuse for our information in this history, not 'an apostle, nor any of the chief men of the church, but an obstinate Jew, whom neither the 'view of the virtue and miracles of the Christians, nor the knowledge of the law, nor the ruin of 'his religion and country, could induce to believe in and love the Messiah, who was all the 'expectation of the nation. God has permitted it so to be, that the testimony which this historian 'gave to an event, of which he did not comprehend the mystery, might not be rejected neither 'by Jews nor heathens; and that none might be able to say that he had altered the truth of 'things to favour Jesus Christ and his disciples.'

Dr. W. Wotton says of Josephus: 'He[d] is certainly an author very justly to be valued, not- 'withstanding all his faults. His History of the Jewish War is a noble demonstration of the 'truth of the Christian religion; by shewing, in the most lively manner, how the prophecies of 'our blessed Lord, concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, were literally fulfilled in their fullest 'extent.'

And Dr. Doddridge, in his notes upon chap. xxiv. of St. Matthew's gospel, says: 'Christian 'writers ' have always with great reason represented Josephus's History of the Jewish War as 'the best commentary upon this chapter. And many have justly remarked it, as a wonderful 'instance of the care of Providence for the Christian church, that he, an eye-witness, and in these 'things of so great credit, should (especially in so extraordinary a manner) be preserved to 'transmit to us a collection of important facts which so exactly illustrate this noble prophecy in 'almost every particular circumstance. But as it would swell my notes too much to enter into 'a particular detail of those circumstances, I must content myself with referring to Dr. Whitby's 'excellent notes upon the twenty-fourth of Matthew, and to archbishop Tillotson's large and

ville durant les chaleurs de l' été, de si méchantes nourritures, et surtout la puanteur de tant de corps morts, n'aient joint la peste à la famine. Joseph n'en parle néanmoins qu'en un endroit, en passant; ce qui marque qu'elle ne fut pas considérable. Till. Ruine des Juifs. art. 67. p. 960.

[a] Vid. De B. Jud. l. 5, cap. xii. sect. 4.

[b] Vol. 2. p. 563, serm. 186, the seventh sermon upon 2 Cor. iv. 3, 4.

[c] Ruine des Juifs, art. 1. p. 722.

[d] Preface to his Miscellaneous Discourses relating to the Traditions and Usages of the Scribes and Pharisees, p. [illegible]. The faults, which he observes in Josephus, [illegible] seen at p. xxxiii. &c.

[e] The Family Expositor, sect. 160, Vol. 2. p. 378.

'accurate discourse on the same subject, in the second volume of his posthumous works. Serm. '183—187.

Isidore of Pelusium, who flourished about the year 412, in one of his epistles has these expressions: 'If you have a mind to know what punishment the wicked Jews underwent, who 'ill-treated the Christ, read the history of their destruction, written by Josephus, a Jew indeed, 'but a lover of truth, that you may see the wonderful story, such as no time ever saw before 'since the beginning of the world, nor ever shall see. For that none might refuse to give credit 'to the history of their incredible and unparalleled sufferings, truth found out not a stranger, 'but a native, and a man fond of their institutions, to relate them in a doleful strain.'

Eusebius often quotes Josephus, and, in his Ecclesiastical History, has transcribed from him several articles at large. Having rehearsed from the gospels divers of our Lord's predictions of the evils then coming upon Jerusalem, and the Jewish people, he adds: 'Whosoever[b] shall com- 'pare these words of our Saviour with the history of the whole war, published by the above- 'mentioned writer, must admire our Lord's great wisdom, and acknowledge that his foresight 'was divine.'

In his Chronicle, as we have it from Jerom in Latin, Eusebius says: 'In[c] subduing Judea, 'and overthrowing Jerusalem, Titus slew six hundred thousand people: but Josephus writes, 'that eleven hundred thousand perished by famine and the sword, and that another hundred 'thousand were publicly sold and carried captives: and he says that the occasion of there 'being so great a multitude of people at Jerusalem was this, that it was the time of passover; 'for which reason the Jews, having come up from all parts to worship at the temple, were 'shut up in the city as in a prison. And indeed it was fit they should be slain at the same time 'in which they crucified our Saviour.'

It is certainly very fit that Christians should attend to the fulfilment of our Lord's predictions relating to the Jewish people, which are so frequent, so solemn and affectionate. The testimony of Josephus is the most considerable of all: it is the most full, and particular, and exact of any we have, or have the knowledge of; and he was an eye-witness; and he was manifestly zealous for the honour of his country: he had a great respect for the temple, and its worship, and for all the peculiarities of the Mosaic law; and he continued to have the same to the last, as appears from his own life and his books against Apion.

X. Josephus, in the preface to his own work, intimates that some histories of the war had been before written by others: but he represents them as partial and defective, and composed by men who were not well informed. Undoubtedly none of these remain now: they have been lost long since.

Justus of Tiberias, contemporary with Josephus, between whom there were many differences, also wrote a history of the War. Josephus in his Life chargeth him with falsehood, and blames him for not publishing his work until after the death of Vespasian and Titus, and king Agrippa. Josephus owns[d] that Justus was well skilled in Greek learning: and he plainly says that he wrote of the war.

I do not clearly perceive Eusebius[e] to have known any thing of Justus but what he learned from the testimonies of Josephus, above referred to by me.

Justus[f] is in Jerom's Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers. He seems to ascribe to him two books.

Photius[g] I think speaks of but one work of this author, which he calls a Chronicle. He says it began with Moses and ended at the death of Agrippa. He also takes notice of Josephus's censures both of the author himself and his work.

Stephanus Byzantinus, in his article of Tiberias, says: 'Of[h] this city was Justus, who wrote 'of the Jewish war in the time of Vespasian.'

[a] Lib. 4, ep. 75. vid. et ep. 74.

[b] H. E. l. 3, cap. 8. p. 81. D.

[c] Titus Judæâ captâ, et Jerosolymis subversis DC millia virorum interfecit. Josephus vero scribit undecies centena millia fame et gladio periisse, et alia centum millia captivorum publice venumdata. Ut autem tanta multitudo Jerosolymis reperiretur, causam Azymorum fuisse refert; ob quam ex omni gente Judæi ad templum confluentes urbe quasi carcere sunt retenti. Oportuit enim in iisdem diebus eos interfici, in quibus Salvatorem crucifixerant. Chron. p. 162.

[d] Και γαρ οδ' απειρος ην παιδειας της παρ' Ελλησιν, ἡ θαρρων επεχειρησεν και την ἱστοριαν των πραγματων τουτων αναγραφων. κ. λ. Joseph. Vit. sect. 9. Vid. et sect. 65.

[e] H. E. l. 3. cap. x. p. 86, B.

[f] Justus Tiberiensis, de provinciâ Galilæâ, conatus est et ipse Judaïcarum rerum historiam texere, et quosdam commentariolos de Scripturis componere, &c. De V. I. cap. 14.

[g] Ανεγνωσθη Ιωσηπου Τιβεριεως χρονικων. κ. λ. Cod. 33. p. 20.

[h] Εκ ταυτης ην Ιουστος, ὁ τον Ιουδαικον πολεμον τον κατα Ουεσπασιανον ἱστορησας. Steph. Byz.

Diogenes Laertius,[a] in his Life of Socrates, quotes a passage from Justus of Tiberias, and seems to quote the same book that was read by Photius.

Several learned moderns[b] are of opinion that Justus, like Josephus, wrote two books, one of the Jewish War, another of the Jewish Antiquities. Menage,[c] in his notes upon Diogenes Laertius, ascribes to Justus three books, that is, Memoirs, beside the two before mentioned. I rather think there was but one, and that what Justus wrote of the war was comprised in the Chronicle. Menage's argument from Suidas is of no value; for Suidas expresseth himself inaccurately: nor does he mention more than two works: the Memoirs, ὑπομνηματα, are the same with Jerom's Commentarioli de Scripturis. Indeed Suidas only transcribes Jerom, or his interpreter Sophronius, and has done it inaccurately.

Some[d] learned men lament the loss of this work. Others[e] think it was of little value. I cannot but wish that the work, which was in being in the time of Photius, had also reached us. It must have been of some use. Perhaps the censure passed upon it by Josephus, who was in great credit, has been a prejudice to it.

I have allowed myself to enlarge in my notice of this writer, who lived at the time, and was an actor in the Jewish war with the Romans. Though his work is not extant, he is a witness to that important transaction.

Pausanias, who[f] lived in the second century, and wrote after the year of our Lord 180, speaks[g] of a monument of queen Helena at Jerusalem, which (city) an emperor of the Romans had destroyed to the foundation.

'Minucius Felix refers[h] the heathen people not only to Josephus, but also to Antonius 'Julianus, a Roman author, from whom they might learn that the Jews had not been ruined nor 'abandoned of God till they had first abandoned him: and that their present low condition was 'owing to their wickedness and obstinacy therein, and that nothing had happened to them but 'what had been foretold.'

Who that Julianus was cannot be said. There have been several of that name, one[i] of whom was procurator of Judea, and was present with Titus at the siege of Jerusalem, as we know from Josephus. Tillemont says that[k] possibly he wrote a history of the siege of Jerusalem. G. Vossius,[l] upon the ground of this passage of Minucius, puts Antonius Julianus among Latin historians who had written a history of the Jews.

Minucius reckons Josephus among Roman writers. Dr. Davis suspects it to be an interpolation, and assigns not improbable reasons in his notes upon the place.

Suetonius[m] has mentioned the occasion of the war, the appointment of Vespasian to be general, his and his son's triumph at[n] Rome, and several other material things, which have been already observed, or will in time be observed by us from him.

What[o] Tacitus has written upon this subject, so far as it remains, may be taken notice of hereafter.

Dion Cassius[p] is another witness, whose testimony also may be taken more at large hereafter.

[a] Φησιν Ιωσηπος ὁ Τιβεριευς εν τῳ γεμματι. Diog. La. l. 2. sect. 41.

[b] Unde colligo (ex Hieronymi Catalogo,) ut Josephus, ita et Justum, non modo de Antiquitatibus Judaïcis, sed seorsum etiam de Bello Judaïco scripsisse. Voss. de H. Gr. Vid. et Vales. Ann. in Euseb. l. 3, cap. x. Tillem. Ruine de Juifs. art. 82.

[c] Scripsit ille Historiam Judaïcam, eodem tempore quo Josephus, a quo mendacii arguitur. Scripsit præterea ὑπομνηματα, quorum meminit Suidas. Scripsit et Chronicon Regum Judæorum, qui coronati fuere; ut est apud Photium: quod opus signat hic Laërtius. Menag. in loc. p. 94.

[d] Josephus, in Vitâ suâ, et alibi, quasi parum fido scriptori conviciatur. Sed, de inimico, non magis ei crediderim, quam Justo de Josepho crederem, si historia ejus exstaret, atque in eâ æmulo ab eo detractum viderem. Utinam vero, quæcumque fuerit, ad nos usque pervenisset. Cleric. H. E. A. C. C. cap. vii.

[e] Tillem. as above, art. 80.

[f] See Tillem. L'Emp. Marc. Aurele. art. xxxii.

[g] Ἑβραιος δε Ἑλενης γυναικος επιχωριας ταφος εστιν εν πολει Σολυμοις, ἡν ες εδαφος κατεβαλεν ὁ Ρωμαιων βασιλευς. Pausan. l. 8, cap. 16, p. 633.

[h] Scripta eorum relege. Vel si Romanis magis gaudes, ut transeamus veteres, Flavii Josephi, vel Antonii Juliani, de Judæis require. Jam scies, nequitiâ suâ hanc eos meruisse fortunam: nec quidquam accidisse, quod non sit his, si in contumaciâ perseverarent, ante prædictum. Ita prius eos deseruisse comprehendes, quam esse desertos; nec, ut impie loqueris, cum Deo suo esse captos, sed a Deo, ut disciplinæ transfugas, deditos. Minuc. c. 33. Conf. c. 10.

[i] Και Μαρκος Αντωνιος, ὁ της Ιουδαιας επιτροπος. Jos. de B. J. l. 6. cap. iv. 3.

[k] Ruine des Juifs, art. 72.

[l] Antonius Julianus Judaïcam videtur historiam consignasse. &c. De Hist. Lat. l. 3. De Historicis incertæ [illegible]

[m] Sueton. Vespas. c. 4, 5.

[n] ——ac triumphum utriusque Judaïcum, eodem albo comitatus est. Domit. c. 2.

[o] Vid. Tac. Hist. Lib. v.

[p] Dio. l. 66, sub in.

Philostratus says that 'when [a] Titus had taken Jerusalem, and filled all about it with dead 'bodies, and the neighbouring nations offered him crowns, he said he was not worthy of such an 'honour, nor had he himself, he said, done that great work. He had only lent his hand in the 'service of God, when he was pleased to shew his displeasure.' Philostratus says that Apollonius was much pleased with that token of wisdom and humanity. He likewise says that Apollonius wrote a letter to Titus, and sent it by Damis, to this purpose: 'Apollonius sendeth greeting to 'Titus emperor of the Romans. Since you refuse to be applauded for bloodshed and victory in 'war, I send you the crown of moderation. You know for what things crowns are due.'

Hence divers learned men have argued that Titus refused to be crowned for his victory over the Jews. Basnage,[b] and other learned men, on the contrary, are of opinion that we may rely upon the authority of Josephus, who tells us that 'he went from Antioch to Zeugma, whither 'came to him messengers from Vologesus, king of Parthia, and brought him a crown of gold 'upon the victory obtained by him over the Jews; which he accepted of, and feasted the king's 'messengers, and then returned to Antioch.' Moreover he accepted of a triumph for his victory over the Jews, and all other honours customary upon the like occasion. Nevertheless Olearius, in his notes upon the place, argues that [c] Philostratus needs not to be understood to say that Titus refused the crowns offered him, but only said that he was unworthy of that honour, he having been only an instrument in the hand of God for displaying his just vengeance against guilty men.

And it must be owned that Olearius expresseth himself with great judgment and moderation. Either way those learned men are to be reckoned mistaken, who have maintained that Titus refused to be crowned for his victory over the Jews.

However, we are still to reckon Philostratus, at the beginning of the third century, a good witness to the overthrow of Jerusalem by Titus.

These are early heathen authors who have related the destruction of Jerusalem, and thereby bore testimony to the accomplishment of our Lord's predictions concerning it.

Nor can any forget the triumphal arch of Titus, still standing at Rome, of which we before took notice.

'There [d] is also an ancient inscription to the honour of Titus, who, by his father's directions 'and counsels, had subdued the Jewish nation, and destroyed Jerusalem, which had never been 'destroyed by any princes or people before.'

Which has occasioned some learned men to say that even inscriptions are not free from flattery. But then it must be owned that [e] the genuineness and antiquity of this inscription has been called in question: and there are some reasons to doubt whether this comes from the senate of Rome itself, as is pretended.

[a] Επει δε Τιτος ἠρηκει τα Σολυμα, και νεκρων πλεα ην παντα, τα ὁμορα τε ἐθνη εςεφανεν αυτον. Ὁ δε εκ ἠξιε ἑαυτον τοτε· μη γαρ αυτον ταυτα ειργασθαι, θεῳ δε ὀργην φηναντι επεδεδωκεναι τας ἑαυτε χειρας. κ. λ. Philos. de Vit. Apol. l. 6. cap. 29.

[b] Modestiam Titi laudibus effert Baronius, quod, 'oblatâ sibi coronâ aureâ a provinciis, noluit coronari, testatus se prorsus indignum.' Usserius, aliique eruditi illud et ipsum tradunt, freti auctoritate Philostrati.——Basnag. Ann. 70. n. xvi.

[c] Quem tamen Josephi locum immerito Philostrato opponi putem.——Neque enim Philostratus 'repudiâsse coronam' Titum ait, atque eâ non acceptâ legatos dimisisse, quod viro docto interpretes persuasere, sed hoc tantum, quod eo honore se indignum dixerit; justitiæ Dei vindicatricis instrumentum, cujus nullæ fuerint in istis patrandis propriæ vires, sese exstitisse agnoscens, &c. Olear. in loc.

[d] Imp. Tito. Cæsari. Divi. Vespasiani. F.
Vespasiano. Aug. Pontifici. Maximo
Trib. Pot. x. Imp. xvii. Cos. viii. P. P.
Principi. suo. S. P. Q. R.
Quod. Præceptis. Patris. Consiliisque. et
Auspiciis. Gentem. Judæorum. Domuit. Et
Urbem. Hierosolymam. Omnibus. Ante. Se
Ducibus. Regibus. Gentibusque. aut. Frustra
Petitam. aut. omnino. Intentatam. Delevit.
Ap. Gruter. p. 244.

[e] Ubi steterit, ignoratur. Scaliger vult ab Onufrio fictum. Ap. Gruter. Ib.

CHAP. IV.

THREE PARAGRAPHS IN THE WORKS OF JOSEPHUS CONCERNING JOHN THE BAPTIST, OUR SAVIOUR, AND JAMES, THE LORD'S BROTHER; AND OBSERVATIONS UPON THE WRITINGS OF JOSEPHUS.

I. *Of John the Baptist.* II. *Concerning the Lord Jesus Christ.* III. *Concerning James, the Lord's Brother.* IV. *Concluding observations upon the writings and testimony of Josephus.*

I. 'About this time,' says [a] Josephus, 'there happened a difference between Aretas king of 'Petræa and Herod upon this occasion. Herod the tetrarch had married the daughter of 'Aretas, and lived a considerable time with her. But, in a journey he took to Rome, he made 'a visit to [b] Herod his brother, though not by the same mother——Here falling in love with 'Herodias, wife of the same Herod, daughter of their brother Aristobulus, and sister of Agrippa 'the great, he ventured to make to her proposals of marriage. She not disliking them, they 'agreed together at that time, that when he was returned from Rome she should go and live 'with him. And it was one part of the contract, that Aretas's daughter should be put away. 'This [c] was the beginning of the difference; and there being also some disputes about the limits 'of their territories, a war arose between Aretas and Herod. And in a battle fought by them 'Herod's whole army was defeated.'

'But,' says [d] Josephus, 'some of the Jews were of opinion that God had suffered Herod's 'army to be destroyed as a just punishment on him for the death of John, called the Baptist. 'For Herod had killed him, who was a just man, and had called upon the Jews to be baptized, 'and to practise virtue, exercising both justice toward men and piety toward God. For so 'would baptism be acceptable to God, if they made use of it, not for the expiation of their sins, 'but for the purity of the body, the mind being first purified by righteousness. And many 'coming to him (for they were wonderfully taken with his discourses), Herod was seized with 'apprehensions, lest by his authority they should be led into sedition against him; for they 'seemed capable of undertaking any thing by his direction. Herod therefore thought it better 'to take him off before any disturbance happened, than to run the risk of a change of affairs, 'and of repenting when it should be too late to remedy disorders. Being taken up upon this 'suspicion of Herod, and being sent bound to the castle of Machærus, just mentioned, he was 'slain there. The Jews were of opinion that the destruction of Herod's army was a punishment 'upon him for that action, God being displeased with him.'

The genuineness of this passage is generally admitted by learned men; though [e] Blondell hesitated about it. Tanaquil Faber [f] received it very readily.

The genuineness of this paragraph may be argued in the following manner.

It is quoted or referred to by Origen in his books against Celsus. 'Besides,' [g] says that

[a] Antiq. l. 18. cap. v. sect. 1.

[b] Our evangelists call him Philip, Matt. xiv. 3, and elsewhere. That difficulty was considered formerly. Josephus and the evangelists mean the same person, though they call him by different names. See Vol. i. p. 212, &c.

[c] Ὁ δε αρχην εχθρας ταυτην ποιησαμενος, περι τε ὁρων εν τῃ γῃ τῃ Γαμαλιτιδι, και δυναμεως ἑκατερῳ συλλεγειστης, εις πολεμον καθιστανται· και μαχης γενομενης, διεφθαρη πας ὁ Ἡρωδε στρατος. κ. λ. ib. sect. 1.

[d] Τισι δε των Ιουδαιων εδοκει, ολωλεναι τον Ἡρωδε στρατον ὑπο τε Θεε, και μαλα δικαιως τινυμενε κατα ποινην Ιωαννε τε επικαλεμενε Βαπτιστε. Κτεινει γαρ τετον Ἡρωδης, αγαθον ανδρα, και τες Ιουδαιες κελευοντα, αρετην επασκεντας, και τῃ προς αλληλες δικαιοσυνῃ και προς τον Θεον ευσεβεια χρωμενες, βαπτισμῳ συνιεναι· ἑτω γαρ την βαπτισιν αποδεκτην αυτῳ φανεισθαι, μη επι τινων ἁμαρταδων παραιτησει χρωμενων, αλλ' εφ' ἁγνεια τε σωματος, ὁτε δη και της ψυχης δικαιοσυνῃ προεκκεκαθαρμενης. Και των αλλων συστρεφομενων· και γαρ ἡδεως επι πλειστον τῃ ακροασει των λογων· δεισας Ἡρωδης το επι τοσονδε πιθανον αυτε τοις ανθρωποις μη επι αποστασει τινι φεροι, παντα γαρ εοικεσαν συμβελῃ τῃ εκεινε πραξοντες· πολυ κρειττον ἡγειται, πριν τι νεωτερον ἐξ αυτε γενεσθαι, προλαβων ἀναιρειν, ἡ, μεταβολης γενομενης, εις τα πραγματα εμπεσων μετανοειν. Και ὁ μεν ὑποψια τῃ Ἡρωδε δεσμιος εις τον Μαχαιραντα πεμφθεις, το προειρημενον φρουριον, ταυτῃ κειται. Τοις δε Ιουδαιοις δοξαν, επι τιμωρια τε εκεινε τον ολεθρον επι στρατευματι γενεσθαι, τῃ Θεε κακως Ἡρωδε βεληθεντος. Ib. sect. 2.

[e] Des Sibylles. l. 1, c. vii. p. 28, 29.

[f] Fab. ap. Haverc. p. 269, 270.

[g] Εθελομην δ' αν Κελσῳ, προσωποποιησαντι τον Ιουδαιον παραδεξαμενον πως Ιωαννην ὡς βαπτιστην, βαπτιζοντα τον Ιησεν,

ancient writer: 'I would have Celsus, who personates a Jew, who after a sort admits John the 'Baptist, and that he baptized Jesus, to consider that an author, who wrote not long after 'the time of John, and Jesus, says that John was a baptist, and that he baptized for the 'remission of sins. For in the eighteenth book of his Jewish Antiquities Josephus bears witness 'to John that he was a baptist, and promised purification to those who were baptized.'

Here it may be objected that Origen supposes Josephus to say, that John promised purification, or forgiveness of sins to those who were baptized: whereas Josephus says of John, that 'he 'taught the people to make use of baptism, not for the expiation of their sins, but for the purity 'of the body.'

But I do not think that a sufficient reason why we should hesitate to allow that Origen refers to the passage which we now have in Josephus. Certainly Origen did not design to say, or intimate, that John promised to men the forgiveness of their sins barely upon their being baptized; but only upon the condition that they repented, or, as the phrase is in the gospels, that "they brought forth fruits meet for repentance:" or, as in Josephus, 'the mind being first purified by 'righteousness.' I therefore proceed.

This passage of Josephus is distinctly and largely quoted by [a] Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History.

Jerom [b] also must be allowed to refer to the same in his book of Illustrious Men, though he does it very inaccurately.

This passage was read in Josephus by [c] Photius, as is apparent.

I do not think it needful for me to refer to any more ancient authors: but I shall consider some difficulties.

Obj. 1. In the first place, it has been said that this passage interrupts the course of the narration.

In answer to which I must say that I do not perceive it: the connexion is very good in my opinion.

Obj. 2. Secondly, it is objected that in the preceding section Machærus is spoken of as subject to Aretas: therefore John the Baptist could not be sent prisoner thither by Herod the tetrarch.

To which I answer. It is there said to be subject to Aretas, father of Herod's wife: *τοτε πατρι αυτης υποτελη.* But it is also there said to be in the borders of the government of Aretas and Herod: *μεθοριον δε εςι της τε Αρετα και Ηρωδε αρχης.*

The history in that very section does not lead us to think that Machærus was in the possession of Aretas, but of Herod. It is thus: 'Herod's wife, daughter of Aretas, having discovered 'the agreement he had made with Herodias to come and live with him, and having discovered 'it before he had notice of her knowledge of the design, she desired him to send her to Machærus, 'a place in the borders of the dominions of Aretas and Herod, without informing him of her 'intentions. Accordingly Herod sent her thither, as thinking his wife had not perceived any 'thing of the affair.'

By that means she got to her father. But hence, I think, it may be collected that Machærus was not then a part of her father's dominions: for, if it had, her request to be sent thither would have occasioned suspicions in Herod's mind. Moreover, it may be argued, from many things in Josephus, that Machærus was now in the possession of Herod the tetrarch. It belonged to his father, Herod the great, who had both adorned it and fortified it: and it was in the hands of the Jewish people during the time of the war, and was [d] one of the last places that were taken by the Romans after the siege of Jerusalem was over.

Obj. 3. According to our evangelists, the daughter of Herodias obtained the promise of John the Baptist's head at the time of a public entertainment: and it was delivered to her presently. But how could that be done if John was imprisoned at Machærus, at a great distance from Herod's court?

ειπειν· ότι το Ιωαννην γεγονεναι βαπτιςην, εις αφεσιν αμαρτηματων βαπτιζοντα, ανεγραψε τις των μετ' ε πολυ τε Ιωαννε και τε Ιησε γεγενημενων. Εν γαρ τω οκτωκαιδεκατω της Ιεδαϊκης αρχαιολογιας ὁ Ιωσηπος μαρτυρει τω Ιωαννη ὡς βαπτιςη γεγενημενω, και καθαρσιον τοις βαπτισαμενοις επαγγελλομενω. Cont. Cels. l. 1. sect. 47, p. 35.

[a] H. E. l. 1. cap. xi.

[b] Hic in decimo octavo Antiquitatum libro manifestissime confitetur, propter magnitudinem signorum Christum a Pharisæis interfectum; et Johannem Baptistam vere prophetam fuisse. De V. I. cap. xiii.

[c] Cod. 238, p. 972.

[d] Vid. De B. J. l. 7, cap. vi.

To which I answer, first, that Herod the tetrarch may have kept his birthday and made that entertainment at Machærus; for his father, Herod the great, had built a palace there, with large and beautiful [a] apartments. Says Tillemont: 'We [b] learn from Josephus that he was 'beheaded at Machærus, where it is easily supposed that Herod made his feast: [Vaid. in Matt. 'p. 304, a.] for it was a palace as well as a citadel.' Secondly, supposing the entertainment to have been made at the capital city of Galilee, the promise might be made at the time of the entertainment, but the execution might be deferred till the next day, or till several days after.

Obj. 4. Still it may be said that this paragraph contradicts our evangelists: for according to them, it was at the solicitation of Herodias and her daughter that John was beheaded. But here it is said that Herod put John to death because he feared he might be the cause of a sedition.

But there is no inconsistence in these things; for Herod might, as is said in this paragraph, have apprehensions from John's popularity, and be disposed, upon that account, to take him off. Lesser differences there may be in several historians, who write of the same matter with different views: and some circumstances may be mentioned by one writer which are omitted by others.

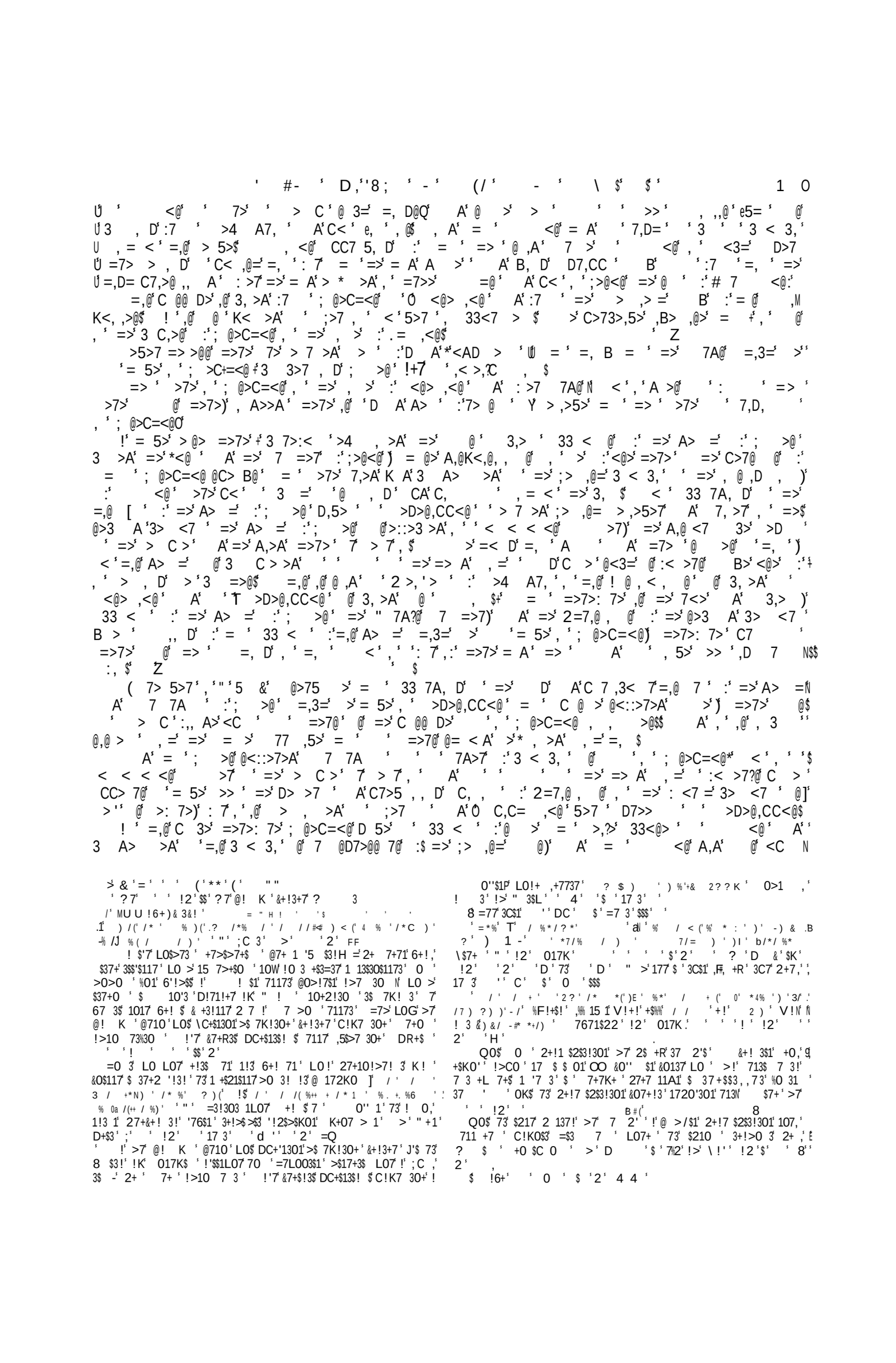
I shall give an instance from the writings of the New Testament: Acts ix. 22—25. "But Saul increased the more in strength, and confounded the Jews which dwelt at Damascus, proving that this is very Christ. And after that many days were fulfilled, the Jews took counsel to kill him; but their lying in wait was known to Saul: and they watched the gates day and night to kill him. Then the disciples took him by night, and let him down by the wall in a basket." So says St. Luke. Let us now observe St. Paul himself. 2 Cor. xi. 31—33. "The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is blessed for evermore, knoweth that I lie not. In Damascus the governor, under Aretas the king, guarded the city of the Damascenes, desirous to apprehend me; and through a window in a basket was I let down by the wall, and escaped him." St. Luke and St. Paul write of the same thing, as is apparent, and is allowed by all commentators and ecclesiastical historians: nevertheless, here is a very considerable difference of circumstances. St. Paul says nothing of the Jews, and St. Luke says nothing of the governor of Damascus. But we can conclude from St. Paul that the Jews had engaged the governor in their interest, who, with the soldiers, kept strict guard at all the gates of the city: but there was a window or opening in some part of the wall, to which his friends had access; and through that they let him down by the side of the wall, in a basket held by a rope, and he escaped. The danger was very pressing, and the apostle was much affected with it.

So far from contradicting the evangelists, this account in the paragraph greatly confirms them. In the preceding paragraph Josephus assures us of the unlawful contract made by Herod, that Herodias should leave her first husband and come and live with him. In this paragraph he gives an account of John's doctrine, very agreeable to that in the gospels—that he earnestly recommended the practice of righteousness toward men, and piety toward God; that he taught men not to rely on baptism, or any other external rites, for the forgiveness of their sins, unless their minds were also purified by righteousness: and he assures us that John was in great esteem with the Jewish people. The same is also said by our evangelists, who tell us that "all men held John for a prophet." He likewise says that John, called the Baptist, was imprisoned by Herod, and afterwards put to death by his order.

We may be the more induced to admit the genuineness of this paragraph, because there is nothing in it out of character. Josephus did not receive our Jesus as the Christ: nor is there here any mention made of that part of John's character, that he was the forerunner of the Christ, or referred men to him.

There may have been many Jews who had a great regard for John, and yet did not believe in Jesus as the Christ. St. Paul met with twelve Jews of that sort at Ephesus, about the year of our Lord 53, as appears from a history at the beginning of Acts xix. "He said unto them: Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed? They said unto him: We have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost. And he said unto them: Unto what then were ye baptized? And they said: Unto John's baptism. Then said Paul: John verily baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people that they should believe on him which should come after him; that is, on Christ Jesus." These men had received John's baptism as

[a] Μεσον δε τε περιβολε βασιλειον ωκοδομησατο, μεγεθει τε και καλλει των οικησεων πολυτελες. κ.λ. De B. J. l. 7, c. vi. sect. 2.
[b] S. Jean Battiste, art. viii. p. 101. Mem. Ec. T. 1.



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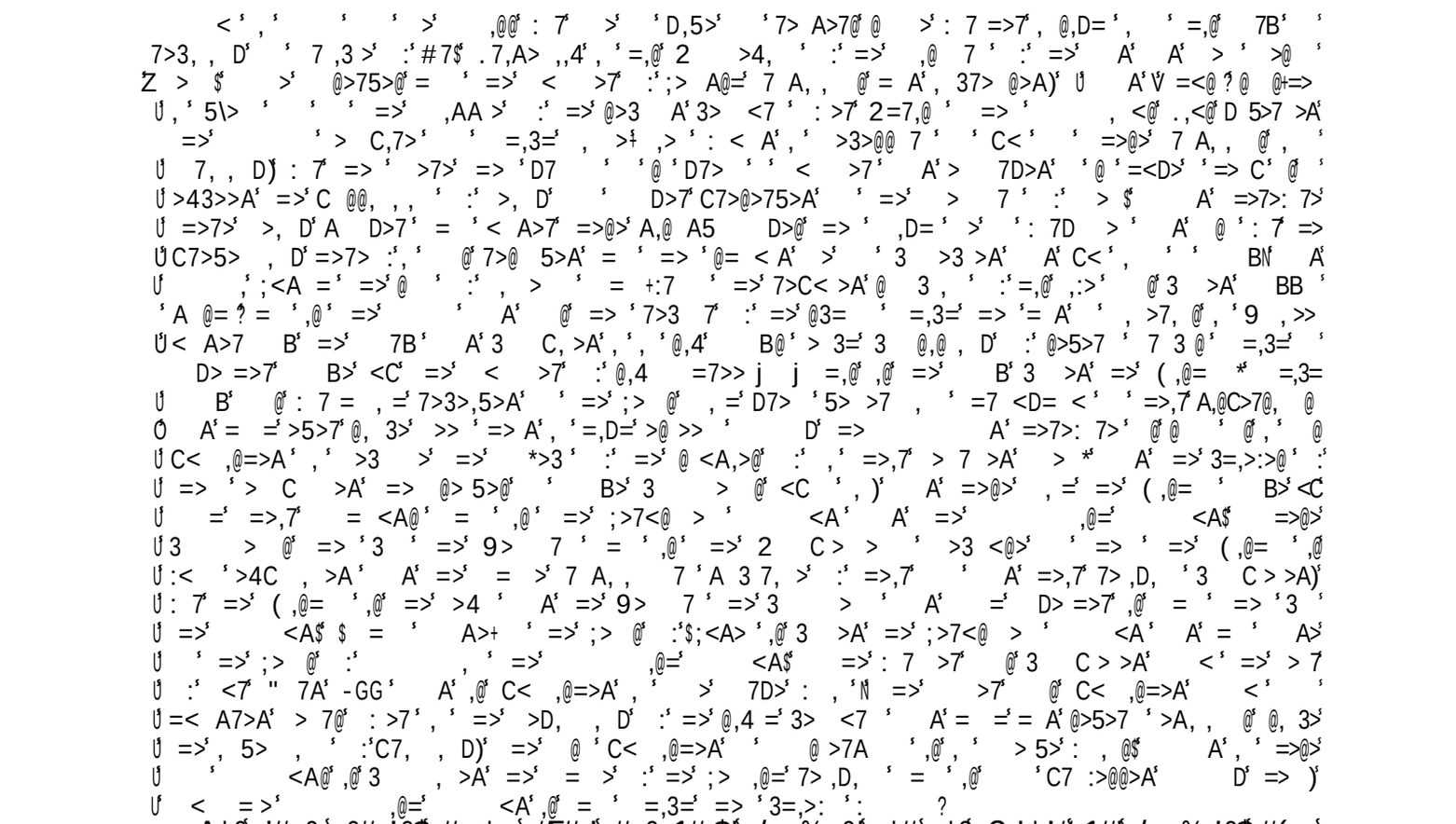

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#7$ˢ " ,D= : ˢ c% ˢ :ˢ ;>7<@ > ˢ @>3 ˢ 5,,$+ˢ 5 $ˢ ,$ˢ C$ˢ P Fˢ @ @ˢ = ˢ Uˢ $+ˢ ;<A =ˢ `*< ,5>Aˢ Uˢ =ˢ =>ˢ , >@ˢ Aˢ 2 A<@ˢ @ $?ˢ Aˢ : >7 7A@ˢ , ˢ =>ˢ @ >ˢ C D>)ˢ Uˢ >ˢ 3 ˢ Uˢ C, >Aˢ ,>ˢ (,@= ˢ < ˢ =>ˢ > 7ˢ :ˢ 2=7,@ˢ /HGNˢ , ˢ =>ˢ >7ˢ > Aˢ :ˢ ,>ˢ 7>,D ˢ :ˢ 2 A<@Nˢ 7ˢ Uˢ @ˢ @ >ˢ 3 C< >ˢ , ˢ =>ˢ > 7ˢ :ˢ 2=7,@ˢ EEGˢ ˢ =< A7>Aˢ Aˢ :,: ˢ > 7@ˢ : >7ˢ =>ˢ A>@ 7<3 , ˢ :ˢ Uˢ ;>7<@ > $?

!ˢ A ˢ ˢ B>ˢ <C ˢ >ˢ ˢ 3 >@ˢ ˢ ˢ = ˢ .7,A> <4ˢ @ @ˢ :ˢ =>ˢ , >@ˢ :ˢ =>] ˢ <A@)ˢ < ˢ !ˢ <@ˢ @ ˢ ˢ :> ˢ =, D@ˢ < ˢ =>ˢ , >ˢ :ˢ =>ˢ (,@= $$ˢ !ˢ ˢ ˢ ,ˢ ;>=<A =ˢ =>ˢ 3 C @>7ˢ :ˢ , ˢ ˢ 3 > C 7 7 ˢ , =ˢ , <@ˢ =>ˢ C, <@ˢNˢ = <D=ˢ =>ˢ @ 7,>@ˢ Aˢ ˢ =>ˢ ;> ,@=ˢ 7, >7@ˢ :ˢ =>ˢ : 5 <7@ˢ @=> ˢ =, ˢ ˢ = ˢ > C>7 7ˢ <@ˢ >ˢ 7>3B >Aˢ C 7 ˢ : < <@$ˢ <]ˢ , Dˢ =, ˢ ˢ =>ˢ 3 > C 7 7 ˢ , =ˢ , <@ˢ = ˢ A,>Aˢ , ˢ =>ˢ > 7ˢ ˢ , ˢ A >@ˢ ˢ : ˢ = ˢ =>ˢ (,@= ˢ @ˢ 3 C @>Aˢ @ ˢ @ ˢ @ˢ =>ˢ > 7ˢ :ˢ 2=7,@ˢ /-G$ˢ //$ˢ ;>=<A =ˢ ,@ˢ @<CM C @>Aˢ ˢ = 5>ˢ = Aˢ ˢ Dˢ ,:>Nˢ Aˢ =>ˢ 3 C, , Dˢ :ˢ =>ˢ (,@= ˢ =,3=ˢ <@ˢ = 5>ˢ >> ˢ =>ˢ 7Bˢ :ˢ ˢ > 7@ˢ Aˢ <3=ˢ >,@<7>ˢ Aˢ A> , >7 >ˢ = <D= ˢ Aˢ 3 @,A>7 , ˢ ˢ ˢ = 5>ˢ >> ˢ :, ,@=>Aˢ >: 7>ˢ =>ˢ > 7ˢ /HGˢ 7ˢ >7$ˢ !:ˢ =>7>: 7>ˢ !ˢ C 3>ˢ =,@ˢ 7Bˢ ˢ =>ˢ > Oˢ /OGˢ !ˢ =, Bˢ !

ˢ + ˢ) !&ˢ 4 %&ˢ +& #ˢ BB ˢ , ˢ C$ˢ T3ˢ % ˢ M 9&ˢ 1 % % $ˢ :ˢ !4%6 $ˢ , ˢ /$ˢ T ˢ #!)#ˢ Iˢ Iˢ + ˢ & #! (ˢ ˢ ! ("ˢ ; ! #ˢ + ˢ (, & 3 #$ˢ ! "$ˢ 3% # 0)$ˢ + >ˢ ! +%&)ˢ % ˢ + ˢ *!4) % #+ˢ : (!&! ˢ+! # ˢ % ˢ +! >ˢ +), &4% 3!ˢ ! "ˢ !4 % # # $ˢ %&ˢ ; + 3+ˢ + ˢ % + &ˢ # #%ˢ Iˢ + 8+)ˢ 6! "ˢ 4)ˢ + ˢ (%" & ˢ /! (" # # A !44ˢ + "! ($ˢ 0 ˢ 5! 3 ˢ 3%8 % (ˢ &ˢ # %#ˢ (& $ˢ ˢ - % ˢ ˢ (, &! %& #ˢ ! 0 ! # $ˢ (#ˢ 6!# &! $ˢ $ˢ ,4ˢ ! !#ˢ 8 #ˢ # #ˢ (# & !#Mˢ ˢ ˢ & (% ## (#ˢ && #ˢ " ,%&

3!> 71ˢ +!'$1ˢ 7 ˢ 2'! 7ˢ $ˢ C &$! ˢ ! $ $1ˢ K'$37+!+73O+ˢ Z !67 1ˢ ;+ˢ 2ˢ .ˢ =7>ˢ 2+!7 $207ˢ 7 $ $3ˢ ˢ @7CO>!ˢ LO7 $ˢ =! 3O ˢ + $,ˢ ! 3ˢ M$1C 17ˢ !O 3 +ˢ LO$ˢ $+ !ˢ ! 0 ˢ ˢ !63ˢ 17 0 >0 ˢ !'$ 1ˢ 4ˢ K$$117ˢ +7>$3O+ˢ ! 27ˢ =5 21ˢ ˢ ˢ ; ˢ ˢ !' 0>$ $ˢ 27 1ˢ &O >! 7 3!C 17 0' %! $!ˢ $+ !" Dˢ ˢ M!6$13+$ˢ 3O1ˢ $ 27+! 37ˢ " ' !$ ˢ ;$ ˢ K+7>ˢ =2!$$C.ˢ 22ˢ ˢ $ˢ 2ˢ ˢ $>ˢ 73ˢ 2ˢ +6 G

C 3>‘ , ‘ @ ‘ > <D ,$‘ >@,A>rW‘ , 7,@‘ @ ,A‘ = ‘ $‘ ;>=<A ‘ = A‘@>5>7 ‘ @,3B >@@>@‘ @ >‘ :‘ ; D‘
3 , < 3>‘ =,3=‘ "5 ‘ C 7 ,3< 7 ‘ > , >A‘ ‘ , ‘ =>‘ ; >7<@ > ‘ A‘ =>‘ , ‘ M
<A‘ = <D=‘ , =‘ @ >‘ 5 7, , @$‘ =>@>‘ <@ ‘ = 5>‘ >> ‘ @ 7<3 , @‘ ‘ =, ‘ , ‘ ,@‘ @ <A,>@‘
A‘ @ ‘ = 5>‘ C7 D>A‘ =>‘ <7@‘ :‘ =,@‘ 7B$‘ =>‘ <7>‘ :‘ =>‘ 7B‘ @ ‘ 7>K<,7>A‘ , >$
! ‘ ,@‘ ‘ ‘@C>3< , ‘ =,3=‘ ,D= ‘ =>‘@C< ‘ < ‘ :‘ ‘ :, ?@‘ => A‘ ‘ 3>$ < ‘ , ‘ ,@‘ ‘ 3 >3 , ‘
V‘ :‘ 7 A, , @‘ :7 ‘ ‘ K< 7 >7@‘ A‘ :7 ‘ =>‘ 3 7, < , @‘ :‘ =>7‘ > 7 >A‘ > ‘ :‘ =>‘ , ‘
= ‘ = A‘ 7> @<7>A‘ <C‘ =>@>‘ =, =>7 ‘ < 7, > ‘ 7 A, , @‘ , $‘ =>,7‘ > 7,>@$
>‘ =, D‘ 7>‘ $/‘ ‘ C7> ,@>‘ =>7>‘ = ‘ ?‘ , ‘ ,@‘ A,>‘ C, , ‘ K :‘ A,5>7@‘ > 7 >A‘ > ‘ > ‘
AA, >A‘ , ‘ =,@‘ C 7‘ :‘ > 7 , D‘ , ‘ , ‘ =>‘ (,@= ‘ =,3=‘ ,@‘ ‘ 3 >3 , ‘ :‘ ;> ,@=‘ 7 A, , @*
=>7>‘ ,@‘ , >‘ 7‘ =, D‘ 3 3>7 , D‘ <7‘ 5, <7‘ 7‘ =,@‘ : >7@$‘ !‘ ‘ @ ‘ = ‘ =>7>‘ 7>‘
>‘ :‘ = @>‘ C> ‘ @C=> ,>@‘ =,3=‘ ‘ >‘ : < A‘ , ‘ @ >‘ ,>7‘ ;> ,@=‘ 7, , D@$$
!!$‘ !‘ @= ‘ ‘ B>‘ @ >‘ >4 7 3 @‘ < ‘ :‘ =>‘ (,@= $
/$‘ ! ‘ =>‘ 7 3 ‘ 3 3>7 , D‘ : @ @‘ 7>‘ =>@>‘ 7A@Ñ Ú %,5>‘ => 5 ‘ :: ,3 , @‘ = 5>‘ >: > ‘ <7‘
Ú 3>@ 7@‘ ‘ =>‘ @>5> >> =‘ A ‘ :‘ =>‘ < =‘ <[‘ c ; < >I ‘ A @‘ ‘ ‘ =>‘ , =‘
Ú A ‘ :‘ =>‘ =‘ ‘ c ; W I7‘ : 7‘ ‘ =>‘ @>5> >> =‘ A ‘ :‘ <[‘ =>‘ ,>@‘ :‘$ =>‘ ‘
Ú >7>‘ 7 B> Ñ =>‘ C>7C> < ‘ @ 37,:,3>‘ 3> @>AÑ =>‘ @‘ :‘ =>‘ 3, ‘ >7>‘ 7 B>‘ C> ‘ Ñ =>‘ ‘
Ú @‘ <7 ‘ ‘ C @ > <@‘*‘ A‘ ‘ ,A ‘ @‘ @> ‘ <C‘ , ‘ =>‘ > C >$‘ ‘ =>‘ $, =‘ A ‘ :‘ =>‘
Ú =‘ ‘ 9 A‘ A> >7 , >A‘ 3 3>7 , D‘ <7‘ : =>7@‘ = ‘ => ‘ @= < A‘ ‘ Ù> >7‘ , ‘ =>‘
U C7 ,@>A‘ AÑ‘ =>‘ :,7@‘ A‘ @>3 A‘ > C >‘ @‘ A>@ >AÑ‘ =>‘ 3, ‘ , =>7‘ @‘ B> ÑÑ‘ =>‘
Ú = ‘ 3, ‘ @‘ A>@ 7 >A‘ : 7‘ =,3=‘ 7> @ 5 @‘ @ ‘ @‘ =>‘ =‘ ‘ >D, @‘ 7>* ,3, D@‘ 7>‘
Ú >A$? Z

`‘ Q,0! K+73 ‘ !>C$K$3‘1‘ $ ‘ 1$‘$0 ‘ !0 A‘0 L07‘ 1!2$7 ,‘
3$11$ $1‘ LO$K01LO7 ‘ 17>0‘ ‘ !K‘ $$1‘ LO$KO1‘ A 7K!3‘ @0>!7$1‘ 7‘
! ‘ 27+‘ 72$13 ‘ !1‘1 $1 $3!3 1‘7 I3 LA47 ! ‘ !‘ 2!37$3‘K01‘ +!‘$1‘ ‘76$1‘
1>3!,>$>$ $117 3‘ LO$ ‘ 73‘ 1D 7>!1‘0 >$LO7‘ D LO$1$ $3‘ LO$KO1‘
C! ‘7 01‘ 7 +$!7‘ !01 ‘ 3+!>$3$ 71‘ $ 1 +$23!7‘ &O7+! 3‘ !‘
$!‘ 17 0 >0 ‘ 7+3!‘ > 3&$ 17‘ !2$3!‘ >$12 10$3‘ 73‘$ ‘ 0 0 ‘
‘0 7 ‘+7>76$3‘ O$‘ 73$‘C ‘M$1C !‘ &3 ‘713‘ *))(
$ $2 10$3‘ Z !67 17$‘‘ ; + ‘2‘
‘ = $‘$ 73‘ 1$ 27+‘ !‘ $ >‘1 ‘! ‘M$1C !3 ‘$ 37‘‘$6! ‘ 7+7‘
!&&$+ ! 7+ ‘ 0A! ‘ $‘ 3 3‘ !‘ 0>7‘ +727+$+$‘ K‘!12C7 $! ‘
C‘‘ DC+13! $1‘ !> 7+1$$ ‘ ?$%‘‘! ‘ &!K0‘! 3‘ L0 L07‘ $+! ‘ 7‘
L$$$>LO!$ ‘ L0 >‘ !‘>7‘ !‘ +!3$ 7‘ 1$3‘ !‘$7 0+3$‘ D 3$073‘ 7 $ ‘
7+!1‘ 3! 30 ‘)/( )%- / 8/ % . (‘ 73‘ 713‘ 7A‘ >$ $$3 1‘ +201‘
%O+$1‘ @0>!$ $‘ ‘$ $ ‘ 1 +$23U‘ 7 ‘ $3!‘ 17‘ C!K7+7‘ 37137 $‘
$> 70 ‘ ! ‘‘ 2‘737 ‘ 1$137+7 2 110 01‘ $+0 ‘K!+0 ‘+7+0 ‘
= $7 3!$11$ 0 ‘ $L07‘ >$6 0 ‘ 2+!7 $ ‘ @ 172C0 ‘ >7‘
1 O Z !67 17$‘‘ ;+17&‘ 2‘ ,
Q0$227‘ L0 >‘ $ ‘ 2+!7&!3$ 7‘ C0%01‘ ‘ $ $1‘ 1!3$1‘ >‘ $‘ $>‘
3! $7 ‘ 0 ‘$37+03 ‘>$ ‘ $ ‘ 0 $ 7+1!‘ M$1C0 ‘ >7‘ @710‘ 17+ !,‘
3 $.7‘ 7 ‘ ‘!‘ C7 ‘ 713$6$0 ‘0‘‘0+!‘ !22!+73 ‘$ ‘ 7‘ >7‘ DC+$1a
3$! $1‘ LO$>7 ‘7% 1 7 ‘2+ &$37 3$K01‘ >‘ $ ‘ D &$$3‘ ‘,‘
> 1‘ @7 17C0‘ 2‘ ‘ 17 3‘ ‘ .
‘‘ QO$ LO7‘ +81‘ ‘0 30 1!1‘ 2!3+$K01‘ 13+$1‘ ! $>7+0 3‘ >$7‘ 172,‘
3$ ‘ >7 $ ‘ 7 1$1‘ ! 0T‘ B1 ‘ @0 $‘ [‘ 3 3$>7 LO7‘ >$7‘
‘ 7 1$1‘ "KC‘ B1 ‘ @0‘$$ P‘ Y ! $ ‘ $$‘ ! 0T‘ &+! 3!1‘
10 3‘ 3!K0‘ !7 76$1] 711! $3‘ %O67‘ 1! +$&$ $0] A+K$1‘ 37 %!‘
27++023!] 7 ‘ !K "2 137 ‘ K013‘ ‘ $> ‘0 %07‘$ ‘ 37 2‘ ‘
13!3030 ‘ Y ‘ !037 ‘ >$7‘ 7 1$1‘ "KC ‘ >7 +7 $3‘ ?7 1‘ >7‘
2!3+$K01‘ 13+$1‘ ‘ $ 6+7110+ 1‘ 7 1‘ $ ‘ 37++! ‘ 2+ $$11! ,]
>7 1 !30 ‘ 713‘ 37 2‘0 ‘ 2+$ 0 ‘ 73‘ 17 0 >0 ‘] !23!‘ 713‘ 0+K1‘
H$3C7+‘] >$+03!‘ 0+K1‘ 1! 3!‘ @ >7 7 ‘ L0 ‘ 7 1$1‘ "KK‘ $ $2$3‘
@ 3$3$! ‘ $ ‘ 00 3‘ +! 3‘ >7‘@7%0 $$1‘ 3$‘ $‘ 17 3‘ F ‘ : 70‘ E0
2‘ ‘ 7>$3‘ =0+7 K
‘ 3C$ R‘ $3‘ ! 3‘ K7‘ >$1!6+77+ K‘7‘ 3 ‘ 5‘ +7!>7+1‘ $&‘ ‘ C7+7‘
3+! 1 +$K7‘ 1 7‘ K17+ !3$ 1‘ &‘ ?+‘ $6K3& 3$‘ &+ ‘ FC!3‘ C7‘
!‘‘1‘ !‘ ; !+7+6 ‘ D 7+ $ 6‘3C7‘&!‘‘ &‘@7+01!‘7 ‘ &‘ C$1‘
F +R1‘ .8 ‘‘ $‘ 2‘ A ‘ 3C 06C‘ 3C75‘ !+7‘ ‘ 6‘@ ‘ C7‘ 37 2‘7‘
‘ F!1‘ K0+ 3‘ > F ‘ !1‘@ 172C01‘ !‘ 127 3!3 +‘ 173373C‘ 3C7‘ 3$ 7
‘ ‘ 3C7‘ 37 3C‘ >!5‘ &‘ 3C7‘ 3C‘ 01 *‘ Z C$ C‘ C7‘ 1!$3C‘
‘ F!1‘ !‘ &!3!‘‘ >!5‘ 3 ‘ 3C7‘ 37 2‘7Ñ & +‘ $3‘ C!>‘ K77 ‘ K0+ 3‘ > F ‘
‘ K5‘ 3C7‘ H!K5‘ $! 1‘ K7& +7‘ ‘ 3C!3‘ >!5‘ D7‘ H7‘‘‘ ‘ ‘ 2($$‘
.‘ " >‘ 573‘ C$1‘ 0 3+5$C7 ‘ FC ‘ F+$37‘$ ‘ 3‘$7‘ 7K+7F‘ 3 607‘
` &$ ‘ K 3C‘ 3C717‘ &!3!‘$3$71‘ 3 ‘ 3C7‘ $ 3C‘ >!5‘ &‘ 3C!3‘ 3C ‘
‘ FC$ C‘ 3C75‘ 2!‘‘ 3C7‘ 3C‘ " K ‘ " >‘ 3C75‘ ! 0 3‘ 3C!3
‘ >!5‘ &!3!‘‘ & +‘ 3C+77‘ 3C7+‘ 1!>‘ 0++7 71.K71$> 1‘]‘ ‘ 3C7‘
‘ $ 3C‘ >!5‘ &‘ 3C7‘ +C 3C‘ " K *‘ 1!5 3C75‘ .‘ 3C7‘ >7 +77‘ ! 7‘
‘ 03‘ !6!$ 13‘ 1+!7" $ ‘ 3C7‘ F$'>7+ 711‘ 3C!3‘ 3C75‘ 1C 0'>‘ ? ‘
!‘ 7 37+‘ $ 3 ‘ 3$+7 ‘! >‘ ‘ $3‘ F!1‘ 3C7‘ >713+0 3$ ‘ &‘ 3C7‘ &$+13‘
‘ 37 2'7‘ ! >‘ ‘ $3‘ F!1‘ 3C7‘ >713+0 3$ ‘ &‘ 3C7‘ 17 >‘ ‘
‘ $3‘ 3C7‘ 6+7!3‘ $35‘ $3C7+‘ Z !1‘ 3!R7 ‘ F$$7+7‘ 3C7+7‘ F7+7‘ 3C ,‘
!‘ 1! >1‘ ! >‘ 37 ‘ 3C 01! >1‘ &‘ 1+!7‘‘ FC ‘ C!>‘ !‘ 6+7!3‘ R$ 6‘7 7+‘
` 3C7 ‘ BH7 ‘ D TK! [‘ FC ‘ !‘‘" 1&! 7$‘ 7 7 ‘ 3C7$+‘ 6+7!3713‘
‘ F$17‘ K ‘ 3'$ 6C3‘ 3 ‘ C! 7‘ K77 ‘ M711 !1‘ H 3‘ C7‘ &7‘‘" $ 3 ‘
‘ 3C7‘ C! >1‘ &‘ 3C7‘ C7!3C7 ‘ ! >‘ 3C7+7‘ F!1‘ 6+7!3‘ !&&‘$ '# ‘ !1,‘
.‘ 3C7+7‘ F!1‘ !3‘ 3C7‘ >713+0 3$ ‘ &‘ 3C7‘ 1! 0$!+5‘ " >‘ ‘ 3C!3‘
..:>!5‘ !‘ >!5‘ !‘‘ 337>‘ & +‘ 7 67! 7‘ 3C7‘ F$ R7>‘ 0+ 01‘ VO&01‘
‘ 2' 06C7>‘ 02‘ 3C7‘ 2'! 7‘ &‘ 3C7‘ 37 2'7‘ ! >‘ 3C7 2'! 71‘ !K 03‘ $3 ‘
‘ 3 ‘ ! 2'$1C‘ FC!3‘ #1!$> ‘ X‘ =$ C‘ =C!‘" K7 7!‘ 2' 06C7>‘
` &$7'> ## !‘ 0>‘ $ ‘ ! ! ! RC ‘ 27+‘ ‘ C!‘! ‘ ‘ M!$+ ‘$ ‘
‘ !! $$C ‘ 27+‘ #
i‘ 3‘ $1‘ 13+! 67‘ 3C!3‘ 7 ‘ &‘ 3C7‘ 1! 7‘ !3$ ‘ ! >‘ $ ‘ !‘ 3C$ 6‘
‘ 1 ‘ 1$6 !‘ ‘ ! >‘ &‘ FC$ C‘ K 3C‘ 2!+3$71‘ F7+7‘ 127 3!3 +1‘ 1C 0'>‘
.‘ K7‘ !3 10 C‘ !‘ >$&&7+7 7] ! >‘ 573‘ 3‘ !‘ >$'$7+7 7‘ 7$3C7+‘ $&‘
‘ F7‘ !2 ‘@ 172C01#1‘ +72 +3‘ &‘ 3C7‘ FC ‘7‘ 13 +5‘ ! ‘ 3C7‘ 3C7+‘
‘ @7F1# 13+0 3$ ‘ &‘ 3C7‘ 3$ 7‘ 7‘+7 +>1‘ 3C!3‘ 3C7‘ $1'78,‘
‘ F ! 'R1‘ '5‘ !‘‘7>‘ 3C7‘ ; +3$ 71‘ &‘ 3C7‘ 7 2'7‘ F7+7‘
‘ &$+7>‘ ‘ 3C7‘ 7$6C3C‘ >!5‘ ! >‘ F7+7‘ K0+ $ 6‘ ‘ 3C7‘ $ 3C‘]
‘ K03‘ 3C!3‘ >!5‘ $301‘ !‘‘7>‘ !‘ 0 $"‘ &‘ F!+‘ ! >‘ !++$7>‘ $3‘ K5‘
‘ 3C+77‘ $ 71‘ 3C!3‘ 3C7‘ 37 2'7‘ 1C 0'>‘ K7‘ 12!+7>‘ H03‘ !‘ 7F‘
‘ K013‘$ 6‘ &‘ 3C7‘ @7F1‘ !017>‘ $3‘ 3 ‘ K7‘ &$+7> ‘ 3C 06C‘ !6!C$13‘
‘ K$1‘ F$'‘" ‘ 3C7‘ 7 3‘ >!5‘ @ 172C‘ AK$ 102+‘ ‘ . ‘ ‘ ‘E
‘ Y F‘ 3C7$+‘ V!‘7 >!+‘ +7 R 1‘ &+ ‘ 3C7‘ $>>'7‘ >!5‘ &‘ 3C7‘
‘ 3C+77‘ 3C!3‘ &$+7‘ F!1‘ !3‘ $3‘ !1‘ &+ ‘ !‘ 7 3+7‘ " >‘ A$75‘ 13!37‘
‘ 3C7‘ 3$ 7‘ 3C01] X‘ ‘ F!1‘ 3C7‘ 3$ 7‘ &‘ 3C7‘ 7 7 $ 6‘ FC7 ‘ &$+7‘
‘ F!1‘ 203‘ 3 ‘ 3C7‘ 37 2'7‘ Ñ ! >‘ $3 K0+ 3‘ 3$'‘" 3C7‘ 6 $ 6‘ > F ‘ &‘
‘ 3C7‘ 10 ‘ &‘ 3'$7‘ 7 3‘ >!5‘ " >‘ K7C >‘ FC!3‘ !KK! ‘@ C!,‘
‘ ! ‘ H7 T! !$ 1!$3C] &‘ ‘ C!>‘ 3‘ K77 ‘ $ ‘ 3C!3‘ 67%$7+!3$
‘ ‘ 1C 0'>‘ 3‘C! 7‘ 2$3 C7>‘ $3‘ 02 ‘ ! 5‘ 3C7+‘ >!5‘ K03‘ 3C7‘ 37 3C
‘ K7 !017‘ 3C7‘ 13‘ &‘ 3C7‘ 37 2'7‘ F!1‘ K0+ 3‘ 3C!3‘ >!5‘ " >‘
‘ $ ‘ 3C7‘ @7+01!‘ 7 ‘ !‘ 0>‘ $3‘ $1‘ +7‘ !37>‘ 3C!3‘ !KK$! >‘ @ 1C0!‘
‘ H7 ‘ 7 $&!137>‘ & +‘ $3‘ 3C7‘ $ 3C‘ ! >‘ 37 3C‘ >!51‘ K 3C *‘ \ ‘ 11 ‘
‘ $ ‘ M!$ ‘$ ‘ ! ! $3C ‘ 27+‘ D ‘ ‘ ‘ ‘ 9
>‘ 5 3+‘ ! % + &‘ " #3& ,! 3)‘ !4% ‘ + ‘ (‘ % ‘ + ‘ & 8‘ % ‘
>‘ + ‘ &#‘ (, ‘4)/? 4 3+!" @@!&$$ (!)‘ 4 ‘ %4# &6 '" (‘
>‘ E‘ O 8# ‘ D$ G$‘ ; + & ‘ ‘ ##! '" +! $‘ ‘ + ‘ +‘ (% +/$ M
>‘ % ‘ + ‘# 6 +‘ "!)‘ % ‘ + ‘ (% +$ 3! ‘? 4 @!&!"! $ 3!, ‘
[! ‘ % ‘ + ‘ 8 !&"$! '" 46 & ‘ + ‘+% # ‘ % ‘ + ‘ %&"[c‘ ! '"‘
‘) ‘ ‘ & ‘ + ‘ E7 ‘ # #! '" % 4 ‘] ‘ $ ‘ + ‘ +

Ó=< , $ =>' ,@A ' :' =>' @ >7@ , ' >' @ ,D= >A ' A' ' = ' @ 7,5>' ' 5 ,A' 7 @D7>@Ó
Ú @, ' , ' >' 3 > >A ' A' D*> ' , ' >' =>+A> 7 =' :' 7< =$ ' 8 < D' > ' , ' 3 5>7' =>'
Ú : 3>@' :' =>' >A' , =' @= >Ñ A' =>' D>A' , ' 7,@>' >: 7>' =>' < D$ =>' @ ' , ' A,@ '
Ú = <7' =>' : =>7') A' =>' A <D= >7' , ' 7,@>' <C' D , @ ' =>7' =>7Ñ A' =>' A <D= >7 , '
Ú D @+ ' =>7' =>7 , $ A' ' ?@ > > ,>@' , ' >' => ' :' =,@' ' = <@>= A$! ' '
Ú 7A' = ' D>' , ' = 5>' ' 3 , >' CC> 7 3>$ 7' , ' =>' @ ' 7>5>7> 3>' =>' : =>7$ = '
Ú => ' @= ' >' A ' ' " > ' <@' 7<@ ' , ' < ' => 5> ' % =>7 j (' =>' 3 , D' :' , @' >'
Ú = @ > >A$ A' ' =>' > >7 ' 9 A' D7 3, <@ ' 5 <3=@ :>' = ' >' ' >' C7>@>75>A' ' = '
Ú , >$?

=,@' C @@ D>' ' A>@>75>' ' > ,5>' 7>D 7A ' A' , ' 7>K<,7>' A,5>7@' @>75 , @$ < ' '
@= ' B>' ' C 7 ,3< 7' ,3>' :' = ' ,@' =>7>' @ ,A' < ' Ú =>' 3 , D' :' , @ ? = ' ' >, D'
7>3B >A' 3>7 , ' D> <, >$

/$! ' =>' :,7@ ' C 3>' =,@' C @@ D>' <D= 'O ' >' 3 C 7>A' , =' ;>7 ?@' 3 > 7 ' <C '
!@$' 3=$' 5,,,$' / ' =>7>' Ó=>' > , @' A,5>7@' :' =>' ;> ,@=' @ >7@ ' = ' : <7,@=>A' A' >7>' 5>7 '
> , > ' < ' =>' , >' :' C<7' 5, <7 ' A' @ >' =, >' : >7Ñ , ' , > ' (>,7 ' B, @ '
; = ' =>' @ ' :' h 3= , ' A' @ >' =>7@$! ' ?' =>7' C 3>' =>' 3> @<7>@' =>' < >7 <@'
7 A, , @ ' 7' @>3 A 7 ' @ ' :' =>' . = 7,@>>@$; A < >A, ' ;>7 ' @' = ' < 3K< , >A'
, =' ;> ,@=' 7 A, , @$ < ' !' 3 ' @ ' = ' =>@>' C @@ D>@' < ' ' ' C7 :' = ' =>' = A'
@>> ' =>' 5 < >' :' =>' (,@= $

7 ' 0 ' " ' =>7' >@ , ' ' =>' A>@ 7<3 , ' D,' =>' > C >Ó ' ;>7<@ > $

' ' ' .%% '& , "&1,'& *#' *& &,' # &+& &!/&+ *& $,'#' & ' +' *& G&1'' //#', !&$ ()' *&
&(& , ! +E# /* /*&(#' ,! *& , & +8$,#! A*, ' ' .%% '& ' (&,! &!$&$,! *&'& 1 $'

Ú A' =>' = >' A' :' ;<A> ' , ' >' ,A' @ >' A' >43> > ' > ' , ' A>7' :, ' C 3>'
ÓC 3>' A' >4C>7,> 3>' ' :,,3>@' :' =< , $? (7> 5>7' , ' =>' C @@ D>' :,7@ ' 3, >A ' =>'
B, D' :' =>' 3, ' , =>7' ,@' > , >A' @' >' :' =>' @ '7> 7B >' 3 , ,>@' = ' = A' >: > '
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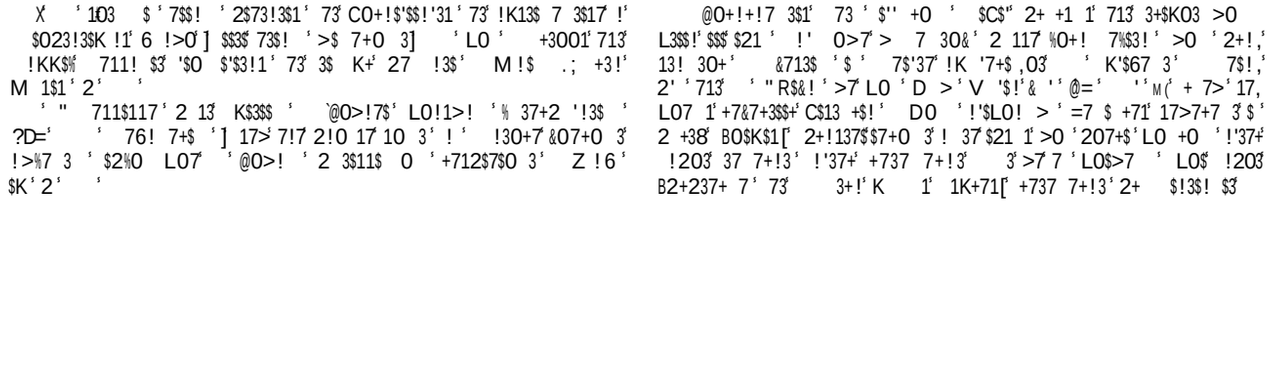

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!' $ 0'$7+&7' 7 13+0!3!' 7230 ' " 3' ' "RA!' 10K%7 $3' !117'
$'$0 ' 73' 120+$0 ' 73' &$'$0 ' 7 13+0!3!7' A >7' V37+$' $237+,'
+ 6S+ 3' ' "R$&! ' L0 > '3!+ ' !0>! 37+' ''76$1' 10'1' ,'
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!3!7' &$'$0 ' D0 L07' $>' 27+ 72$117 3' !737+$!11711 +71' >$ 7,'
+0 3N M!6 01' 713' " R$&!' L0! > ' ++7 $3' > 3 +71' 10 1' >,'
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,>0 3L 7' @0>!1$ C ' 7 0 ' 173 7 ' 7117' L0! L0L ' a
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C$ ' 73' @7101' " '7 ! >+$! ' % 652'3' ; ! 7' +7>>$3>' $ ' C '
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2A'01[' !6$13+0 ' K17 +! 1' 03' 1717' >7 0 ' +7 $27+73' 7+0+!'
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3C1173' B@ 10!' ; 7+#! C$>71[' '7 3$ 7 ' "0>$ 1++ 7' ' ?703' $' '
! 7>$3' B@7101[' ; 7+! C$>7 ,' 8Y! ' 203!K!3' 17' +7 7230 ' $+$'
>$!K!3' 7$ ' @ 10!' &$'$01' ; 7+! C$ ' ! 0' 10K' LO >' 7''73'
+7 $27+770 ' 217' B@7101[' 203!K!3' LO >' +727''7 > ' +727' '
'7+73' 17' "K$K!3' 7+6 ' 73' 10127$$>7 1' !37+7 ' 70 ' !> +!K!3'
?R7K!3' B ; 7+!7K$>71[' $''$] 71$2$1L7' DO$' $''7' +712 >7K!3]
=$ ' !' 37,$21 ' >$>$ $] Q0 >' 0''$' LO$ 27 ! $3' 73' !>' 27 ! '
>0 ' 0'3$1' &0$3' !0 3 +' &! 0'3!1' 87 >$ 2 7 $37 3$! ' 10227>3,'
3730+(' Y! ' >$ 7+!3' ML&' B` > 3 +' !' $0>' 01#[' @7101' !>
' *

It should be observed that this story of our Lord's journey into Egypt, with Joshua Ben Perachiah, has little agreement with the true history in Matt. ii. 13—23. For, according to the evangelist, Jesus was carried thither when an infant, and was soon brought back again into Judea. But, according to the Talmudists, Jesus was a young man when he went thither with Joshua Perachides, who is supposed to have been his master or tutor. And according to them, when Perachides and Jesus had been some while in Egypt, they were informed that peace was restored in Judea. As they were returning back they were well received at an inn. Here Perachides and Jesus disagreed, and parted asunder; nor could they ever be reconciled again, though some attempts on both sides were made toward a reconciliation. After that Jesus, as is said, wholly gave up himself to magical practices, and was excommunicated.

If by king Jannai be intended Alexander Jannæus, here is a great anachronism; for he died fourscore years [a] before the Christian epoch. But I do not insist upon that; for, perhaps, it is owing to design and not to ignorance.

If, in the discourse between Perachides and Jesus at the inn, where they first disagreed, there be an aspersion of our Lord's moral character, as if he too attentively observed the faces of women, it is of a piece with another charge of theirs, that Jesus endeavoured to seduce men to idolatry: which we shall see presently.

I do acknowledge, however, that when I first observed this paragraph, I was not a little surprised. For Origen says that, 'though [b] innumerable lies and calumnies had been forged against 'the venerable Jesus, none had dared to charge him with any intemperance whatever.' So says Origen about the middle of the third century. He speaks confidently with full assurance. If he had ever met with such a calumny, he would not have denied it; for he was perfectly honest and sincere. And if such a calumny had appeared he was as likely to know it as any man; for he was acquainted with all sorts of people: and he had often conversed with the learned men of the Jewish nation, as well as others. This story therefore was not in being in his time, nor till after it. But reflections upon a man's character, unknown till long after his departure out of the world, are destitute of authority, and deserve no regard. They only shew the bad temper of those who receive, or who invent and forge them.

Let me add one thought more here. We may reasonably conclude, and reckon it certain from Origen's work, that Celsus knew nothing of this story; consequently it was not yet invented: for he had conversed with Jews, and made use of them to assist him in his argument against the Christians, and had picked up all the scandal he could get.

I must be allowed to observe yet farther: Celsus had made use of some disparaging expressions concerning our Saviour. Whereupon Origen says: 'If [c] Celsus had alleged any kind of infamous 'actions in the life of Jesus, we would have done our best to answer to every thing that might 'appear so to him. As to the miserable death of Jesus, the same may be objected to Socrates 'and Anaxarchus just mentioned.' Celsus therefore knew not of any such thing.

Finally, I do not recollect in the remains of Celsus, who wrote in the second, nor in Origen, who wrote in the third, century, any traces of this journey of our Lord into Egypt, with a tutor. This story therefore is a late, as well as a malicious, fiction without ground.

The second quotation in Lightfoot shall now be more distinctly transcribed. 'In [d] the 'Mishnical tract, called Schabbath, it is said: "If any one, especially on the sabbath, draws a 'line, or makes a cut in his flesh, he is obliged to bring a sin-offering: but the wise men absolve 'him." Upon which words it is remarked in the Gemara, a tradition, R. Elieser said to the 'wise men: "But did not the son of Stada bring magical arts out of Egypt, in a cutting in his

magiam seduxit, et crimen, Deut. xiii. 5, 6. impulsionis, vetitum commisit, et Israëlitis ad peccandum auctor fuit. 'Ergo, ceu Gemarici volunt, deserto Perachide præceptore, 'Jesehu totum se deinde magicis artibus in Ægypto addixit: 'cumque has intus et in cute teneret, in Judæam se contulit.' Apud Scheid. et Wagens. ubi supra.

[a] Prideaux's Connection, year before Christ 79, p. 396, 397.

[b] ... προς τον σεμνον ημων Ιησουν, ου μηδε οι μυρια κατηγορησαντες, και ψευδη οσα περι αυτου λεγοντες, δεδυνηται κατειπειν, ως καν το τυχον ακολασιας καν επ' ολιγον γευσαμενου. Contr. Cels. l. 3, num. 36. Bened. p. 32. Spere.

[c] Ει γαρ τα ειδη του επιρρητοτατου βιου εν ταις πραξεσιν αυτου φαινομενα αυτω εκτιθεμενος ην, καν ηγωνισαμεθα προς εκαστον των δοκουντων ειναι αυτω επιρρητοτατων. Contr. Cels. l. 7. sect. 56. Ben. p. 369. f. Spere.

[d] In tractatu Schabbath, fol. 104, 2. in Mishnâ dicitur. Si quis [die Sabbati] lineam ducat, seu incisuram faciat super carnem suam, R. Eliezer eum reum censet sacrificii peccati. Sapientes autem absolvunt. Postea in Gemarâ, ad hæc verba notatur: Traditio. Dixit R. Elieser ad Sapientes: At annon Filius Stadæ extulit magicas artes ex Ægypto, in incisurâ, quæ erat super carne ejus? Glossa. Quia non poterat eas efferre, vel educere, scriptas; quia Magi diligenter inquirebant in omnes qui exibant, ne efferrent artes magicas, ad docendum eas alios homines alibi terrarum habitantes. Scheid. ib. p. 1. et Wagenseil. Confut. Told. Jeschu. p. 17.

'flesh?" The Gloss says: "the reason of that was that he could not bring them away in 'writing, because the priests diligently searched all at their going away, that they might not 'carry out magical arts to teach them to men dwelling in other countries."'

This is said, I suppose, to insinuate that all the great works ascribed to our Saviour were performed by virtue of magical arts which he had learned in Egypt. This insinuation has been considered, and well confuted, by Grotius,[a] to whom I now refer. Hereafter I shall transcribe his words at length, in the chapter of Celsus, where this charge will come over again.

3. Let us now observe whether Jesus gained any disciples.

Lightfoot, upon Matt. ix. 9, speaks to this purpose: 'Five disciples of Christ are mentioned 'by the Talmudists, [Bab. Sanhedrim. fol. 431.] among whom Matthew seems to be named. 'The rabbins deliver there were five disciples of Jesus, Matthai, Nakai, Nezer, Boni, and Thodah. 'These they relate were led out and killed. Perhaps five are only mentioned by them, because 'five of the disciples were chiefly employed among the Jews: namely Matthew, who wrote his 'gospel in Judea, Peter, James, John, and Judas.'

I shall now transcribe at length the passage of the Babylonian Talmud, to which Lightfoot refers; though it is so silly, that, when produced, some may think it might have been omitted.

'The[b] rabbins have taught that there were five disciples of Jesus, Matthai, Nakai, Nezer, 'Boni, and Toda. When Matthai was brought forth [to be condemned to death] he said to the 'judges: Shall Matthai be slain? But it is written: "When shall I come" [Matai] "and 'appear before God?" Ps. xlii. 2. But they answered: Yes, Matthai shall be slain. For it is 'written: "When" [Matai] "shall he die, and his name perish!" Ps. xli. 5. When Nakai 'was brought out, he said: Shall Nakai be slain? But it is written: "Thou shalt not kill 'the innocent" [Nakai] "and the just:" Ex. xxiii. 7. But they said: Yes, Nakai shall be slain. 'For it is written: "In the secret places does he murder the innocent." [Nakai.] Ps. x. 8. 'When they brought forth Nezer, he said to them: And shall Nezer be slain? But it is written: '"A branch" [Nezer] "shall grow out of his roots." Is. xi. 1. But they answered: Yes, 'Nezer shall be slain. For it is written: "Thou art cast out of thy grave as an abominable 'branch." Is. xiv. 19. When they brought out Boni, he said: And shall Boni be slain? But it 'is written: Israel is "my son" [Beni] "even my first born." Ex. iv. 22. But they said: 'Yes, Boni shall be slain. For it is written: "Behold, I will slay thy son" [bincka.] "thy 'first born." Ex. iv. 23. When they brought out Toda, he said to them: And shall Toda be 'slain? It is written: "A psalm to praise" [Lethoda.] Ps. c. But they answered: Yes, Toda 'shall be slain. For it is written: "Whoso offereth praise" [Toda] "glorifieth me.'"

Here it may be asked: Why do the Talmudists speak only of five disciples of Jesus? Lightfoot, as before seen, supposeth it to be, that these five men were chiefly employed among the Jews. Edzardus says: 'We[c] hence see how false and fabulous every thing is which the 'Talmudists say of Christ and his disciples.' Which surely is not amiss. However, to me it 'seems that the Jewish rabbins affected silence and reserve about Jesus and his history, and said little about it, the better to keep their own people in ignorance and bondage. Wagensel's reflec-

[a] De V. R. Chr. l. 5. cap. iii.

[b] Sanhedr. cap. vi. fol. 43, fin. Quinque tantum discipuli dicuntur fuisse Jesu Nazareno, quorum nomina, Matthai, sc. Matthæus, Nakai, Nezer, Boni, et Toda, sc. Thaddæus, qui alio nomine Lebbæus fuit appellatus. Matt. x. 3. Verba integre ita habent. Rabbini docuerunt, quinque discipulos fuisse Jesu, Matthai, Nakai, Nezer, Boni, et Toda. Cum adduxissent Matthai, [ut capitis ipsum damnarent,] dixit ille ad Judices: Num Matthai occidetur? Atqui scriptum est. Quando [Matai] veniam, ut compaream coram facie Dei? Ps. xlii. 2. Sed illi regesserunt: Omnino, Matthai occidetur, quia scriptum est, Quando [Matai] morietur, ut pereat nomen ejus? Ps. xli. 5. Cum adduxissent Nakai, dixit ille: Num Nakai occidetur? Atqui scriptum est. Ex. xxiii. 7. Insontem [naki] et justum non occides. Sed illi responderunt: Omnino, Nakai occidetur, sicut scriptum est. Ps. x. 8. In latibulis occidit insontem. [Naki]. Cum adduxissent Nezer, dixit ad illos: Num Nezer occidetur? Atqui scriptum est, Es. xi. 1. Nezer e radicibus ejus fructum feret. Sed illi reposuerunt. Omnino Nezer occidetur, quia scriptum est. Es. xiv. 9 Tu autem ejectus es e sepulcro tuo, ut surculus [nezer] abominabilis. Cum adduxerunt Boni, dixit ille: Num Boni occidetur: Atqui scriptum est. Ex. iv. 22. Filius meus [Beni] primogenitus est Israël. Sed illi regesserunt: Omnino Boni occidetur, sicut scriptum est. Ex. iv. 23. Ecce Ego occidam filium tuum [bincka] primogenitum. Cum adduxissent Todam, dixit ad illos: Num Toda occidetur? Atqui scriptum exstat. Ps. c. 1. Psalmus [Lethoda] eucharisticus. Sed illi responderunt: Omnino Toda occidetur, quemadmodum scriptum est. Ps. l. 23. Qui sacrificat laudem [Toda] is honorabit me. Ap. Edzard Avoda Sara. T. i, p. 298, 299, Conf. B. Scheidii Loca Talmudica de Jesu et Discipulis ejus et Wagenseil. Confut. T. I. p. 17.

[c] Quod si autem quinque tantum discipuli hi Jesu Nazareno fuerunt, unde ergo sextus, Jacobus Sechaniensis, cujus nomen inter quinque numeratos non apparet? Constat hinc, quam fabulosa sit Talmudistarum narratio de iis quæ contra Christum atque discipulus ejus deblaterant. Ut aliâ confutatione non sit opus, cum seipsos suis contradictionibus jugulent. Edz. ibid. p. 299.

tions upon this passage are somewhat different: I place them[a] below, though nothing material can be said upon what is so exceeding trifling.

4. It may be questioned whether James be one of the five disciples there named: I shall therefore allege a passage of the Talmud where he is mentioned.

R. Akiba and Rabbi Eliezer are talking together. 'Elieser[b] says, O Akiba, you have 'brought something to my mind. As I was walking in the high street of Zipporis, I met one 'of the disciples of Jesus of Nazareth, whose name is James, a man of the town of Shechanjah. 'He said to me; in your law it is written, "Thou shalt not bring the hire of a harlot:" Deut. 'xxiii. 18. I did not make him any answer. But he added, and said to me: Jesus of Nazareth 'taught me the meaning. "She gathered it of the hire of a harlot; and they shall return to the 'hire of a harlot." Mic. i. 7. "From an impure place they came, and to an impure place they 'shall return." Which interpretation, (says Elieser,) did not displease me.'

5. We will now observe some passages concerning our Saviour's last sufferings.

Says Lightfoot upon Matt. xxvii. 31. 'These things[c] are delivered in Sanhedrim [cap. vi. 'Hal. 4] of one that is guilty of stoning: If there be no defence found for him, they lead him 'out to be stoned, and a crier went out before him, saying aloud thus: N. N. comes out to be 'stoned, because he has done so and so. The witnesses against him are N. N. Whosoever can 'bring any thing in his defence let him come forth and produce it. On which thus the Gemara 'of Babylon. The tradition is that, on the evening of the Passover, Jesus was hanged, and that 'a crier went before him for forty days, making this proclamation: This man comes forth to be 'stoned, because he dealt in sorceries, and persuaded, and seduced Israel. Whosoever knows of 'any defence for him, let him come forth and produce it: but no defence could be found: there-'fore they hanged him upon the evening of the Passover. Ulla saith his case seemed not to 'admit of any defence, since he was a seducer, and of such God has said, "Thou shall not spare 'him nor conceal him:" Deut. xiii.

There is another place relating to the same event, the death of our Saviour, to be taken from the Babylonian Talmud. 'The[d] Mishna explaining Deut. xiii. and shewing who is the seducer 'there spoken of, says, Of all that are adjudged to die, to none of them are snares to be laid, 'excepting a seducer: for, if he has attempted two, and they bear testimony against him, he is 'to be stoned. Upon this it is said in the Gemara: Against none are snares to be laid, except 'against a seducer of the people; [meaning one who seduces to idolatry:] and that is done

[a] Apparet, ista huc tendere, quasi in viros illos, quorum nomina exprimuntur, ultimis pœnis fuerit animadversum; etsi magis est ut credamus, ab otioso aliquo, et scripturæ dicta in lusum et jocum sic detorquente, delirantis ingenii ostentandi causâ, ineptias has esse confictas. Wagens. ib. p. 18.

[b] In Tr. Avoda Sara. f. 16. 2. Tradiderunt Rabbini—Tum P. Eliazar. In memoriam mihi, O Akiba, revocâsti, aiebat, me aliquando spatiatum in foro superiori urbis Zipporis, obvium habuisse aliquem ex discipulis Jesu Nazareni, cui nomen erat Jacobus, civis Caphar, vel viri Saccaniensis, qui dicebat mihi: In Lege vestrâ scribitur: Non afferes mercedem meretricis—Quo audito, nihil prorsus ei respondebam. Illo autem pergente mihi dicere: Sic docuit me Jesus Nazarenus. Si ex mercede meretriciâ, meretrix quid colligat, usque ad mercedem meretricis revertetur. Ex loco impuro si qua venerint, in locum impurum redibunt. Et profuit mihi verbum hoc operâ hujus—ap. Scheid. Loca Talmud. p. 5. 6. Et conf. Edzardi Avoda Sara. Vol. i. p. 130.

[c] I shall here put an exact Latin version of the same. Tr. Sanhedrim. fol. 43, Mishna. Inventâ reæ partis innocentiâ, reus ille liber dimittitur. Sin minus, exit, ut lapidetur. Præco autem exit ante eum, his verbis proclamans: Vir iste N. N. Filius alicujus N. N. exit, ut lapidetur, quia transgressus est talem transgressionem. Cujus rei testes sunt hi, N. N. et N. N. Quicumque noverit aliquid de ejus innocentiâ, veniat, et doceat de eo. Postea in Gemarâ ad verba Mishnæ: præco autem exit ante eum, &c. notatur. Atqui traditio est: Die Parasceves Sabbati suspenderunt Jesum, et præco exibat ante eum 40 diebus, his verbis prolatis proclamans: Exit ut lapidetur, quia magicas artes exercuit, seduxit, et impulit Israëlitas. Quicumque ergo noverit aliquid de ejus innocentiâ, veniat, et doceat de eo. Cum autem nihil de ejus innocentiâ comprobandâ inveniri potuisset, suspenderunt eum die Parasceves Paschatis. Dixit Ula: Et putetur, quod filius versorum seu contrariorum innocentiæ ipse seductor est. Dixit autem Deus, Deut. xiii. 8. Non parces, neque teges super eo. Deut. xiii. 8. et Conf. 5. et 6. Scheid. Loca Talmud. p. 7. 8. Conf. Wag. Confut. T. I. p. 19.

[d] Sanhedrim. f. 67. 1. Mishna, de quo Deut. xiii. 6. Ex omnibus qui morti adjudicantur in Lege, nulli insidiæ collocantur, hoc excepto—Postea, in Gemarâ notatur: Ex omnibus, qui morti adjudicantur in Lege, nulli insidiæ collocantur, hoc excepto [seductori, qui alium ad idololatriam, et cultum alienum cupit seducere.] Quomodo faciunt id ei? Accendunt illi candelam in conclavi interiori, et testes collocant in cubiculo exteriori, ut hi ipsum videre, et vocem ejus audire possint. Sed ipse non videt illos. Tum ille, quem antea conatus erat seducere, dicit ei, Repete, quæso, id quod antehac dixisti hic privatim. Tum, si id dicat, hic regerit ei: Quomodo relinquemus Deum nostrum in cœlis, et serviemus idolis? Ad hoc si convertatur, pœnitentiâ actâ, bene est. Si vero dicat: hoc est officium nostrum, atque ita omnino decet nos facere, testes exterius audientes, eum ad domum judicii abducunt, et lapidant. [Conf. Schabbath. f. 104. 2.] sic fecerunt filio Stadæ [vel Stadtæ] in Lud, et suspenderunt eum in vesperâ Paschatis, seu pridie diei Paschatis. Filius Stadæ filius Pandiræ est. Dixit R. Chasda: Maritus seu procus matris ejus fuit Stada, iniens Pandiram—Maritus Paphus filius Judæ ipse est, mater ejus Stada, mater ejus Maria, plicatrix capillorum mulierum erat: sicut dicimus in Pompedita. Declinavit hæc a marito suo. Glossa: Ideo quia scortata hæc erat, vocabatur ita. Schedii Loca Talmud. p. 1. et 2.

'after this manner. They light a candle in a closet or inner room, and place witnesses in another 'room, so that they may see him, and hear his voice, but he does not see them: there he, whom 'some time before he had endeavoured to seduce, (being with him,) says to him: Repeat to 'me now, in private what you before said to me. If he then repeats it, the other says to him: 'How can we leave our God who is in the heavens, and serve idols? If he then owns his fault and 'repents, all is well. But if he says: This is our duty, and so we ought to do; the witnesses 'who are in the outer room carry him to the house of judgment, and stone him. So they did to 'the son of Stada in Lud, and hanged him on the evening of the Passover. Rabbi Chasda said: 'The son of Stada is the son of Pandira—His mother was Stada. She was Mary the plaiter of 'women's hair; as we say in Pompedita, she departed from her husband. In the Glos it is said: 'she was so called because she transgressed the laws of chastity.'

This is translated by Lightfoot upon Matt. xxvii. 56, p. 270, after this manner: 'They 'stoned the son of Satda in Lydda, and hanged him up on the evening of the Passover. Now 'this son of Satda was son of Pandira. Indeed Rabbi Chasda said the husband [of his mother] 'was Satda, her husband was Pandira, her husband was Papus, the son of Juda. But yet I say 'his mother was Satda, namely Mary the plaiter of women's hair; as they say in Pombeditha, 'she departed from her husband.'

In several other places of these Talmudical writers Mary is called a 'plaiter of women's 'hair,' as may be seen in Lightfoot, p. 270.[a] And from some things alleged just now it seems that thereby they denote a transgressor of the laws of purity. And we are led to think that by this description they intended to represent not her outward condition, but her moral character.

Upon the two foregoing passages, relating to the event of our Saviour's death, we may now make some remarks.

First, it is here acknowledged that Jesus suffered death as a malefactor; and that he was put to death at the time of a Jewish Passover, or on the evening of it, as the expression is.

Secondly, but here are many great and notorious falsehoods. It is here said that Jesus was put to death at Lud: whereas it is certain that he suffered at Jerusalem. It is insinuated that he endeavoured to persuade men to forsake the true God, and worship false gods, and idols: another abominable falsehood. It is also insinuated that he carried on this evil design of seducing men from the worship of the true God in a clandestine manner; whereas nothing is more certain than that Jesus lived, and acted, and taught, publicly before all the world. Farther, it is intimated that, for many days before his death, proclamation was made, that any who could say any thing in his defence might appear and plead for him, but no defence was made. It is also said that he was put to death by stoning, and then hanged up: (which indeed was the usual method among the Jews, first to put criminals to death and then hang them up); but Jesus was crucified; and though the Jews were his prosecutors, he was condemned and put to death by a Roman magistrate.

It is truly surprising to see such falsities contrary to well known facts. For the sufferings of Jesus, and the circumstances of them, are recorded in the gospels, well known histories, written in a language which was then almost universal in Europe, Asia, and Africa. That Jesus was crucified at Jerusalem, when Pontius Pilate was governor of Judea, under the emperor Tiberius, was in all Christian creeds, and attested by Roman authors of good credit, and indeed was well known to all Greeks and Romans in general. How then was it possible for the Jewish rabbins, whose testimonies are collected in their Talmuds, to speak in the manner which we have now seen? Perhaps it is not easy to be accounted for; but I apprehend the case to be this: The rabbins taught and wrote in a language little known to any in the fourth and fifth centuries but themselves, and the men of their own nation. Their people were ignorant, and they endeavoured to keep them so. Their people had a great respect for them, and so they presumed to say whatever they pleased.

6. There seems to be in these writings an acknowledgment of the power of miracles in Jesus and his disciples. 'In[b] the Gemara, upon Avoda Sara, in Bereitha, it is said: No man may

[a] Vid. et Scheid. Loca Talmud. p. 3.

[b] Similis locus habetur infra in Gemarâ, fol. 27. col. 2. med. Sed iusto ego. In Bareitha docemur. Non conversabitur quisquam cum hæreticis, neque licet medicinam ab illis admittere, etsi morbus videatur ita desperatus, ut ægrotus non sit ultra unius horæ spatium superfuturus. Exstat quoque hujus rei exemplum in filio Damæ, nepote R. Ismaëlis ex sorore quem cum momordisset serpens, venit Jacobus Secaniensis ad sanandum ipsum. Sed non permisit ei R. Ismaël. Dicebat quidem filius Damæ ad R. Ismaëlem: O Rabbi Ismaël frater, [i. e. cognate, avuncule,] mi! Sine ipsum, ut saner ab ipso. Afferam enim textum e Lege, qui id concedat. Sed nondum absolverat omnia, quæ constituerat dicere, cum jam efflaret animam, atque moreretur. Tum R. Ismaël se-

'converse with heretics, nor receive medicines from them, though the disease be mortal and 'desperate. Of this there is an example in the Son of Dama, nephew to R. Ishmael by his 'sister: When he had been bit by a serpent, James of Shechania [a disciple of Jesus] came to 'heal him; but R. Ishmael did not allow it to be done. The son of Dama said to R. Ishmael: 'O Rabbi Ishmael, my uncle, let me be healed by him: I will allege a text out of the law which 'allows of it. But before he had finished all he would say, he expired. Then Ishmael pronounced 'this speech over him: Thou art happy, O son of Dama: for thy body has remained pure, and 'thy soul also has gone pure out of it: and thou hast not transgressed the words of thy brethren.'

This[a] is supposed to be an acknowledgment of the power of working miracles in the name of Jesus, at the same time that it shews the virulent temper of the Jewish doctors against him and his disciples.

There is another like instance alleged from the Jerusalem Talmud: 'A[b] child of a son of 'Rabbi Joses, son of Levi, swallowed somewhat poisonous. There came a man who pronounced 'some words to him in the name of Jesus, son of Pandira, and he was healed. When he was 'going away, R. Joses said to him: What word did you use? he answered, such a word. R. Joses 'said to him: Better had it been for him to die, than to hear such a word. And so it happened, 'that is, he instantly died.'

Another[c] proof this of the power of miracles inherent in the disciples of Jesus, and at the same time a mark of the malignity of the Jewish rabbins.

That passage I have transcribed as it is in the Pugio Fidei: I shall now[d] put it down below as it stands in Edzardi Avoda zara.

7. It will certainly be worth the while to take a testimony from these writers to the destruction of Jerusalem, and the temple there. I shall therefore transcribe and translate almost word for word a long passage out of the Babylonian Talmud, in the title Gittin, chapter Hannisah.

'This[e] is the tradition. Rabbi Elieser said: Go, and see how the blessed and holy God

quentem super ipsum conciunculam habuit. Beatus es, o fili Damæ! quod corpus tuum manserit mundum, etiamque anima tuo corpore exierit munda, neque fueris transgressus verba sociorum tuorum, &c. Edzard. Advoda Sara. Vol. i. p. 312. Conf. Martini Pug. Fidei. P. 2. cap. 8. p. 289.

[a] Memorabile hujus rei exemplum occurrit Cod. Abhoda zara f. 27. 2. de R. Ismaële vetante aliquem sanari in nomine Jesu—Exemplo est B. Dama—Insignis sane historia, et præclarum veritatis Evangelicæ testimonium, ab ipsis Judæis dictum. J. Rhenferd. Diss. de Redemtione Marcosiorum et Heracleonit. sect. L. p. 215.

[b] Item in lib. Sabbat Jerosolymitano, distinctione Shemona Scheratzin—Filius filii R. Jose filii Levi glutiverat toxicum scilicet, vel aliud morbiferum. Venit itaque vir quidam, et conjuravit ei in nomine Jesu Pandirini, et sanatus est, sive quievit. Cumque exivisset, ait, ei, quomodo conjurâsti eum? Ait ei, tali verbo. Ait ei: Remissius fuisset ei, si mortuus fuisset, ut non audivisset verbum tale. Et factum est sic ei: id est, statim mortuus est. Pug. Fid. ib. p. 290.

[c] Si quis diligenter advertat has duas traditiones, in nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi fuisse facta miracula Judaïcarum scripturarum testimonio comprobabit. Raym. Martin. ib.

[d] Similis textus est in Talmude Hierosolymitano Avoda S. Fol. 40. 4. et Schabb. fol. 14. 4. med.—Nepos R. Josuæ filii Levi laborabat ab absorpto: [id est, diglutiverat aliquid, quod ipsi in gutture hærebat, et suffocationem minabatur.] Venitque quidam, qui illi clam insusurravit, [id est, jussit ipsum convalescere,] in nomine Jesu filii Pandiræ. Unde confestim respiravit. Quando autem egressus est inde, dixit ad eum R. Josua filius Levi. Quid insusurrâsti ei? Respondit ille, vocem hanc [i. e. nomen Jesu] Tum. R. Josua: Præstitisset ipsum fuisse mortuum, et non audivisse nomen illud. Atque hoc ipsum etiam ei [haud longe post] contigit. Edzard. Avoda zara. Vol. 2. p. 311, 312.

[e] Traditio est. Dixit R. Elieser: Exi, et vide quanta est virtus pudoris, quia ecce Deus Sanctus et Benedictus juvit Barkamtza, et destruxit domum suam, et exussit templum suum, et desolavit Jerusalem—Ivit Romam, et dixit Neroni Cæsari: Judæi rebellârunt contra te. Dixit ei: Quis dicit? Dixit ei, Mitte illis sacrificium. Videbis, si illi offerent. Ivit filius Kamtza, et misit per manus ejus vitulam trimam. Ipse autem rediens impressit in eâ maculam in orâ labii ejus. Alii dicunt, quod in pupillâ oculi ejus maculam impressit: secundum aliquorum opinionem est macula, et secundum opinionem aliorum non est macula. Rabbini censebant itaque illam sacrificandam propter pacem regni. Dixit eis R. Zacharias filius Onkelos: dicetur, Maculata offeruntur super altare. Voluerunt occidere eum, ne iret, et diceret. Dixit eis R. Zacharias, dicent: Mittens maculam in Sanctuarium occidetur. Dixit R. Jochanan: Superstitio R. Zachariæ destruxit domum nostram, et combussit templum nostrum, et urbem nostram evertit, et fecit ut nos e terrâ nostrâ captivi duceremur. Misit itaque Bar-Kamtza super his ad Neronem Cæsarem. Quando venit, jecit sagittam ad orientem. Cecidit ad Jerusalem ad occidentem—Dixit puero. Lege mihi versum tuum. Dixit ei Ezech. xxv. 14.—Dixit Nero: Deus sanctus, benedictus, vult per me destruere domum suam. Misitque contra illos Vespasianum, qui venit, et obsedit Jerusalem tres annos, et dimidium. Interim venit nuntius ad eum, dicens illi: Surge, quia mortuus est Nero Cæsar, et consenserunt tibi optimates Romanorum, ut te constituant principem—Ivit, et misit Titum impium filium suum. Hic est Titus impius, qui blasphemavit, et maledixit contra Justum, i. e. Deum. Quid fecit? Cepit meretricem in manu suâ, et ingressus in Sancta Sanctorum stravit librum legis, et transgressus est super illum transgressionem. Et accepit gladium, et dirupit vela, et factum est miraculum. Et fuit sanguis erumpens et exiens. Et putavit occidisse ipsam substantiam Dei sancti benedicti, i. e. ipsum Deum.—Quid fecit? Accepit vela, et fecit illa sicut saccum, et adduxit omnia vasa quæ erant in Sanctuario, et posuit illa in illo. Et collocavit illa in navi, ut iret, et gloriaretur in urbe suâ—Stetit contra Draco, vel tempestas, in mari, ut demergeret illum in mari. Dixit: Puto ego, quod Deus horum nullam habet potentiam nisi in Mari: Venit Pharao et submersit eum in mari. Stat etiam contra me, ut me submergat. Si fortis est, ascendat in siccam, et faciat bellum mecum. Exivit filia vocis, et dixit ei, Impie fili impii, fili filii impii Esau: Creatura vilis est mihi in mundo meo, et cu-

'helped Bar-kamtza, and he destroyed his house, and burnt up his temple, and made Jerusalem 'desolate.' [Here is inserted an account of a trifling discourse and difference between some rabbins.] 'Whereupon he [Bar-kamtza] went to Rome, and said to the emperor Nero, The 'Jews have rebelled against thee. Who says this, said the emperor? Kamtza answered: Send 'to them a sacrifice; see if they will offer it. Bar-kamtza returned. Nero sent by him an heifer. 'three years old. As he was going he made a blemish in the mouth of it; others say in the 'pupil of its eye: according to the opinion of others it was no blemish. The rabbins therefore 'thought it ought to be offered for preserving the peace of the nation. But Rabbi Zacharias, son 'of Onkelos, said: Shall blemished sacrifices be offered upon the altar? He that brings 'blemished sacrifices into the sanctuary ought to be put to death. R. Jochanan said: The 'superstition of R. Zacharias has destroyed our house, and burnt up our temple, and over-'thrown our city, and caused us to be led captive out of our land. Bar-kamtza therefore sent 'an account of these things to Nero—Nero said: The great and blessed God has determined 'by me to destroy his house. And he sent against them Vespasian, who came and besieged 'Jerusalem three years and a half. In the mean time there came a messenger to him, who 'said: Arise, for the emperor Nero is dead, and the nobles of the Romans have agreed to 'make thee emperor. He went and sent the impious Titus his son—This is the impious Titus, 'who blasphemed the Most High, even God himself. What did he do? He took a harlot into 'the holy of holies, and there lay with her: and he took a sword and cut the veils; at the same 'time there was a miracle, for blood burst out: he thought he had killed God himself—Well, what 'did he? He took the veils and made a sack of them, and put into it all the vessels of the 'sanctuary: and then put them in a ship, that he might go and triumph in his city...There stood 'against him a dragon, that he might drown him in the sea. He said, I think the God of these 'men has no power but in the sea. Pharaoh arose, and he drowned him in the sea. He has a 'mind to destroy me in the like manner: if he has power, let him come upon the dry land and 'make war with me. There went forth a voice and said to him: O impious son of the wicked 'man, O son of the impious son of Esau, there is a contemptible creature in my world, called a 'gnat: go upon the dry land, and you shall make war against it. God presently rebuked the 'sea, and it was calm. He went out upon the dry land, and the gnat came, and entered into 'his nose, and gnawed his brain seven years, and killed him.'

J. De Voisin, in his notes upon this passage, particularly the last words of it, quotes some Jewish authors, who say, 'the[a] story of the fly is not to be understood literally, but mystically, 'and allegorically, intending to insinuate in men's minds a persuasion of the power of God, and 'that he is able to abase those who rise up against him, and to punish the proudest of men by 'very contemptible creatures.' Nor is it any wonder that some should be ashamed of this silly story of the fly getting up a man's nose, and dwelling there seven years. But men of true wisdom can find out more cleanly allegories than this, when they are disposed to make use of that kind of instruction.

Nor has Voisin alleged any Jewish authors, who condemn the horrible story of Titus defiling the sanctuary of the temple with lewdness: though Martini has alleged another Jewish writing in great repute, where[b] the same story is told with all the same horrible, or yet more horrible, circumstances of filthiness, if such there can be: nor is the concluding part of that narrative of the Talmud there omitted. But I presume the Divine Being never arms his feeble creatures to destroy or annoy men for no fault at all; for none, but such as are only imputed to them by those who give a loose to their tongues, to lie and calumniate as they please: for Titus, when he

lex est nomen ejus. Ascende in siccam, et bellum contra illam gere. Statim innuit Deus mari, et quievit. Ascendit in siccam, et venit culex, et ingressus est in nasum ejus, et perforavit illi cerebrum septem annis, et occidit illum. Ex libro Gittin. capite Hannisakin. ap. R. Martin. Pug. Fid. P. 3. cap. xxi. p. 703, 704.

[a] Alii asserunt illud de culice, sive muscâ ejusmodi, non juxta literalem sensum intelligendum esse, sed sensum habere mysticum—Itaque poteris de historiâ Titi libere pronuntiare, quod narratio ejus nihil aliud sit, quam inventio, sive fabula, atque modus doctrinæ usitatus apud eruditos ad stabiliendum in corde plebis, quod magnus est Dominus noster, et potentissimus, ad retribuendum illis qui contra ipsum insurgunt; sed in primis ad puniendum superbos etiam per minimam creaturam. Ap. Pugion. Fid. p. 714.

[b] Hucusque Talmud. Legitur quoque in Midrash Kohelet super illud Eccles. cap. v. 8.—Dixit Deus sanctus benedictus Prophetis: Quid vos putatis, quod si vos non eatis in missionem meam, non sit mihi alius nuntius? In omni ego do missionem vel legationem meam, etiam per serpentem, vel scorpium, vel culicem, vel ranam. Titus impius ingressus est in Sancta Sanctorum, quando destruxit domum Sanctuarii, et gladius ejus districtus in manu suâ, et dirupit duo vela, et accepit duas meretrices in manu illarum, et coivit cum illis, cum unâ super altare, cum alterâ super librum legis, et exivit et gladius ejus plenus sanguine. Et incepit blasphemare, et exsecrari. Quid fecit? Collegit omnia vasa Sanctuarii, et posuit illa in sacco, et descendit ad navem. Et reliqua, sicut modo ex Talmude citata sunt. Ibid. p. 704, 705.

went into the temple at Jerusalem all in flames, neither committed lewdness there, nor did he blaspheme the Deity.

Behold then the temper, the incorrigible temper, of the Jewish people, and their rabbins, the Talmudical writers. Their temple had been burnt up, their city destroyed, their land laid waste, and they carried into captivity: but, instead of repenting, they revile him who, under God, had been the instrument of their chastisement; a prince, who, as good authority says, was as remarkable for the humanity, the compassion, and equity, in his manner of subduing them, as for his military skill and courage. Who then are the men who exalt themselves against God?

But I may no longer indulge myself in such reflections as these. Let us attend for our own benefit. Here is a testimony to the destruction of Jerusalem from Talmudical writers: they agree very much with Josephus in their account of the origin of the war. He says that 'Eleazar, '[a] then captain at the temple, persuaded those who officiated in sacred things, not to accept the 'gift or sacrifice of a stranger: which was the occasion of the war.' The Talmudists say the same thing in different words, after their manner. According to this account also, the war broke out near the end of the reign of Nero, who sent Vespasian general into Judea. Whilst Vespasian was there, carrying on the war, Nero died, and he was chosen to succeed him. When he was chosen emperor at Rome, he sent Titus to carry on the war in Judea: the issue of which was, that the temple was burnt up, their city destroyed, and their whole government overthrown, and they carried into captivity. Moreover, as they here own, Titus was in possession of the veils and sacred vessels of the temple which he took with him to adorn his triumph at Rome. All this (though they relate not particularly the distresses of the siege of Jerusalem) is said, not very differently from Josephus, and more agreeably to him in some respects, than by Josippon, who afterwards wrote at length the history of the war, as we shall see by and by.

CHAP. VI.

JOSEPH BEN GORION, OR JOSIPPON.

I. *His age, work, and character.* II. *Extracts from his work; shewing his history of the Jewish war with the Romans, and the destruction of Jerusalem.* III. *Concluding remarks.*

I. We are now coming to an author of a very extraordinary, or even a singular, character, writer of[b] The Jewish History in six books, who styles himself Josippon, or Joseph Ben Gorion.

He had a very high opinion of himself, and has now been for some while in great reputation with the learned men of the Jewish nation.

At the beginning of the thirty-sixth chapter, which is the first chapter of the fifth book, he writes: 'So[c] says Joseph Ben Gorion the priest, who has written the things which have happened 'to Israel, and his calamities, to be a memorial and instruction to his posterity—From this day, 'and henceforward, this book is to be a testimony to other writers who shall come after me and 'attempt to write of the same things, and shall allege proofs of what they write. For they will 'say: "So and so has recorded Joseph the priest, who is the prince of all writers, who have 'published books among the people of Israel, excepting only the writers of the four and twenty 'sacred books."'

And indeed so it has happened. For Rabbi Tham, who published this work in the Hebrew original at Constantinople in the year 1510, and made another edition of it at Venice in 1544, says of it in his preface: 'Although[d] this book resembles other books in some respects, it is

[a] De B. J. l. 2. cap. 17. sect. 2. p. 192.

[b] Josippon, sive Josephi Ben-Gorionis Historiæ Judaïcæ libri sex. Ex Hebræo vertit, Præfatione et Notis illustravit Joannes Gagnier. A. M. Oxon. 1706, 4to.

[c] *Sic ait Joseph Ben Gorion Sacerdos, qui rerum historiam texuit, quæ contigerunt Israëli, et calamitatem ejus, ut sit memoria earum in documentum, et eruditionem posteris ejus. Hic autem liber ab hac die, et deinceps futurus est in testimonium cæteris scriptoribus, qui post me venturi sunt, et aggredientur scribere, et testimonia allegare. Dicent enim: 'Sic et sic memoriæ prodidit Joseph Sacerdos, qui est princeps scriptorum omnium, qui libros ediderunt, quotquot reperti sunt in Israel, exceptis quidem scriptoribus quatuor et viginti librorum Sanctorum. lib. 5. c. 36. p. 170.*

[d] Quamvis autem hic liber cum cæteris libris in genere conveniat, tamen ratione argumenti plurimum ab eis differt.

'very different from them in others. The great difference between books consists in their truth 'or their falsehood. The words of this book are all justice and truth, nor is there any thing 'perverse in it. The evidence of it is this, that it approacheth nearer to prophecy than any 'other book written since the sacred scriptures: for it was written before the Mishna and the 'Talmud. Upon that man was the hand of the Lord when he wrote this book. And it may 'be said that his words are well-nigh equal to the words of a man of God.'

This work is not so ancient as the author and his admirers pretend, as will be shewn presently. But from the time that he has begun to be taken notice of, as Mr. Gagnier observes in the preface to his edition of this work, 'all [a] Jewish writers, whether commentators, or historians 'or philologers, continually allege it, and quote authorities and testimonies from it, as an 'authentic and fundamental book.—As for the Greek Josephus, they have little regard for him, 'or rather none at all; but declaim against him as a lying historian, full of falsehoods and flatteries. 'But their Josippon they extol and magnify as true and almost divine.'

But Christian critics, of the best credit, have argued that the work is the production of a late age. They shew this from the work itself; in which, as [b] Joseph Scaliger has observed, people and countries are called by modern names, not in use till more than six hundred years after our Saviour's nativity. And he supposeth him to be a Jew that lived in France. He therefore considers him as an impostor.

Fabricius [c] has argued in the like manner. He supposeth him to have been a Jew who lived in Bretagne in France, in the ninth or tenth century. The many modern names of people and countries made use of by him plainly declares his late age. His Hebrew history is translated, or more properly extracted, from the Greek of Josephus, or rather from a Latin translation of him: taking from him what he likes, omitting some things, and adding others.

To the like purpose Gagnier, in his preface, already cited more than once. Who also says that 'Rabbi [d] Saadias Gaon, who wrote his commentary upon the book of Daniel in the year of 'Christ 936, is the first author who has mentioned Josippon Ben Gorion. He does not expressly 'name his work, though probably he refers to it.' Gagnier adds: 'The [e] first writer, who has 'expressly mentioned this work with the name of Josippon Ben Gorion, and quoted authorities 'from it, is Rabbi Solomon Jarchi, who flourished about the year of Christ 1140.'

I refer likewise to [f] Ittigius, and Basnage, who in [g] his History of the Jews, has a long article concerning this writer and his work. He says Josippon lived in the tenth or eleventh century: which he argues after this manner: 'Solomon Jarchi, [h] who wrote in the year 1140, is the first 'who has quoted this Hebrew Joseph. Abraham Ezra, and Abraham Ben Dion, who by their

Differentia autem illa præcipue consistit in veritate aut in falsitate. Porro hujus libri verba omnia sunt justitia et veritas; neque perversitas ulla invenitur in eo. Cujus quidem rei signum est, quod propius accedat ad prophetiam, quam cæteri omnes libri, qui post Scripturas sacras editi sunt. Siquidem ante Misnam et Talmud scriptus fuit. Adde quod super virum illum fuit manus Jehovæ, dum hunc librum componeret: et parum abest, quin ejus verba sint verba viri Dei. Præf. R. Tham. De Scopo Libri.

[a] Deinde omnes, qui secuti sunt, Judæi Scriptores, sive Commentatores, sive Historici, sive Philologi, ubique eum allegant, et tamquam ex libro fundamentali atque authentico testimonia et auctoritates depromunt——Nam quod ad Josephum Græcum adtinet, illum non in magno solent habere pretio, imo ei nullam habent fidem, et, tamquam in Historicum mendacem et adulatorem, adversus illum acriter invehuntur. Suum vero Josippon quasi hominem veracem et pene divinum summis laudibus ad sidera evehunt, extollunt, et prædicant, &c. Gagnier in Præf. p. xxix.

[b] De Josepho Gorionide satis est, si ostendero cujas fuit, quando vixit, cujusmodi scriptor est. Gallum Judæum fuisse ex agro Turononsi non difficile est colligere, ut qui plus de illis quam de aliis Galliæ tractibus agat. Recentem admodum fuisse arguunt verba locorum recentia, quibus utitur, Tours, Amboise, Chinon. Quæ loca post DC annos a natali Christi adhuc Turones, Ambasia, Kainon vocabantur. Quare cum Munsterus videret eum Francorum et Gothorum mentionem facere, et Francos interfuisse exsequiis Herodis, quos Γαλατας Josephus vocârit, ex eo solo potuit odorari hunc scriptorem recentissimum esse, ac proinde planum, qui nomen Josephi Historici sibi vindicârit. Jo. Scalig. in Elenchô Trihær. Vid. Gagnier. Præf. p. xlviii.

[c] Cæterum eruditis hodie plerisque dubium non est, Josephum huncce Hebraïcum ex Græco, vel potius ex Latinâ Josephi versione, esse expressum, vel excerptum potius; nec Josephum ipsum auctorem, sed longe recentiorem aliquem, qui in Britanniâ Galliæ Armoricâ non ante nonum vel decimum seculum vixit, et pro lubitu digessit, addidit, interpolavit, omisit quæcumque ipsi videbantur addenda esse vel omittenda——Ita recentiora longe Josepho tempora arguit, quod memorat Francos, et Burgundiæ populum, et Daniscos, ac Danemanam, et Anglicam gentem, et quæ in Irlandiâ sive Hibernià. Fab. Bib. Gr. lib. 4, c. 6. T. 3, p. 249. et apud Havercamp. Joseph. T. 2. p. 68.

[d] R. Saadias Gaon, qui scribebat circa annum 606, min. suppul. Christ. 936, in suo commentario in Danielem primus omnium Josephi Ben Gorionis meminit—Gagn. Pr. p. xxvii.

[e] R. Salomo Jarchi, qui florebat circa annum Christi 1140, primus est, qui diserte citat hunc librum sub nomine Josippon, vel Josephi Ben Gorionis, et auctoritates ex eo adducit, quarum loca habes infra in Testimoniis. Gagn. ib. p. xxviii.

[f] Ittigii Prolegom. ap. Joseph. Havercamp. Tom. 2. p. 87.

[g] Basnag. Hist. des Juifs. liv. 7, ch. vi. p. 1539. 1570.

[h] Ib. sect. xxv. p. 1564.

'quotations gave the work credit, lived in the same age. It would be very strange that a work 'should be unknown for three or four hundred years to the nation for whose sake it was com- 'posed. But if it was written near the end of the tenth, or the beginning of the eleventh, 'century, it is not at all strange that it did not begin to be taken notice of till some while after.'

I say nothing more in the way of introduction. I shall now make such extracts out of this work, as may be sufficient to shew the writer's character, and his testimony to the destruction of the temple and Jerusalem by Vespasian and Titus. I have placed him in the tenth century, not very far from the beginning of it, in the year of Christ 930.

II. The work is divided into six books and ninety-seven chapters. The sixth and last of which books consists of five and fifty chapters.

The forty-third chapter, which is the first of the sixth book, begins in this manner. 'Thus' 'says Joseph Ben Gorion the priest, the same who is also called Josippon—This is the book 'which I have entitled The Wars of Jehovah, because it contains the history of the calamities of 'the house of our sanctuary, and of our land, and our glory.'

My readers cannot but remember that our Greek [b] Josephus, when he gives an account of the determination of the Jewish people to go to war with the Romans, informs us that they appointed Joseph Gorion, and Ananus the high priest, to preside at Jerusalem. Others were sent as generals into several parts of the country; and himself, Joseph son of Matthias, was appointed governor of the two Galilees, together with the præfecture of Gamala annexed to them.

Our author's account of the same determination is to this purpose: 'The [c] Jews, out of their 'generals which were at Jerusalem, chose three princes valiant for war; me, Joseph the priest, 'valiant for war with the help of Jehovah, and Ananus the priest, and Eleazar his son, priests 'also, and by lot they divided to them the several parts of the country in which they should 'carry on the war. The third part, which was the first lot, containing the land of Galilee and 'Napthali, came out to Joseph Ben Gorion the priest; and they called him Josippon by way of 'praise and honour: forasmuch as he was then anointed with the military ointment for the war. 'The second lot came out to Ananus the high priest, to govern at Jerusalem and the adjoining 'country. The third lot came out to Eleazar, son of Ananus, and what follows.' This should be compared with what is written by [d] Josephus.

Thus he adopts the appellation of Joseph son of Gorion;[e] but personates Joseph son of Matthias; and like him he is appointed governor of Galilee; and all along he will be Josephus in the main, and another person when he pleaseth. He will also transcribe the Greek Josephus, and copy a large part of his history of the Jewish war without taking any notice of him. If he differs from him, and adds to him, it is not taken out of any other writers better informed, but from his own invention only.

Being come into Galilee he there orders things very agreeably to what we have formerly seen in our Greek Josephus. At length he [f] flies from Vespasian and Titus and the Roman army, and shuts himself up in Jotapata. Vespasian [g] with his army comes before Jotapata. The [h] city is taken after a siege of eight-and-forty days. Joseph [i] himself, and with him forty more, go out

[a] Sic dicit Joseph Ben Gorion sacerdos. Ipse est Josippon, nomine quidem diminutivo Josippon——Hic est liber ille, quem appellavi titulo, Bella Jehovæ, eo quod continet historiam calamitatum desolationis Domûs Sanctuarii nostri, et terræ nostræ, et gloriæ nostræ. Lib. 6, c. 43, p. 189.

[b] D. B. J. l. 2, cap. 20.

[c] Quæ omnia cum audissent Judæi, elegerunt e ducibus, qui erant in Judâ et Jerusalem, tres principes fortissimos bello, me scilicet, Joseph Sacerdotem fortissimum bello cum auxilio Jehovæ, et Anani Sacerdotem et Eleazar Sacerdotem filium ejus; et præfecerunt illos super terram, et partiti sunt terram Judæ inter illos per sortem, dederuntque illis præsidio manum Judæorum ad bellum gerendum. Et obtigit tertia pars terræ per primam sortem, scilicet, omnis terra Galileæ a terrâ Nephthali, et deinceps, Josepho filio Gorionis Sacerdoti, in honorem et gloriam. Et appellaverunt illum Josippon in titulum dignitatis et laudis; quia tunc unctus fuit unctione militari. Deinde sors secunda exiit pro Anano Sacerdote magno, Jerusalem scilicet, et omnia circum vicina loca,—Sors denique tertia egressa est Eleazaro filio Anani. &c. Josipp. c. 67, p. 293.

[d] De B. Jud. lib. 2, c. 20, sect. 1, 2, 3.

[e] Gagnier, in his notes upon this place, p. 293, assigns some reasons why this writer chose to be thought the son of Gorion, rather than the son of Matthias. Cur autem hic noster Gorionis filius quam Matthiæ esse voluerit, ratio videtur fuisse, quod cum nomen Gorionis cujusdam insignis viri mentio aliquando in Talmude occurrat, atque etiam Nicodemi filii Gorionis, in eam familiam ipsi se adoptare visum est, ut prodiret in lucem gratior contribulibus suis, eisque facilius imponeret. Vid. reliqua ibid. Et conf. not. [p] ap. Jos. Havercamp. p. 207.

[f] At vero ut audivit Josephus, quod venit Vespasianus, et cum eo filius ejus Titus, omnisque exercitus ejus, ut prælium committeret, fugit Josephus a facie eorum in Jotapatam, urbem magnam, quæ est in Galilæâ; et inclusit se Josephus et omnis exercitus intra illam. c. 68, p. 299.

[g] Cap. 69, p. 300, et cap. 70, p. 301, &c.

[h] Cap. 71, p. 307.

[i] Tunc surrexit Josephus ipse, et quadraginta viri ex militibus, qui residui erant cum illo, et egressi sunt ex urbe, fugeruntque in sylvam, ubi inventâ cavernâ illuc intraverunt, delitueruntque omnes in illâ cavernâ, &c. Cap. 71, p. 307.

of the city and hide themselves in a cave. Vespasian sends Nicanor to Joseph with offers of peace and safety if he would surrender. But [a] the forty men who were with him chose rather to die by their own hands. After long arguing, Joseph proposeth that they should cast lots till they were all killed. Which being done, there were none left alive but Joseph and one more, who at length consented to surrender. Joseph [b] then calls to Nicanor, and they yield up themselves to him. Vespasian, when Joseph was brought before him, treated him kindly, and carried him about with him from place to place, together with [c] Agrippa.

So far there is a great agreement between our Josephus and Joseph Ben Gorion. But now they differ. For Josippon entirely omits the compliments which our Josephus paid to Vespasian.

Upon [d] the death of Nero, and after the short reigns of Galba and Vitellius, Vespasian is declared emperor by the soldiers in Judea; and, after some hesitation, he is persuaded to accept of the diadem from them.

Some while [e] after that, Vespasian takes part of the army, and goes to Rome: but leaves the other part with Titus to carry on the siege of Jerusalem. However, he orders Titus to stay at Alexandria till he shall send to him from Rome.

'When [f] Vespasian left Judea to go to Rome he took with him Agrippa, and his son [g] Monbaz, lest they should rebel against him. With himself and them he also took me Joseph 'the priest, bound with iron chains.' And when Vespasian was come to Rome he ordered that [g] Joseph should be sent to prison and kept bound there.

Vespasian upon his arrival at Rome was received joyfully by the senators and all the people in general. And [h] in a short time he is inaugurated with great solemnity. Agrippa and his son are allowed to be with the senators; and Joseph himself, though a prisoner, is allowed by the keeper of the prison to have a place where he may see all.

The [i] coronation is then described by him in a pompous manner; seven electors of the empire attending, agreeably to the coronations of the emperors in late ages, a good while after the time of Charles the great, as [k] Gagnier observes in a note which I shall place below. Basnage thinks that [l] this Hebrew Joseph intends the coronation of Otho the first, or his son, Otho the second. And he considers this article as a proof that Josippon lived in the tenth, or rather in the eleventh century.

'Soon after his coronation,' as this author says, 'Vespasian [m] was offended with Agrippa 'upon account of some calumnies cast upon him, which he had received from wicked men of 'the Jewish nation: whereupon he slew Agrippa, and his son Monbaz, with the sword. Which 'was done three years and a half before the desolation of the house.

So writes this author. Supposing Agrippa to have been put to death at this time, I do not conceive how it could be done three years and a half before the destruction of the temple.

[a] Cap. 72. p. 315—319.

[b] Cap. 73. p. 319, &c.

[c] Cum ergo audivisset Vespasianus Titum filium suum, recta visa sunt verba illius in oculis ejus, et clementiâ usus est erga Josephum sacerdotem, et prohibuit, quo minus moreretur gladio, et constituit eum principem, et magnum inter principes suos, et secum ducebat de urbe in urbem cum Agrippâ rege. c. 73, p. 321.

[d] Cap. 75, p. 333, 334. [e] Cap. 77, p. 340.

[f] Abiit itaque Vespasianus Romam. Cumque pergeret, ut iterum acciperet illic coronam regni, duxit secum Agrippam regem, et Monbaz filium ejus. Dixerat enim, ne forte rebellent contra me. Duxit præterea cum eis, et secum, meipsum Josephum sacerdotem, vinctum catenis ferreis. Cap. 77. p. 340.

[g] Tunc jussit, et vinxerunt me in domo carceris. Agrippam vero et filium ejus ipsorum arbitrio reliquit. Ib. p. 341.

[h] Postridie illius diei congregati sunt omnes Senatores Romani, ut Vespasianum Cæsarem crearent, secundum jus Cæsareæ dignitatis pro consuetudine Romanâ. Porro Agrippa et filius ejus erant cum illis. At ego supplex rogavi principem domûs carceris—Et inveni gratiam in oculis ejus, et introduxit me in consessum regni, ubi fieri debebat inauguratio Cæsaris; attamem vinctum catenis ferreis et collocavit juxta se in loco, unde vidi omnia quæ facta sunt. Ib. p. 341.

[i] Cum itaque perventum est ad illum locum, accedunt ad eum septem Reges coronis suis insignes, quas acceperunt de manu Cæsaris, electi vero jussu Senatûs Romani, &c. ibid.

[k] Fingit hic fabulator Josephum, id est, seipsum a Vespasiano Romam perductum fuisse, ut ibi spectator adesset ejus coronationis, quam describit cum omni illâ cæremoniâ inaugurationis Cæsarum, qualis longe post tempora Caroli Magni, sub Romanis Pontificibus instituta fuit, præsentibus nempe et ministrantibus septem Imperii Electoribus, cum toto illo apparatu, quem fuse et lepide narrat. Gagn. p. 341.

[l] Tous ces caractères nous font croire, que le Josèphe Hébreu n'a vécu qu' à la fin de dixième, ou plutôt dans l'onzième siécle, et que le couronnement, dont il a laissé la déscription, est celui d'Othon I. ou de son fils Othon II. Basnag. ut supr. sect. xxiv. p. 1563.

[m] Post aliquot autem dies, ex quo Vespasianus Cæsar factus fuit, indignatus est adversus Agrippam, quia calumniati sunt eum impii Israël, dicentes eum cogitâsse perfide agere in illum, et idcirco misisse literas in Jerusalem eâ de re. Interfecit itaque illum et filium ejus Monbaz gladio. Quod quidem contigit tribus annis cum dimidio ante desolationem domus. &c. c. 77, p. 344.

Besides, Agrippa survived the Jewish war and the destruction of Jerusalem many years: as is attested not only by Josephus, but also by ancient medals[a] still extant.

Rabbi Isaac, in his Munimen Fidei, written in the[b] sixteenth century, has quoted this passage of our author. And I have put down his words in the margin: though, perhaps, they may be taken notice of again hereafter.

In[c] the same year and month that Agrippa and his son were put to death, Vespasian sent for Joseph, and spake comfortably to him, and released him from his bonds. Joseph complained of the death of Agrippa; but Vespasian assured him he had good reason for so doing. And now Vespasian sent Joseph to Titus at Alexandria, with a letter of recommendation. Joseph goes to Alexandria. Titus[d] and all his counsellors rejoiced at the arrival of Joseph: 'For he 'was full of the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and valour, the spirit 'of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord.' Is. xi. 1, 2. After[e] some consultation it was determined to go up to Jerusalem and besiege it. 'For Joseph knew that it was of the Lord, 'and that it was not possible that the word of the Lord should be turned back.' Titus therefore went from Alexandria to Judea.

In[f] the first year of the reign of Vespasian, in the tenth month, and the seventh day of the month, came Titus with Joseph, and all his forces, and his army, to the delightful city of Cæsarea; where he was employed in collecting his forces from all parts, till he had completed his army for besieging Jerusalem. There[g] he stayed all the winter till the month of Abib, or March. During this whole year, the first year of the reign of Vespasian, were grievous wars and fightings in the midst of Jerusalem. From the time that Vespasian left Judea to go to Rome, there to receive the confirmation of the empire, in summer and winter were perpetual quarrels and contentions between the three parties, into which the people of Jerusalem were divided, and headed by three leaders, Simon, John, and Eleazar. 'For[h] at that time God 'poured out a spirit of insensibility in the midst of Jerusalem:' Is. xxix. 10. And they destroyed, as[i] this writer says, a thousand and four hundred garners, filled with things that might have been useful in a siege; for there were in them provisions sufficient to maintain two hundred thousand people for twenty years. But by the madness of these robbers all was consumed by fire: which brought on the famine in Jerusalem.

And now this writer makes a long and grievous lamentation over[k] Jerusalem: which in the Hebrew original, as[l] Gagnier observes, is a sort of metrical composition, not in use among the Jews till long after the supposed time of the author.

Titus[m] draws out his numerous forces, and reviews them in a plain near Cæsarea, and then moves toward Jerusalem.

[a] Vid. Gagnier in loc.

[b] Verba, 'Væ pastori meo nihili derelinquenti gregem. [Zach. xi. 17.] Agrippam respiciunt, qui Romam se contulit, atque inde evocavit Vespasianum, hujusque privignum Titum, adversus Hierosolymas. Tandem autem irasci illi cœpit Vespasianus, eumque unâ cum Monbaso filio securi percussit, tribus et dimidio annis ante templi desolationem. Cæterum ob illam, quæ inter regem Agrippam et improbos duces factiosorum exorta fuerat contentionem, denique desolatum fuit templum, uti ex Josepho constat. Munimen Fidei. p. 417.

[c] Cap. 78, p. 344.

[d] Postea Profectus Josephus Româ venit Alexandriam. Cumque audisset Titus de adventu Josephi, lætatus est plurimum ipse, et omnes seniores et sapientes, qui cum illo erant. Josephus enim plenus erat spiritu sapientiæ et intelligentiæ, spiritu consilii et fortitudinis, spiritu scientiæ, et timoris Jehovæ. cap. 78, p. 346.

[e] Postea consilium inierunt inter se, ut ascenderent in Jerusalem, et obsiderent eam. Sciebat enim Josephus a Jehovâ hoc esse, neque possibile esse, ut verbum Jehovæ convertatur retrorsum. Ib. p. 347.

[f] Anno primo regni Vespasiani, mense decimo, die septimo mensis, venit Titus cum Josepho, et cum omnibus copiis suis et exercitu suo, in urbem Cæsareæ, gratissimam et desideratissimam omnibus, qui illam viderunt. cap. 79, p. 347.

[g] Mansitque illic, donec complerentur dies brumæ, et dies hiemis, et donec venirent dies Abib. Toto autem hoc anno primo regni Vespasiani, quo erectus est super regnum Romanorum,——ingruerunt prœlia durissima in medio Jerusalem inter habitatores ejus per crudelitatem iræ et furoris; et percutiebant unusquisque proximum suum, nullâ interpositâ quiete aut morâ. Quinetiam nulla cessatio belli fuit inter illos totâ hieme, ut post est universæ terræ; sed et æstate et hieme duraverunt prœlia Simonem inter et Jehochananem. Porro tertius fuit Eleazarus. Atque hoc ab ipso die, quo proficiscens Vespasianus de terrâ Juda abiit Romam, ut illic de novo susciperet regnum Cæsareæ dignitatis, secundum jus consuetudinis Romanæ. Ibid.

[h] Eo anno effudit Jehova spiritum vertiginis in medium Jerusalem——p. 348.

[i] Porro numerus horreorum illorum in Jerusalem erat mille et quadringentorum: et omnia plena commeatibus victûs pro tempore obsidionis. Tempore autem, quo Vespasianus venit in urbes Galileæ, seniores et viri fide digni, qui æstimaverunt quantitatem proventûs horreorum illorum, invenerunt in illis esse commeatus et victus pro ducentis mille animabus per viginti annos. Et tunc, in bello latronum, hæc omnia cremata sunt. Cœpitque fames in Jerusalem. p. 350.

[k] Lamentatus est itaque Josephus lamentationem* hanc super Jerusalem, et dixit——c. 80, p. 350—355.

[l] Lamentatio Josephi. In Hebræo est carmen rythmicum; quod genus poëseos multis post seculis a recentioribus Judæis, Arabum exemplo, usurpatum est. Gagn. not. p. 350.

[m] Postea Titus venit in planitiem Cæsareæ cum exercitu, et recensuit exercitum suum, &c. cap. 81, p. 355.

It is not my intention to relate particularly from this writer, as I have done from Josephus, the attacks of Titus, and the defences of the people in the city. I shall pass over a great deal.

'Whilst[a] they were hard pressed by the Romans, the three parties within agreed, and joined 'together, in opposing the common enemy. But, as soon as the Romans gave them any respite, 'then three rulers of the robbers within exercised a cruel war with one another; insomuch that 'the blood of the citizens ran like a torrent out of the gates of Jerusalem in the sight of the 'Romans, who could not forbear to pity them.' Those expressions are extravagant. But what is here said may be compared with Josephus de B. J. l. 5, cap. vi. sect. 1. Upon this occasion our author made another lamentation.

After[b] having carried on the siege for some while, Titus draws off from the city, and for several days ceaseth to make any attacks. And by Joseph, who addresseth them in a very long speech, in their own language, he makes them offers of peace, that he might preserve their temple and city. But they hardened their necks, and would not hear. In[c] this speech he tells them, not disagreeably to what the Greek Josephus says [de B. J. l. 5, cap. ix. p. 350.] that, for their sins, the waters of Siloam had before failed on a sudden; but now they flowed plentifully in the camp of the Gentiles fighting against them. In this speech he goes on and says: 'though 'I[d] am in the camp of the Romans, I am still considered as one of you. For with you is my 'dear wife, the wife of my youth, whom I still embrace, though I have had no children by her. 'With you also are my father and mother. He is now an hundred and three years old, and my 'mother eighty-five. I am sixty-four years of age, and have not yet attained to the term of 'human life.'

Many, he[e] says, wept at hearing him; and many people of meaner rank would willingly have gone out of the city to surrender themselves to Titus; but the three leaders of the factions, Simon, and Eleazar, and John, prevented them by their severe threatenings, and the strict guard they kept over them.

In[f] the mean time the famine increased, and was very grievous. The people ate mice, spiders, weasels, serpents, toads: and if the carcase of a horse or other beast was found in any of the streets of Jerusalem, multitudes contended for it.

Titus[g] continues his attacks, but the Jews gain great advantages over him. They killed a great number of his men, and destroyed his platforms, which gave him[h] great concern.

Soon after that,[i] Titus, as this author says, received numerous recruits from all nations and countries subject to the Roman empire. At their arrival, Titus represents to their generals and chief men the state of things, and how the Jews had prevailed, and still had great strength

[a] Quando instabat prœlium Romanorum, omnes ad invicem coalescebant, tamquam unus vir ad pugnam; et pugnabant contra Romanos, fugabantque illos a se. Et postquam fugaverant a se Romanos, revertebantur ad se, et incipiebant pugnare unusquisque in fratrem suum. Tuncque fiebat prœlium magnum et durum inter tres principes latronum crudelium, donec egrederetur sanguis extra portas Jerusalem, tamquam torrens scaturiens de scaturigine aquarum. Videbantque Romani sanguinem egredientem de portis Jerusalem. Et conterebatur cor eorum in medio ipsorum, et flebant, et dolebant eâ de re. Josephus autem sacerdos stabat cum eis. Tunc lamentatus est Josephus lamentationem hanc iterum super Jerusalem. Et prolocutus est Josephus alte proferens vocem lamentationis, et dixit, &c. c. 82, p. 362, &c.

[b] Tunc tempotis jussit populum suum discedere a muro extra urbem, et cessare a bello per aliquot dies, ut clamaret pacem in auribus Judæorum. cap. 84, p. 369—377, et cap. 85, p. 378.—385.

[c] Nunc autem videte malum vestrum esse maximum, et quod Jehova non sit in medio vestri, quia propter bella, quæ geritis unusquisque cum fratre suo, mox brevi siccatæ sunt apud vos aquæ Siloë. At vero in castris Gentium, quando congregatæ sunt contra vos, ecce aquæ Siloë redundant, et fluunt instar torrentis, et fluvii magni pleni super omnes margines suos. cap. 85, p. 383, m.

[d] Porro, quamvis ego sim in castris Romanorum, tamen reputor idem, ac si essem vobiscum; quia ecce nunc uxor mea dilectissima, carissima, vobiscum est, uxor nempe juventutis meæ. Neque respuo illam; et, licet filii ex eâ non sint mihi, nihilominus illam diligo plurimum, cum sit ex familiis nobilissimis et optimis populi Dei, et populi virorum. Quin et pater meus et mater mea, infelices, pauperes, sancti, senes, provecti in diebus apud vos sunt. Nam et pater meus est centum et trium annorum hodie. Mater vero mea octoginta et quinque annorum est hodie. Ego vero paucos et malos, et per varias tribulationes et ærumnas sexaginta et quatuor annos exegi, ac nondum attigi terminum, qui postulet mortem juxta viam naturæ. &c. cap. 85, p. 383, fin.

[e] Cum ergo audivisset populus verba Josephi sacerdotis, fleverunt plurimum——Et quidem summopere optabat plebs infima exire ad Titum, et pacem inire cum illo juxta consilium Josephi. Sed astabant Simon, Eleazarus, et Jochanan, principes latronum, et præposuerunt viros fortissimos ad portas——&c. c. 86, p. 385.

[f] Interea fames ingravescebat in Jerusalem——Crescebat autem malum eo usque, ut populus comederet omne genus reptilium terræ a mure usque ad araneam, et ad serpentem, et mustellam, et bufonem.——Si forte inveniretur in Jerusalem cadaver equi, aut cadaver cujuslibet bestiæ, multi ex Israël inter se pugnabant, et mortui corruebant, dum pugnarent super cadaver bestiæ, aut super cadaver feræ——cap. 86, p. 385, 386.

[g] Cap. 87, p. 388—391.

[h] Cap. 88, p. 391, 392.

[i] Eo tempore congregatæ sunt innumeræ turbæ ex omnibus gentibus, et venerunt contra Jerusalem in auxilium Romanorum ex omnibus dominiis Cæsareæ dignitatis ad Romam pertinentibus——Narravit autem Titus senioribus gentium, quæ

remaining. These recruits, however, are very willing to engage with the Jews: and [a] out of the vast numbers of fresh men, supposed to be capable of doing more than the Romans, who were fatigued and worn out, and discouraged with the fatigues of a long siege, were selected, eight thousand men, Macedonians, Britans, Syrians, Africans, Burgundians, Persians, Chaldæans. All these, without any Romans joined with them, marched in order toward Jerusalem, and encamped near it. And then they began to attack the wall, and to fight with the Jews that were upon it.

'Now [b] the three leaders within the city, John, and Simon, and Eleazar, consult together 'between themselves, and with their friends, what was best to be done. It was agreed that two 'should go out of the city, and the other abide within. John then and Eleazar went out, 'having with them fifteen hundred of the most valiant of their men. They prevailed and slew 'their enemies with the edge of the sword from morning to evening. The day on which this 'battle was fought,' he says, 'was the ninth day of the month Thebet, which was the tenth 'month from the arrival of Titus before Jerusalem. And they slew of the hosts of the Gentiles 'seven-and-fifty thousand and five hundred. They took captive three thousand of their chiefs, 'putting the rest to flight. Of the Jews there fell on that day seven men. And they brought 'off their dead and their wounded to Jerusalem: where they buried their dead, that the uncir- 'cumcised might not insult them.'

'Whereupon [c] John and Eleazar returned to Jerusalem with their brethren, singing a hymn 'of triumph, and offering praises to Jehovah. The rest of those nations returned to the camp 'of Titus in shame and confusion.——The day after, the robbers took the three thousand chiefs, 'whom they had brought captives, and put out an eye of every one of them, and also cut off one 'of their hands, and so sent them back to the camp of Titus.'

All fiction, surely; without any ground or authority from Josephus, or any other ancient writer that we know of! We here plainly see that the author was an artful man. He knew how to flatter and please his own nation. And he has obtained his end. He is in admiration with them.

At that [d] time Titus consulted with his generals and soldiers, and his whole army, that it might be determined what was best to be done, especially considering the strength and fortitude of the Jewish people. After a long consultation, the opinion of Titus, which he was resolved to adhere to, was, that the siege of the city should be continued without making any attacks upon it. 'For,' says he, 'their provisions fail already, and will be all speedily consumed. More- 'over, they will quarrel among themselves, and thus hasten their ruin; and we shall overcome.'

'And indeed,' says [e] this writer, 'the famine prevailed greatly. And if it had not, the city 'could not have been broken up nor taken for ever: for the valiant of Israel were "swifter than 'eagles, and stronger than lions," 2 Sam. i. 23. But the famine consumed them. The streets

sibi venerant in auxilium, ea omnia, quæ sibi contigerant dum oppugnavit Jerusalem——Narravit etiam, quomodo perdiderant milites suos, et principes suos,——omnesque machinas suas dirutrices, et omnia instrumenta belli, quæ secum habebat, corruperant. cap. 88, p. 393. 394.

[a] Electi sunt itaque ex turmis nationum illarum octoginta millia virorum, scilicet decem millia Macedonum, viginti millia virorum Britanniæ, quinque millia Syrorum, decem millia virorum Africæ, decem millia fortissimorum ex viris Borgoniæ, quinque millia de filiis Cedar, decem millia militum ex fortissimis Persarum et Chaldæorum. Et progressi sunt eo ordine, quo venerunt; neque unus Romanus ex illis. Abierunt autem in planitiem, quæ erat e regione Sepulcri Jehochanan, sacerdotis magni. Et cœperunt miscere prœlia cum Judæis, qui erant super murum, et admovere scalas, cum instrumentis ligneis quibus tegebantur, ut ascenderent ad eos supra murum. Ib. p. 394, 395.

[b] Egressi sunt ergo Jehochanan et Eleazarus cum mille et quingentis fortissimis latronum, et percusserunt turmas gentium plagâ gladii,——a mane diei pugnæ usque ad vesperam. Quod quidem contigit nonâ die mensis Thebet, qui fuit decimus ab adventu Titi in Jerusalem; et prostraverunt ex turmis gentium illarum quinquaginta septem millia cum quingentis. Et ceperunt ex eis vivos ter mille principes, cæteris in fugam conjectis. Ex Judæis autem ceciderunt illâ die septem viri; et vulneratos suos secum extulerunt latrones, ut illos sepelirent, ne insultarent eis incircumcisi. Ib. p. 395.

[c] Venerunt itaque Jehochanan et Eleazarus in Jerusalem cum fratribus suis, cantantes hymnum, et gratiarum actiones Jehovæ. Reliquiæ autem fugientium ex turmis nationum illarum reversæ sunt ad castra Titi cum ignominia——Postridie Latrones acceperunt tria millia principum, quos comprehenderant vivos, effoderunt unicuique eorum oculum, manumque amputaverunt, atque ita remiserunt eos ad castra Titi, ut ipsi essent dedecori et opprobrio. Ib. p. 395.

[d] Eo tempore Titus consilium inivit cum principibus et militibus suis, et cum filiis populi sui Romanis, et cum populo omnium nationum, quæ cum eis convenerant, dicens: Quid faciemus contra Israëlem, et contra fortitudinem ejus? ——At consilia eorum omnium contemtui fuerunt coram Tito ——Dixit ergo eis Titus. Hoc est consilium meum, quod a me ipso juxta rectam rationem profertur, neque ab eo recedam. Cedo, teneamus urbem hanc obsessam, neve oppugnemus illam amplius. Victus enim et commeatus eorum omnino defecerunt, neque cibus est apud illos. Haud dubium, quin fames illos consumtura est: neque etiam dubium est, quin, quando viderint nos non amplius miscêre prœlia cum illis, ipsi prœlia misceant inter se, unusquisque adversus fratrem suum——Ib. 395, 396.

[e] Porro, nisi grassata fuisset fames in Jerusalem, nunquam perrupta fuisset urbs, neque capta in æternum. Fortes enim Israël erant velociores aquilis, et fortiores leonibus. Ib. p. 396.

'were filled with dead bodies; nor were there any to bury them. And when Titus saw the 'dead cast out from the city, like dung upon the earth, he was much affected at the sight; 'and, lifting up his hands to heaven, he fell down upon his knees and said: "This is not my 'work." He had desired peace: but the people would not accept of it.'

In [a] the following, the eighty-ninth chapter, is an account of several acts of cruelty committed by Simon in putting to death Amittai, or Matthias, and others.

In [b] the mean while, as he says in the nineteenth chapter, Gorion the priest, father of Joseph, who wrote this book for Israel, to be a memorial and testimony to them, was a prisoner in one of the towers upon the wall, bound in iron fetters. Joseph came near to the place hoping to see his aged father: but the Jews cast stones at him, and wounded him. And now likewise, he at length gets a sight of his mother. She was not bound with chains, though she was kept prisoner in the house of Simon. But she got upon the wall to see her son and make her lamentations to him. His father was about one hundred and three years of age, and his mother eighty-five.

It is observable that about this time, after the slaughter of Amittai, or Matthias, and his sons, by order of Simon, Josephus [c] also makes mention of his father and mother, as being in Jerusalem. And about this time also Josephus was wounded: not for attempting to see his father or mother, but as he was going round the city near the walls of it, proposing arguments to the people within to surrender to Titus for their benefit.

The [d] famine being very severe in the city, many Jews in good circumstances went out in order to go over to the Romans. But it being found that some of them had gold and jewels hid in their bowels, they were ripped up by the Arabian and Syrian soldiers which were in the army of Titus. Some of the Roman soldiers did the like. In this practice the Arabians and Syrians killed a thousand Jews. When Titus heard of it he was exceedingly grieved and provoked. And he gave orders that all who had done this thing should be put to death, and that their goods should be given to living Jews, heirs of the dead. Upon this occasion six thousand Arabians and Syrians suffered death.

A most unlikely thing, and mere romance! No general would shew such favour to a resolute people, whom he was besieging with an army. Josephus says that [e] two thousand of the Jews were thus cruelly destroyed by the Syrian and other soldiers for the sake of the gold hid in their bodies. He also says, Titus was much displeased, and would have ordered his horse to surround the criminals and kill them with darts; but he considered that the number of the guilty exceeded that of the slain. He therefore was obliged to content himself with forbidding that cruelty for the future, upon the pain of heavy punishment.

This author moreover says, that 'strict [f] inquiry was made by Titus after the Romans who 'had been guilty of the like action; and they were found to be three hundred and twenty men, 'whom Titus ordered to be burnt to death in one pit or cistern. After which all Jews who 'came over to Titus were treated by the soldiers very civilly, and they lived very quiet and un-'molested in his camp.' All fiction from this author's fruitful invention! And the story is made out, as it seems, to do honour to his nation, at the same time that their city was falling into ruin, and they going into captivity!

[a] Cap. 89, p. 397——406.

[b] Interea Gorion sacerdos, pater Josephi sacerdotis, qui scripsit hunc librum Israëli, ut esset illis in testimonium, et in memoriale, tunc erat vinctus catenis ferreis, et in vinculis æreis in unâ e turribus Jerusalem. Ipse autem senex processerat in diebus, natus scilicet centum et trium annorum ——Eo tempore venit Josephus, filius ejus, versus murum e regione turris, in quâ erat pater ejus Gorion sacerdos, tunc illic vinctus——cap. 90, p. 406, &c.

[c] De B. J. l. 5, c. xiii. numb. 1, 2, 3.

[d] Porro Judæi, qui egressi fuerant de Jerusalem ad castra Romanorum——deglutierunt aurum et argentum, et gemmas, et lapides pretiosos——Cumque animadvertissent nonnulli ex Syris et Arabibus illos ita facere, indicavit rem unusquisque socio suo——Tum apprehenderunt illos, et scissis eorum visceribus, invenerunt intra viscera aurum, et lapides pretiosos ——Factusque numerus scissorum per manus Syrorum et Arabum mille animarum. Cumque audivisset Titus rem illam pessimam,——indignatus est, et accensus est furor ejus admodum. Tunc jussit comprehendi omnes, qui patraverant hujusmodi facinus pessimum, et jugulari; ac deinde dari omnes facultates eorum Judæis vivis hæredibus mortuorum. Et mortui sunt propter hoc facinus, jussu Titi, tum ex Syris, tum ex Arabibus, sex millia virorum. cap. 91, p. 411, 412.

[e] De B. J. l. 5, c. xiii. sect. 4, 5. p. 361, 362.

[f] Fuitque numerus eorum, qui reperti sunt, tum eorum qui fecerunt, tum eorum qui noverant, trecentorum et viginti virorum. At jussit Titus servis suis, et combusserunt omnes in medio cisternæ unius. Et deinceps Judæi cum fiduciâ in castris Titi degebant, neque ultra fuit adversarius, aut incursus malus. Sed quotiescumque Romanus inveniebat Judæum aliquem perplexum aut errantem extra castra procul, clam illum deducens comitabatur usque dum ad castra incolumem, et tranquille, et cum securitate bonâ reduxisset. cap. 91, p. 413.

He likewise tells the story which Josephus has done of the crucifixion of the Jews before the walls of the city, five [a] hundred in a day, and sometimes more, as Josephus says. But this author tells it very differently in this manner. Some [b] went out of the city with their wives, and sons and daughters, and little ones, to gather herbs for food; and the Romans slew all the young people, saying: 'let us kill these, lest they grow up and fight against us, as their fathers have 'done.' So the Romans acted from day to day, till the number of slain and hanged up amounted to five hundred. The like to this was done within the city by Simon, and John, and Eleazar. They killed and hung up upon the walls all the Romans which they could catch, and all their own people who endeavoured to go out of the city, till they amounted also to the number of five hundred: which when Titus saw, he gave strict orders to all the men of his army not to kill any Jews that came out of Jerusalem. If any did so, they should be put to death. For his bowels yearned over Israel.

So says this fantastical writer.

He computes the taking of Antonia to have been on the fifth day of Sivan, the third month, on the eve of the feast of weeks, or Pentecost; the fourteenth month from the coming of Titus to besiege Jerusalem. So [c] at the end of ch. 91.

He proceeds, [d] in the ninety-second chapter, to relate contentions and fightings of the Jews and Romans at the temple, or near it; which I need not rehearse particularly: especially, since it is not all exact truth or matter of fact, but exaggeration agreeable to this author's fancy.

At the beginning of the [e] ninety-third chapter he tells the story of Mary, who, in the extremity of the famine, killed her only child, and dressed it, and ate a part of it. The same story that is told by [f] Josephus: but their harangues upon the event are different.

In the next chapter [g] the temple is on fire, and the doors of the house of the sanctuary were opened on the ninth day of the fifth month, the same day of the month in the which it had been opened in the time of the Chaldeans. The soldiers rejoiced greatly. But Titus was much concerned, and ran towards the temple, and did all in his power to have the fire extinguished, calling aloud to his men, till he was hoarse, and persisting in his exclamations, as this author says, till he fell to the ground almost dead. And the priests at the temple fought as long as they were able; and when they saw the fire prevail, they threw themselves into it. As there remained no hopes of preserving the temple, Titus, before it was entirely consumed, went in, and greatly admired it——Soon after that the Romans set up their idols and images in the temple, and offered sacrifices to them, and reviled the Jews, and blasphemed their law before their idols.

He now comes to the signs and prodigies, foresignifying the calamities that were coming upon the Jewish people, which also are mentioned by Josephus [h] in this same place, after the

[a] De B. J. l. 5. cap. xi. n. 1.

[b] Quando aliqui ab urbe exibant cum uxoribus, et filiis, et filiabus, et parvulis suis, ut invenirent herbas,——Romani, qui illos inveniebant, jugulabant natos eorum, et dicebant: Jugulemus hos parvulos, ne adolescant, et successu dierum pugnent nobiscum, sicut patres illorum. Idcirco Romani trucidabant infimam plebem, quotquot exibant ab urbe, et suspendebant illos ad arbores ex adverso portæ Jerusalem. Sicque faciebant Romani quotidie. Pervenitque numerus occisorum et suspensorum ad quingentas animas. Idem etiam faciebant Simon, Jehochanan, et Eleazarus, iis omnibus, quos capiebant ex cohortibus Romanorum, postquam illos per insidias circumvenerant. Eodem modo animadvertebant in eos, qui quærebant exire, ut perfugerent ad illos. Jugulabant enim eos, et cadavera suspendebant super murum ex adverso Romanorum——Fuitque numerus suspensorum per manus latronum quingentorum virorum, tot scilicet numero, quot suspendebant Romani ex Judæis. Itaque Titus præcepit omnibus viris exercitûs sui dicens: Quicumque interfecerit aliquem ex iis qui egrediuntur de Jerusalem, morietur. Et quidem ita fecit Titus, quia flagrabant viscera ejus super Israël. cap. 86. p. 386.

[c] Ut autem vidit Titus turrim Antoniam esse in laqueum Romanis, jussit Titus ut diruerent illam; quod quidem contigit in quintâ in Sivan, mense tertio, in vesperâ festi Hebdomadarum. Ipse est mensis quartus decimus ab adventu Titi ad obsidendam Jerusalem. cap. 91. in fin. p. 420.

[d] P. 420—431. [e] P. 431.

[f] De B. J. l. 6. cap. iii. sect. 4.

[g] Postridie congregati Romani miserunt ignem in Sanctum Sanctorum in circuitu.——Mox incaluit aurum, et combusta sunt ligna valvarum, et ceciderunt in terram, et aperta fuit domus Sancti Sanctorum in oculis omnium mense quinto, nonâ die mensis, eo ipso die, quo aperta fuerat domus Sancti Sanctorum in diebus Chaldæorum. Et statim ut aperuerunt Romani portam Sancti Sanctorum, et ceperunt illud, tunc vero vociferati sunt clamore magno mirum in modum præ lætitiâ——Cucurrit autem Titus totis viribus suis, ut extingueret ignem——Ac tandem defessus defatigatusque corruit ad terram viribus exhaustus——Postquam itaque incensa fuit domus Sancti Sanctorum, surrexit Titus, et ingressus in Sanctum Sanctorum vidit gloriam domûs, et decorem ejus, et splendorem illius——Nondum enim tota domus incendio consumta erat, ut pulchritudinem illius, et majestatem ejus contemplaretur. Tunc dixit Titus: Nunc cognovi, quia non est hic aliud, nisi domus Dei. Hoc est habitaculum Dei cœlorum, et tabernaculum ejus——Quia magna est majestas domus hujus, et magnus splendor majestatis templi ejus longe supra templum Romanorum, et omnia templa nationum, quæ vidi——Deinde surrexerunt Romani, et, extincto incendio, idola et imagines suas in Templo statuerunt. Et obtulerunt eis holocausta, et probrô affecerunt Judæos, et legem eorum coram idolis suis blasphemârunt. cap. 94, p. 436—438.

[h] De B. J. l. 6, cap. v. num. 3.

burning of the temple. 'Nor [a] did the Jews attend to the words of the signs which happened 'in Jerusalem, though they were very awful. For a year before Vespasian came, there appeared 'over the temple a blazing star in the shape of a man, in whose hand were drawn swords. The 'day in which this sign was seen, was the first of the feast of the Passover? and during the 'whole night the temple was illuminated as if it had been day: and so it continued throughout 'the seven days of the Passover.' Thus confounding, as it seems, the first two signs in Josephus, and making them one only, and likewise representing the blazing star somewhat differently from Josephus. Then follow in him the other signs taken from Josephus; but I shall not rehearse them. He has, particularly, that of the man of low rank, who for several years travelled through the streets of Jerusalem, with his mournful denunciation of 'Woe to the city;' whom [b] he calls Joshua, son of Hananiah.

When [c] the Romans had got possession of the temple, the Jews fled to mount Sion. Here our author useth a different style from Josephus, who has never used the word Sion in his writings, but always describes that part of the city by other names.

Now [d] some priests came to Titus entreating mercy; but he would not grant it, and ordered them to be put to death.

Now [e] also John and Simon sent messengers to Titus, proposing to surrender to him, if he would grant them their lives; but Titus rejected their proposal, and reproached them severely.

Whereupon [f] Titus ordered the war to be renewed, and carried on by his army with vigour.

At [g] this time Zarach [or Izates] of royal descent, and his brothers, came down from mount Sion, and surrendered to Titus, and were well received by him. Whereupon Simon and his adherents set fire to their goods and treasures which they had left behind them, that they might not come into the hands of the Romans.

Simon [h] and John escape, and hide themselves in a cavern. Many Jews of good condition surrender to Titus, and he receives them favourably.

Joshua [i] a priest, son of Shebuthi high-priest, comes to Titus, bringing with him two golden candlesticks, which were in the sanctuary, and golden tables, and divers other rich utensils of the temple, and vestments of the priests, and precious stones, all which he made a present of to Titus, who received him graciously.

At [k] this time also came out Gorion the priest, father of the writer of this history; and his

[a] Neque Judæi animum adverterant ad verba signorum, quæ contigerunt in Jerusalem——Nam anno uno antequam veniret Vespasianus, apparuit super Templum stella quædam scintillans instar formæ hominis, in cujus manu gladii districti. Dies autem, quo visum est signum illud, fuit primus ex diebus festi Paschatis; et totâ nocte illius diei Templum fulsit, et resplenduit tamquam lux diei; et ita factum est per totos septem dies Paschatis——Cap. 94, p. 438.

[b] Porro quatuor annis ante hæc signa fuit vir quidam in Jerusalem, de populo terræ, seu plebeius, nomine Jehoshua, filius Chananiæ, et cœpit clamare voce magnâ die ipso festi Tabernaculorum —— Oderunt autem illum omnes cives urbis, &c. Ibid. p. 439.

[c] Postquam itaque ingressus fuit omnis exercitus Romanorum in Templum, diffugerunt Judæi ad montem Sion. Cap. 95, in. p. 440.

[d] Postquam autem libaverunt Romani coram Domino suo Tito, ecce pars Sacerdotum, qui capti fuerant juxta Templum, deprecati sunt Titum, ut seipsos vivos servaret, neve interficeret——Tunc Romani irruerunt in illos, et mortui sunt omnes. Cap. 95, p. 440.

[e] Simon autem et Jehochanan miserunt ad Titum sermones pacis, et deprecationis, orantes pro seipsis, ut vivos servaret ——Ibid. 440.

[f] Tunc jussit Titus Romanis instaurari bellum cum principibus latronum Jehochanane et Simone, quandoquidem se tam pertinaciter gerebant——Ib. p 441.

[g] Eo tempore surrexit Zarach, qui quidem erat de filiis Regum, de monte Sion, cum fratribus suis, et cum omnibus filiis seminis regii,——et venerunt ad Titum, qui excepit illos cum honore,——et benigne tractavit——Cum ergo vidissent Jochanan et Simon principes latronum abiisse Izatam cum cæteris filiis Regis,——abierunt ipsi, et combusserunt omnia, quæ pertinebant ad filios Regis, et incenderunt domum, et omnes thesauros ejus combusserunt, ne acciperent eos Romani——p. 441.

[h] Tunc temporis fugientes Simon et Jehochanan, in quâdam latebrâ absconderunt se, quocumque se contulerint. Cæteri vero eorum, qui erant cum eis, et principes Jerusalem, et nobiles Juda,——statim atque viderunt fugisse Simonem et Jehochananem,——tunc descenderunt——et venientes ad Titum, pfocubuerunt ante faciem ejus in terram——Et Titus benigne excepit illos——ib. p. 442.

[i] Sub id tempus venit ad Titum Jehoshua, sacerdos, filius Shebuthi, Sacerdotis Magni, et attulit secum duo ex candelabris aureis, quæ fuerant in Sanctuario. Avexit autem secum omnes mensas aureas, et omnia vasa aurea,——et crateres, et acerras,——et scutellas, ac etiam vestes ministerii, et vestes sanctitatis coopertas auro, et circumcinctas lapidibus pretiosis, cum magnâ copiâ gemmarum—— Quæ omnia donavit Tito, a quo benigne acceptus est ——Ib. p. 442.

[k] Tunc temporis egressus est Gorion, sacerdos, pater Josephi Sacerdotis, auctoris historiarum libri hujus, de carcere suo, de turri videlicet domûs Simonis latronis, cum uxore suâ, et cum filio Bonian. Is erat frater Josephi Sacerdotis natu minor. Iste quoque Bonian fuit sapiens, magnus, et sacerdos sanctus——Nam reliquit eum Titus in Jerusalem, neque abductus fuit ab eo, quemadmodum Josephus. Vixit autem pater Josephi postquam capta est Jerusalem, viditque Josephum filium suum, per viginti menses, et mortuus est. Tunc etiam temporis captus est Phinehas Sacerdos, custos cellarum sacrarii, in quas contulerat omnes thesauros sacerdotum, et vestes sacerdotum sanctas, et dedit Tito thesaurum unguenti optimi, et aromata, et vestes purpureas, quibus sanctificaverant Sanctuarium Reges domus secundæ, et omnia vasa aurea, quæ apud se habebat de vasis domûs Jehovæ. Ib. p. 443.

mother, with their son Bonian. They came out of the house of Simon, in which they had been kept prisoners. Gorion [a] lived twenty months after taking the city of Jerusalem. Bonian was a wise and good man. Titus did not take him to Rome with himself, as he did Joseph, but left him to preside over the priests in that country. Now also Phineas, a priest, brought more of the holy things out of the temple to Titus. But our author blames both these priests for delivering such things into the hands of an enemy of the people of God. However, I do not perceive him to make any mention here of the book of the law.

At [b] that time therefore was taken Jerusalem, with all its desirable things: and then Titus went up to Mount Sion and took it, and ordered that the wall of the city of Sion should be demolished. And three days after that, John, one of the princes of the robbers, being pinched with hunger, came out of his hiding place, and surrendered to Titus, begging mercy of him; but Titus commanded him to be bound with heavy iron chains, and gave orders that he should be led about before his soldiers to be derided and insulted by them, and after seven days he was hanged. And now also immediately in the same connection, he relates the appearance of Simon, though it could not be till some while afterwards. He was first brought before the Roman general Rupha, or Rufus, and then before Titus: who commanded him to be bound, and to be led round the whole army, to be exposed and insulted by them, as John had been: after which he was beheaded, and his body was cut to pieces, and thrown to the dogs.

Moreover, [c] as he goes on, the number of the people that were slain, so far as could be found, who were killed by the Romans, or the robbers, of all the people of the Jews, who, from the neighbouring country, or from far off, had come up to Jerusalem to the feast, the feast of the Lord, and were shut up in the city by the siege, was eleven hundred thousand, beside many others whose number was not found, and beside those who died with Eleazar, after the death of John and Simon.

The number of the people of the Jews who were taken captive by Titus, and carried with him to Rome, he says, were sixteen thousand. He also took with him to Rome Joseph the priest; but Bonian, his brother, he left to preside over the priests in that country; but as for those whom he took captives, he says that Titus put to death at Jerusalem all, and every one of them, in an ignominious manner, excepting only such as he reserved to take with him; and them he caused to die in a very ignominious manner: for in all the cities, where he made

[a] According to Josephus, Gorion was put to death by the zealots, before the siege of the city began: see above, p. 510, and De B. J. l. 4, cap. vi. sect. 1. What therefore this author says of his father and mother must be all fiction and falsehood.

[b] Tunc itaque temporis capta fuit Jerusalem, cum omnibus rebus desiderabilibus ejus. Deinde ascendit Titus in montem Sion, et cepit illum. Jussit autem destrui murum civitatis Sion. Jam vero elapso triduo, deficiebat anima Jehochananis principis latronum, præ fame. Surrexit itaque de loco ubi latebat, et egressus inde abiit ad Titum, et corruens ante faciem ejus, et deosculatus pedes ejus dixit ei: Serva, quæso, Domine mi Rex. Tunc jussit illum Titus constringi vinculis ferreis gravissimis, et abduci illum, et circumvehi per totum exercitum suum, atque ignominiose tractari——tandem post septem dies mortuus est strangulatus——Postea egressus est etiam Simon latro, homicida impius, de loco latebræ suæ, quia fames graviter premebat illum——Tunc dixit eis: Venite, et vocate mihi ducem, et tradam me illi——Et vocaverunt Rupha,——qui tunc erat Rector seu præfectus militiæ Romanorum——Et sic fecit ille, deduxitque eum ad Titum. Statim autem ut vidit Titus Simonem, jussit illum vinculis constringi,——et abduci, et circumvehi per totum exercitum suum, et ignominiose tractari, et subsannari, quemadmodum fecerant Jehochanani. Erat autem vinctus catenis æreis. Tum denique jussit Titus interfici illum in vinculis. Itaque amputaverunt illi caput antequam moreretur. Tum dissecuerunt eum in partes, et projecerunt membra cadaveris ejus canibus. Ib. p. 443, 444.

[c] Porro numerus totius populi eorum, qui occisi sunt, quâtenus potuerunt cognosci tunc gladio cecidisse sive per Romanos, sive per latrones, ex populo Judæorum, sive qui de proximo, sive qui de longinquo venerant ad festum, festum scilicet Jehovæ in Jerusalem, et restiterant illic propter obsidionem, corruerintque gladio; numerus, inquam, fuit millia millium, et centum millia: præter illos, qui quidem occisi sunt, sed cognosci non potuerunt, ut numerarentur. Illi enim tantummodo numerati sunt, qui sepulti et cogniti fuerunt. Qui autem cognosci non potuerunt non recensiti sunt in numerum. Præter eos quoque, qui postea mortui sunt cum Eleazaro, filio Anani sacerdotis, post mortem Jehochananis, et Simonis, latronum et tyrannorum crudelium.

Numerus autem populi ex Judæis, qui abierunt cum Tito in captivitatem, et quos abduxit secum Romam, sexdecim millia. Et abduxit quidem Romam Josephum Sacerdotem: Bonian vero, ejus fratrem, reliquit in antistitem super Sacerdotes, qui remanserunt in Jerusalem. Ita enim deprecatus fuerat Josephus frater ejus; et suscepit faciem ejus, et ita fecit.——Nam quoad cæteros ex eis, quos Titus cepit vivos, ne unum ex eis vivere passus fuit: sed omnes latrones residuos, quotquot vivos comprehendit, interfecit Titus morte probrosâ, et ignominiosâ in Jerusalem. Quosdam tamen ex eis secum superstites asservavit, ut contumeliâ eos afficeret per singulas urbes transitûs sui, cum contenderet Romam. Cum itaque profectus est Titus de Jerusalem, accepit eos secum, et abduxit etiam secum reliquum populum captivitatis, quem captivum fecerat ex Judæis: cumque morabatur in singulis urbibus transitûs sui, dum iter faceret Romam, in quâcumque urbe ubi castra metabatur, educebat quosdam ex latronibus illis, et jubebat illos objici leonibus, et feris pessimis, ut devorarent illos, donec consumpti sunt omnes latrones, quos secum habebat. Cap. 95, p. 444, 445.

any stay, in his return to Rome, he ordered some of them to be thrown to lions, and other wild beasts, until all whom he had taken were destroyed.

So says our author. The number of the captives, according to Josephus [De B. J. l. 6. ix. 3.], were ninety and seven thousand; many of whom, according to him, were sold for slaves: but this, so far as I see, is quite omitted by our author, as also the triumph of Vespasian and Titus for their conquest of Judea.

But why does he omit these things? To me it seems to be owing to the pride of his heart. The temple had been burnt, Jerusalem was destroyed; the whole country of Judea had been subdued by the Romans, uncircumcised and idolatrous people: facts which he could not deny, or disown, however dishonourable and reproachful to his nation; and he has himself related these events in his way and manner. But yet he was, as it seems, desirous to save his nation from some circumstances of reproach and dishonour; he therefore forbore to say any thing of the triumph of Vespasian and Titus, though performed in the metropolis of the vast empire of the Romans, and published and recorded in public and durable monuments, as well as in writings of the best credit. From the same principle of pride and vanity, he forebore to say that at this time many Jews, the people of Israel, had been sold for slaves, to live in slavery to uncircumcised Gentiles: so it seems to me. And I think it may deserve to be taken notice of by us, that in the fictitious history which he has given of his journey to Rome, and the inauguration of Vespasian there, he has mentioned a particular, somewhat resembling this: 'For after the coronation of Vespasian, and the death of Agrippa, 'and his son Monbaz before mentioned, when Vespasian began to shew favour to Joseph, and 'ordered his chains to be struck off, Joseph [a] presented a petition to Vespasian in behalf of all 'sons of Israel, who were then in prison at Rome, entreating that they might be set at liberty; 'and upon that condition promising that he would for the future be a faithful counsellor to the 'emperor, and serve him according to the utmost of his ability: which petition was granted by 'the emperor; and all Israelites who had been bound at Rome, were set at liberty.' Which must be allowed to be one of the fictitious events of that voyage to Rome, which is throughout the fiction of this writer's fertile invention, who says what he pleaseth.

After this our author [b] tells the story of Eleazar, and his men at Massada, but somewhat differently from [c] Josephus. He does not say that they determined to kill themselves and one another: his account is, that [d] after the speech of Eleazar, they killed their wives and daughters, that they might not fall a prey into the hands of the enemy: and [e] then the men went out of the city and fought with the Romans: of whom they slew very many, till they were themselves all killed. 'And,' says he, 'here end the wars of the second house.'

After which follows [f] this author's final lamentation, and in a rhythmical sort of poesy, as Gagnier [g] observes, very different from that among the Hebrews at the time when their temple was destroyed.

'Woe [h] is now unto us?
'For the city of our glory is laid waste,

[a] Dixit, vero Josephus: Nonne opprobrium mihi est reserari a me catenas ferreas, et interim vincula filiorum Israël, qui mecum sunt Romæ, non etiam reserari tuo jussu? Si ergo nunc audieris me, quandoquidem inveni gratiam in oculis tuis, solves, quæso, vincula omnium Israëlitarum, qui mecum sunt Romæ; et ero tibi consiliarius fidelis omnibus diebus, et inimicus ero inimicis tuis, et adversabor adversariis tuis. Fecit itaque Vespasianus secundum sermonem Josephi, et solvit omnia vincula omnium vinctorum filiorum Israël, qui erant cum Josepho Romæ. Lib. 6. cap. 78. p. 346.

[b] Cap. 96, p. 447, 488, et cap. 97, p. 452.

[c] Vid. de B. J. l. 7, cap. viii. ix.

[d] Tunc surgentes viri uxores suas et filias suas accersunt, quas osculati et complexi, ita alloquuntur. Melius est in oculis nostris, ut moriamini in terrâ vestrâ cum sanctitate et honore, quam ut eatis in captivitatem, et cum opprobrio in terram inimicorum vestrorum, et cum idolis gentium,——et contumeliâ moriamini——Cap. 97, p. 452.

[e] Postea egressus est Eleazarus Sacerdos cum omnibus viris bellatoribus qui secum erant ex urbe, et miscuerunt ingentem pugnam cum multitudine exercitûs Romanorum, et occiderunt multos ex eis absque numero. Ac tandem pugnantes Judæi contra proprias ipsorum animas, donec omnes absumerentur in prœlio illo mortui pro Jehovâ, et pro sanctuario ejus. Huc usque desinunt bella domus secundæ. Cap. 97, p. 452.

[f] Tunc lamentatus fuit Josephus, Sacerdos Dei, lamentationem hanc——p. 452.

[g] Lamentatio Ben Gorionis ultima, eaque Rythmica, quam, ut Leoninæ cujusdam inter Judæos specimen poëseos non injucundum, hic Hebraïce subjunximus. Et credat Lector, si potest, sine risu, hanc ab ipso Flavio Josepho compositum fuisse tempori templi excidii. Gagnier Not. p. 452.

[h] Væ nunc nobis!
Quia desolata est civitas gloriæ nostræ,
Et eversa est Domus Sanctuarii nostri,
In quo posita fuit spes nostra,
Et omnia desideria cordium nostrorum.
Et incensum est Templum nostrum;
Et migravimus de terrâ nostrâ,
Et ex hæreditate patrum nostrorum;
Neque ad Deum [extendimus] manus nostras,

'And the house of our sanctuary is thrown down.
'In which our hope was placed,
'And all the desires of our hearts.
'And our temple is consumed with fire,
'And we have been carried out of our country,
'And from the heritage of our fathers.
'Nor have we stretched out our hands to God,
'That we might be delivered from our exiles.
'And our sins and iniquities
'Have been aggravated upon us.
'Our transgressions have carried us into captivity.
'And our apostasies have brought us down to the earth.
'But the day will come, and the time of our redemption.
'And our God will deliver us.
'He will remember the oath made with our fathers.
'And will build up our city,
'And restore our temple,
'And gather our dispersions.
'And will bring back our captivity.
'And hasten the coming of our Messiah,
'And will speedily deliver us.
'And will cast down our enemies,
'And will humble those who hate us.
'And will destroy, and root out all our adversaries.
'And will restore us, as at the beginning.'

Here, beside other things which an attentive reader will observe, he expresseth his expectation of the rebuilding the temple at Jerusalem. So likewise, when he gave an account of Herod's building, or repairing the temple, he describes the rejoicings made upon that occasion: 'For [a] the building,' says he, 'of the house of the Lord, which we have seen both built and 'destroyed; but it shall be raised a third time in honour and glory, and shall be established for 'ever.' And in like manner in another [b] place. He is therefore a good witness to the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem, which had been raised after the return from the Babylonish captivity; in which, as we say, the prophets had foretold the Messiah would make his appearance: see Hag. ii. 6—9, and Mal. iii. 1.

After his lamentation this author adds, 'But [c] Titus left a remnant of Israel in the land of 'Israel, in the city Jabne, and its towns, and in the city Bether, and in its towns, and in Osha, 'and its towns.' Of all which cities, as Gagnier [d] in his notes observes, there is no notice taken by Flavius Josephus; though there is in the Talmudical writings; and he refers to Lightfoot's works such as are inquisitive.

Ut liberaremur de exiliis nostris,
Quæ aggravaverunt super nos.
In illum [commissæ] iniquitates nostræ;
Et redegerunt nos in captivitatem peccata nostra;
Et humiliaverunt in terram capita nostra prævaricationes nostræ.
Sed adhuc veniet dies, et terminus
Redemtionis; et adjiciet Deus noster,
Ut recordetur juramenti sui ad patres nostros;
Et ædificabit civitatem nostram,
Et restaurabit templum nostrum,
Et colliget dispersos nostros,
Et reducet captivitatem nostram,
Et accelerare faciet Messiam nostrum,
Et festinabit ad redimendum nos,
Et prosternet inimicos nostros,
Et humiliabit osores nostros,
Et perdet et delebit hostes nostros,
Et nos restituet, sicut in principio.
Cap. 97, p. 452, 453.

[a] Et laudaverant Jehovam cum gaudio——propter ædificium Domûs Jehovæ, quam vidimus, et ædificatam, et devastatam. Sed adhuc reædificabitur tertio cum laude, et celebritate, et gloriâ; et firmabit eam Jehova in æternum. l 6, cap. 55, p. 243.

[b] Cap. 65, p. 288, sub fin. et p. 289.

[c] Reliquit autem Titus Israëlis reliquias in terrâ Israël, in urbe Jabne, et in oppidis ejus, in urbe Bether, et in oppidis ejus, et in Osha, et oppidis ejus. Cap. 97, p. 454.

[d] Tres illas urbes, viz. Jabneh, Bether, et Oshah, hoc loco commemorat Ben-Gorion noster, non ex Josepho auctore suo, qui nihil hic habet de hac belli Judaïci coronide, sed ex Pandectis Talmudicis, ubi frequentissima illarum mentio occurrit. De quarum urbium situ et celebritate maxime post eversa Hierosolyma, consulenda est doctissimi Lightfooti Chorographia Terræ Israëlis. Cap. xv. lii. et lxxxiv. Gagn. Not. p. 454.

This author proceeds: 'Moreover, [a] Titus reigned two years after he had taken Jerusalem, 'and then died. Titus was a wise king, and composed many valuable books both in the Greek 'and in the Roman language. Titus was a just and upright man, and all his judgments were in 'righteousness; but being compelled by necessity he destroyed and laid waste Jerusalem: all 'which evil came upon Jerusalem because of the robbers which were in Israel, and because of 'their wickedness; as we have shewn in this history.'

He here says that 'Titus reigned two years after he had taken Jerusalem,' which is very inaccurate. Vespasian did not die before the year of our Lord 79: after him Titus reigned more than two years, and died in the year of Christ 81: nor does our author say any thing here of Vespasian, as he ought to have done. But we must not stay to remark upon the defects or inaccuracies of this writer; if we had so done we should never have got through his work; and every reader is able to observe many things without my mentioning them.

This author gives a good character of Titus: and he could do no less, after having before related so many favours and civilities conferred by him upon the Jews. Titus also, as all know, is much commended in the History of the Jewish War, written by Flavius Josephus, from which this writer had all his materials that are of any value. But [b] herein he differs from the Talmudical writers, as Gagnier observes in his notes upon this work; for they represent Titus as exceeding impious and profane, as we also have seen. How the learned Jews can reconcile these contradictions is not easy to comprehend: but they continue to pay respect to this author as well as to the Talmudical doctors.

Reland, [c] likewise, in his notes upon the triumphal arch of Titus, takes notice of the grievous reproaches and scandalous reflections upon him in the Jewish writers; whereby they have shewn that they are skilful in the art of slandering, and spare not when they attempt it. Moreover, in this their enmity to Titus, they bear witness to that great event, the overthrow of their city and temple, of which he was, under God, the instrument.

III. I may now make some general remarks; but they need not to be many nor long.

1. This writer is evidently an impostor, a detestable character, which cannot be too much disliked, nor too much censured: he did not live in the time of Vespasian and Titus, as he pretends; nor is he Joseph the son of Gorion the priest, who was appointed to preside in Jerusalem, or to govern in Galilee.

2. Nevertheless he is a witness to the burning of the temple, and the taking of Jerusalem, and the conquest of Judea, by the forementioned emperors: to those events he has borne his testimony, and his testimony is received by the people of his own nation; especially by the learned among them.

3. He says that 'Titus was compelled by necessity to destroy Jerusalem, and that all this 'evil had come upon Jerusalem because of the robbers and their wickedness.'

He therefore does not ascribe the calamities which befell the Jews, in the time of Vespasian and Titus, to their sin in rejecting Jesus, and not receiving him as the Messiah. Their calamities he owns, and thereby bears witness to the fulfilment of our Saviour's prophecies concerning the destruction of Jerusalem: but he does not acknowledge any guilt contracted by his people in crucifying the Lord Jesus, and persecuting his followers: nor does Josephus: nor [d]

[a] Regnavit autem Titus duobus annis postquam cepit Jerusalem, et mortuus est. Porro Titus Rex fuit sapiens, magnus in scientiâ eloquentiæ, tum in linguâ Græcâ, tum in linguâ Romanâ, et composuit libros multos cum sapientiâ Græce et Romane. Fuitque Titus vir justus et rectus, et omnia judicia ejus erant cum justitiâ. Verum necessitate coactus desolavit et delevit Jerusalem. Et quidem desolavit et delevit eam, quia omne malum illud, quod venit super Jerusalem, non venit nisi per latrones, qui erant in Israël, et propter impietatem illorum, uti memoravimus. Cap. 97, p. 456.

[b] Hîc magna est discordia Ben-Gorionem inter et Talmudicos Doctores, quam non diffitentur ipsi Rabbini. Nec deesse tamen asserunt sapientes, qui illam contradictionem concilient, quemadmodum affirmat R. David Ganz. Sed quo judicio id tentaverint, judicium sit penes lectorem.

Quoad nostrum Ben-Gorionem, illum hoc loco sibi constare fatendum est. Cum enim in versione Rufini ubique magnas Titi Imp. virtutes summis laudibus prædicari legerit, ipseque, Flavium Josephum secutus, illum sæpius multis elogiis ornavisset, non ausus fuit suos Doctores Talmudicos cum famæ suæ dispendio sequi, ne videlicet sibi contrarius videretur. Gagn. p. 456.

[c] Hebræi narrant, sed ex odio Titi, quem illum impium vocant, ac si hominem longe post homines natos sceleratissimum diceres, non modo velis sacris eum vasa templi imposuisse, sed et contaminasse adytum impio facinore, in Gemara Gittin. fol. 56, 2. Cepit meretricem, eâque inductâ in sanctum sanctorum, stratoque Legis volumine, facinus patravit super illud. Dein stricto gladio velum perrupit, unde sanguis, facto miraculo, missus est, sic ut exiens Titus putaret se Deum ipsum peremisse —— Reland. de Spoliis Templi in Arcu Titiano. cap. 13, p. 130, 131.

[d] It is said by some learned men, that Maimonides ascribes the destruction of Jerusalem to our Lord. So Dr. Sharpe in his argument, &c. p. 38, 39. And De Voisin in Pr. Rugion. Fidei, p. 127. Certe R. Moses in tract. De Regibus, et De

indeed can I well see how any unbelieving Jews can make such acknowledgments. Rabbi Isaac, in his Munimen Fidei above quoted, which is written against the Christians, quotes John xix. 15. "The chief-priests answered: We have no king but Cæsar." Upon which he remarks in this manner: 'This [a] shews that, before Jesus was crucified, the Jews were subject to the Roman 'emperors. The emperor here intended was Tiberius, who sent Pilate to preside at Jerusalem, 'as appears from the third chapter of Luke at the beginning. This may suffice for an answer 'to an objection of the Nazarenes, who say the Jews lost their kingdom for their sin in hanging 'Jesus.' This, though it be no better than an evasion, shews the Jewish temper and principles. I say it is no better than an evasion. The Jewish people, as we know very well, were subject to the Romans in our Saviour's time: but the case was much altered with them afterwards. They were then very happy, and were so for some good while after that, enjoying, under the mild government of the Romans, the free exercise of their religion, and the temple worship, and many other privileges. The distress, and other circumstances of the siege of Jerusalem, were very uncommon, sufficient to raise the attention of all serious men, and the long duration, and other circumstances of their captivity and dispersion ever since, are also very uncommon and extraordinary: but this is not a time or place for me to enlarge upon them any farther. But it is reasonable to think that unbelieving Jews must endeavour, some how or other, to evade the argument in favour of Christianity, taken from the destruction of Jerusalem, and their long continued captivity and dispersion. And beside the passage just now alleged, the same Rabbi Isaac, in the place before referred to, relating to the death of Agrippa, says, 'that the [b] differences between king Agrippa, and the wicked leaders of the factions, at length brought on 'the desolation of the temple.'

4. This work of Josippon confirms the history of the Jewish war written by Flavius Josephus, son of Matthias; and it must induce us to set a real value upon Josephus, and raise *our* esteem for him. They are both fond of their own people: but Josephus was indeed contemporary with the events which he records, and with the principal actors in them, and therefore he must have the preference. This author is a plagiary, and knows nothing of the war of which he writes, but what he has stolen from another without naming him: and, with all his Greek politeness, Josephus has more the air of sincerity and simplicity than this Hebrew writer. Indeed, it would have been a bad exchange if, instead of the History of the Jewish War, written by Flavius Josephus, we had palmed upon us the History of the Wars of Jehova, written by Josippon; who neither was the son of Gorion, who presided at Jerusalem, nor the son of Matthias, who governed in Galilee.

CHAP. VII.

A RECOLLECTION OF THE FOREGOING ARTICLES, AND REFLECTIONS UPON THEM.

I. *The preceding articles recollected.* II. *Reflections upon them.* III. *Concluding observations.*

I. I QUOTE no more Jewish [c] writers. I therefore now proceed to recollect what we have seen, and to make remarks; but I need not recollect the first two chapters: I hope they have not been

Bell. cap. 11, propter Jesum Christum excidium Jerosolymitanum contigisse fatetur.——Id est, 'Ille, qui visus est esse 'Messias, et occisus est sententiâ judiciali, &c. ille fuit causa, 'cur Israël gladio perierit, et reliquiæ Israël dispersæ sint, et 'depressæ, et cur lex mutata sit.' But how this is to be understood, I cannot well say. I have not the tract of Maimonides here referred to.

[a] Hæc ibi. Ecce hoc dicto ostenditur, ante Jesu cruci affixionem jam tum Cæsares Romanos Judæis imperitâsse. Atque is Cæsar [de quo ibi sermo] Tiberius fuit, qui Pilatum Hierosolymis præfecerat, cui constat ex capitis III. Lucæ initio. Valebit hoc pro responso adversus objectionem Nazaræorum, quâ clamitant, Judæos propter peccatum suspensionis Jesu perdidisse regnum suum, &c. R. Isacci Munimen Fid. p. 446. Conf. p. 55, 56. ibid.

[b] Cæterum, ob illam, quæ inter Regem Agrippam et improbos duces factiosorum exorta fuerat contentionem, denique desolatum fuit templum, uti ex Josepho constat. Munim. Fid. p. 417. And see before p. 564, note [b].

[c] Some learned men have of late appealed to a book entitled Toldoth Jeschu. I am of opinion that Christianity does not need such a testimony, nor such witnesses. I have

improperly premised to this work; but they need not to be brought in here in the way of recapitulation and recollection: I shall recollect only what we have seen in Jewish writers, beginning with Josephus.

Two things are to be regarded by us—their testimony to the Lord Jesus Christ, and to the destruction of Jerusalem.

In Josephus there is a paragraph where Jesus is mentioned very honourably, and agreeably to his true character: but it is not universally received by learned men as genuine. Many are rather of opinion that it has been inserted in his works since his time.

There is in him another paragraph concerning John the Baptist, which is generally received as genuine: and it is a valuable testimony to his preaching, and therein calling men to the practice of virtue. He likewise says that he was put to death by Herod the tetrarch; but he says nothing of that part of his character, that he appeared as the forerunner of the Messiah.

He likewise acknowledgeth that there was then in Judea a general expectation of a great person to arise from among them, who should obtain the empire of the world; and that this expectation was one great occasion of the war with the Romans, and that it was built upon an oracle found in their sacred writings; and that many of their wise men embraced it, and acted upon it in their engaging in the war. He has also spoken of many false prophets who appeared at that time, promising great advantages to the people if they would follow them, and that many were deceived by them. If they did not call themselves Christs, as well as prophets, they did in effect take upon them the character of the Messiah.

In the Mishna it is allowed that there is no express mention of Jesus Christ, the design of that work being to make a collection of the numerous traditions which hitherto were unwritten; but I have alleged a paragraph [a] which I think contains an invidious representation of the state of things under the gospel dispensation, in the second century.

In the Talmudical writings Jesus is mentioned: but as Lightfoot, who was well acquainted with them, says, it was chiefly with a view to wound and reproach him. They call his mother by the name Mary; but they have aspersed her character, and have assigned to Jesus a spurious nativity. They have mentioned several of our Saviour's disciples, who, as they say, were put to death. They say our Saviour suffered as a malefactor at one of the Jewish Passovers, or in the eve of it, as the expression is. They seem in some places to acknowledge the power of miracles in Jesus and his disciples: and if they had not known that many miraculous works were ascribed to him, they would not have insinuated that he learned magical arts in Egypt, and brought them thence in a private manner, and then set up himself among his countrymen as an extraordinary person.

That is the sum of their testimony upon this article. It would be in vain to expect a great deal from Jews upon this head, who are our enemies. Such are their prejudices, that they are, and always have been, the most inveterate enemies of Jesus, and his followers.

Concerning the other point, the destruction of Jerusalem, their testimony is more material, indeed very valuable. Josephus, without intending it, has borne testimony to the fulfilment of all our Saviour's predictions concerning the miseries of the siege of Jerusalem, the desolation of the land of Judea, and the dispersion of his nation. We have above transcribed his account at large. His testimony has been repeated, with some variations, in Josippon's History of the Jewish War: and the Mishna, and the Talmuds likewise, acknowledge the conquest of Judea by Vespasian and Titus, the burning of the temple, or the second house, and the overthrow of Jerusalem, which was dug up to the foundation.

looked it over several times, with an intention to give some account of it; but, after all, I could not persuade myself to attempt it: for it is a modern work, written in the 14th or 15th century, and is throughout, from the beginning to the end, burlesque and falsehood; nor does the shameless writer acknowledge any thing that has so much as a resemblance of the truth, except in the way of ridicule. I shall however put down here the short censure of Grotius upon this work, though he does not mention the title of it; not thinking it, as I suppose, worthy to be named. 'Some of the Jews 'ascribe the miracles of Jesus to a certain secret name, which 'was put in the temple by Solomon, and kept by two lions 'for above a thousand years, but was conveyed thence by 'Jesus; which is not only false, but an impudent fiction. '[non mendaciter modo, sed et impudenter confictum est.] 'For, as to the lions, so remarkable and wonderful a thing, 'neither the books of the Kings, nor the Chronicles, nor 'Josephus, mention any thing of them. Nor did the Romans, 'who before the times of Jesus entered the temple with 'Pompey, find any such thing.' Grotius, of the truth of the Christian religion. B. 5, sect. iv. in the version of Dr. John Clarke. And I refer to Wagenseil's Confutation of the Toldoth Jeschu.

[a] See above, p. 550—552.

II. But how should this be? How could this come to pass? What should be the reason of it? Does not this deserve serious consideration? Amos iii. 6. "Shall there be evil in a city, and the Lord has not done it?" Such things are not the effect of chance, but are owing to the direction of Providence. Is. xlv. 7. "I form the light, and create darkness: I make peace, and create evil: I the Lord do all these things." But if God inflict calamities upon any people, it is not without reason; for all his works are done in truth. So again, in the forecited chapter of Amos, ver. 1 and 2: "Hear this word, that the Lord hath spoken against you, O children of Israel, against the whole family, which I brought up from the land of Egypt, saying: You only have I known of all the families of the earth. Therefore I will punish [or visit] you for all your iniquities."

It is a reasonable maxim: "Unto whom much is given, of him shall much be required: and to whom men have committed much, of him they will ask the more:" Luke xii. 48. The people of the Jews had been favoured by God with many privileges; a suitable improvement might be expected; if they transgress the laws of God, their punishment will be exemplary: nor could any thing else but sin alienate the mind of God from them. Is. lix. 1, 2: "Behold the Lord's hand is not shortened that it cannot save: neither is his ear heavy that it cannot hear. But your iniquities have separated between you and your God." And Lam. i. 8: "Jerusalem has grievously sinned; therefore she is removed." According to the declarations of Moses and all the prophets, the prosperity and adversity of this people would be proportionate to their regard or disregard of the laws of God: for this I refer to Leviticus, ch. xxvi. and Isaiah, ch. i. And I shall make quotations from the book of Deuteronomy, ch. xxviii. 1, 2: "And it shall come to pass, if thou shalt hearken diligently unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to observe and do all his commandments which I command thee this day, that the Lord thy God will set thee on high above all the nations of the earth. And all these blessings shall come on thee, and overtake thee, if thou shalt hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God——ver. 15. But it shall come to pass, if thou wilt not hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to observe to do all his commandments, and his statutes, which I command thee this day, that all these curses shall come upon thee, and overtake thee: 25. The Lord shall cause thee to be smitten before thine enemies. Thou shalt go out one way against them, and flee seven ways before them, and shalt be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth——ver. 37: And thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverb, and a by-word among all the nations, whither the Lord shall lead thee——ver. 49, 50: The Lord shall bring a nation against thee from far, from the end of the earth, [as swift] as the eagle flieth, a nation, whose tongue thou shalt not understand: a nation of fierce countenance, which shall not regard the person of the old, nor shew favour to the young:——ver. 52—59, And he shall besiege thee in all thy gates, until thy high and fenced walls come down, wherein thou trustedst throughout all thy land. And he shall besiege thee in all thy gates, throughout all thy land, which the Lord thy God hath given thee. And thou shalt eat the fruit of thine own body, the flesh of thy sons and thy daughters, which the Lord thy God hath given thee, in the siege, and in the straitness, wherewith thy enemies shall distress thee. So that the man, who is tender among you, and very delicate, his eye shall be evil toward his brother, and toward the wife of his bosom, and toward the remnant of his children, which he shall leave: so that he will not give to any of them of the flesh of his children, which he shall eat: because he has nothing left him in the siege, and in the straitness wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee in all thy gates. The tender and delicate woman among you, which would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground, for delicateness and tenderness, her eye shall be evil toward the husband of her bosom, and toward her son, and toward her daughter, and toward her young one that cometh from between her feet, and toward her children which she shall bear. For she shall eat them for the want of all things secretly in the siege and straitness, wherewith thine enemy shall distress thee in thy gates. If thou wilt not observe to do all the words of this law, which I have written in this book, that thou mayest fear this glorious and fearful name, the Lord thy God: then the Lord will make thy plagues wonderful, and the plagues of thy seed, even great plagues, and of long continuance, and sore sicknesses, and of long continuance."

We may be hence apt to think that Moses foresaw the distresses of the siege of Jerusalem, in the year of our Lord 70, and all the calamities endured by the Jewish people about that time, throughout their whole land, and their dispersion afterwards. If he did not foresee them, the

words spoken by him were then fulfilled; and all the calamities which then befell the Jewish people, or have since befallen them, are exactly according to the original plan of Divine Providence concerning them.

When the law of the ten commandments was delivered at mount Sinai, the people were greatly terrified; and they earnestly requested that God might speak to them no more in that way: if he would be pleased to speak to them by Moses, they engaged to hear and obey him. God accepted of this request, and assured them that for the future he would reveal his mind to them in a more familiar manner: he would speak unto them by Moses, and afterwards by prophets like unto him: and that there might be no room for mistake, deceit, or delusion, he would furnish those, whom he should send unto them, with sufficient credentials of their mission. If any should come to them in his name without such credentials, they might be slighted and despised; but if they came with proper credentials, they ought to be heard and obeyed; and if not, it would be resented. This is related several times in the books of Moses, and deserves to be attended to by us.

Ex. xx. 18, 19: "And all the people saw the thunderings, and the lightnings, and the noise of the trumpets, and the mountain smoking.——And they said unto Moses: Speak thou with us, and we will hear: but let not God speak with us, lest we die."

Deut. v. 22—29. "These words the Lord spake unto all your assembly in the mount, out of the midst of the fire of the cloud, and of the thick darkness, with a great voice——And it came to pass, when ye heard the voice out of the midst of the darkness, (for the mountain did burn with fire) that ye came near unto me, even all the heads of your tribes and your elders. And ye said: Behold, the Lord our God has shewn us his glory, and his greatness, and we have heard his voice out of the midst of the fire——Now therefore, why should we die? For this great fire will consume us. If we hear the voice of the Lord our God any more we shall die ——Go thou near, and hear all that the Lord our God shall say, and speak thou unto us all that the Lord our God shall speak unto thee, and we will hear, and do it. And the Lord heard the voice of your words when ye spake unto me, and the Lord said unto me, I have heard the voice of the words of this people which they have spoken unto thee; they have well said all that they have spoken; O that there were such an heart in them, that they would fear me, and keep all my commandments always, that it might be well with them, and with their children for ever!" Which words are supposed to be wonderfully emphatical, expressive of a most ardent wish and desire.

Once more Deut. xviii. 15—18. "The Lord thy God will raise up to thee a prophet, from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me: unto him shall ye hearken. According to all that thou desiredst of the Lord thy God in Horeb, in the day of the assembly, saying, Let me not hear again the voice of the Lord thy God, neither let me see this great fire any more, that I die not. And the Lord said unto me, They have well spoken that which they have spoken—— I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren," and what follows.

Here is the origin of the prophetical character; men sent from God with a special commission to declare to mankind his mind and will. And from the occasion of this institution (the great terrors of mount Sinai, and the request thereupon made) it might be argued that, if ever a prophet should arise among the people of Israel, like unto Moses, and meeker than he, and if his miracles, the signs and proofs of his mission, should be more universally saving and beneficent than those of Moses, it should not be any disadvantage to him, nor lessen the respect fit to be shewn unto him.

We proceed in considering the texts lying before us.

Deut. xviii. 18—22. Says God to Moses: "I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken to my words, which he shall speak in my name, *I will require it of him.* But the prophet which shall presume to speak a word in my name, which I have not commanded him to speak, or that shall speak in the name of other gods, even that prophet shall die. And, if thou say in thy heart, How shall we know the word which the Lord has not spoken? When a prophet speaketh in the name of the Lord, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing which the Lord has not spoken, but the prophet has spoken presumptuously. Thou shalt not be afraid of him."

Here is a general rule for discerning the mission of prophets, or such as should come in that character, as from God. It is a rule that would be of use in all ages; and is here delivered for that purpose.

"If the thing follow not nor come to pass." Those words do not intend any prediction of some distant good or evil, to come some while hereafter; but they intend a prodigy, or some work above the ordinary course of nature; which he who takes upon him the character of a prophet proposeth, as a sign, or token, or proof of his mission. If the sign proposed by any man, as a token and proof of his mission, be performed, he ought to be hearkened to; if it is not performed, there is no reason to apprehend any harm from despising and rejecting him; he has no message from God; "he has spoken presumptuously; thou shalt not be afraid of him."

This may appear farther from what is said ch. xiii. 1, 2, 3: "If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and he giveth a sign, or a wonder;" that is, proposeth some great work as a proof of his mission, "and the sign or the wonder come to pass, whereof he spake unto thee, saying, Let us go after other gods (which thou hast not known) and serve them; thou shalt not hearken to the words of that prophet, or dreamer of dreams. For the Lord your God proveth you, to know whether you love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul."...ver. 4. "And that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams, shall be put to death....So shalt thou put the evil away from the midst of thee."

Here is a case put which never could happen; never would any man be able to perform a miracle in order to induce the people of Israel to worship other gods; but supposing it, he was nevertheless to be disregarded.

In all other cases, the rule here laid down for judging of prophets would hold, and was to be observed by all. If a man proposed some extraordinary work as a proof of his mission, which was not performed, he was not to be regarded. So all the false prophets, spoken of by Josephus, who appeared in the times of Felix, Festus, and other governors of Judea, some while before the destruction of Jerusalem, in order to induce people to follow them, in hopes of deliverance from subjection to the Romans, engaged that they should "see the walls of Jerusalem fall down before them," to give them easy entrance into the city; or that they "should see the waters of Jordan divided," that they might go over upon dry ground; or "that God would shew them signs in the wilderness," and the like. But nothing of that kind came to pass.

But if a prophet gave, or proposed a sign or wonder in proof of his mission, and it came to pass, or was performed, it would be decisive in his favour. So, when there were murmurings and disputings among the people of Israel in the wilderness, which tribe should have the priesthood, it was proposed that "twelve rods, each having the name of the prince of the tribe upon it, and another rod, with Aaron's name upon it, for Levi, should be laid up in the tabernacle, before the testimony;" and his rod which blossomed should be known to be the man whom God had chosen. "Moses then laid up the rods before the Lord, in the tabernacle of witness. And it came to pass, that on the morrow Moses went into the tabernacle of witness: and behold, the rod of Aaron, for the house of Levi, budded, and brought forth blossoms, and yielded almonds. And Moses brought out all the rods from before the Lord unto all the children of Israel; and they looked, and took every man his rod:" Numb. xvii. So that point was determined, and the "murmurings of the children of Israel ceased." And so it must be in all other like cases. If a "sign," or "wonder," has been "given" or proposed, and it is performed, or "comes to pass," it is decisive.

Here then is the rule. If a man come, and speak in the name of God, and prove his commission by signs and wonders, he is to be regarded and received as a prophet. And God declares "whosoever will not hearken unto my words, which he shall speak in my name, *I will require it of him.*" Deut. xviii. 19. It cannot be otherwise. The consequence of disobedience to the word of the Lord, so manifested and confirmed, must be dreadful.

Let us now apply this. Jesus spoke in the name of God, faithfully delivered the words which he had received from God, and performed many miracles in proof of his commission. John xii. 49, 50, "For I have not spoken of myself: but the Father, which hath sent me, he gave me commandment what I should say, and what I should speak. And I know that his commandment is life everlasting. Whatsoever I speak therefore, even as the Father said unto me, so I speak." Ch. viii. 42, "I proceeded forth and came from God: neither came I of myself, but he sent me."

And in proof of his mission he appealed to his works, which were great and numerous, and openly performed in the view of all men. John v. 31, 32, 33, "If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true. There is another that beareth witness of me, and I know that the witness which he witnesseth of me is true. Ye sent unto John, and he bare witness unto the truth. 36. But I have greater witness than that of John; for the works which the Father hath given me to finish, they bear witness of me that the Father hath sent me." And ch. xv. 24: "If I had not done among them the works which no other man did, they had not had sin: but now they have both seen and hated both me and my Father."

If Moses and the ancient prophets wrought miracles, there [a] is as good reason to believe Jesus likewise did so, and more than any of them, or than all of them together. For the testimony of the writers of the New Testament is as credible as that of the writers of the Old Testament. And if it be said that Elijah was taken up to heaven, it [b] is as credible that Jesus was raised from the dead, and afterwards ascended up to heaven.

Our Lord asserted his prophetical character, and his peculiar character of the Messiah; and often reminded the Jews of the terrible consequences of rejecting him who spake in the name of God, or, in the words of Moses, that it "would be required of them." John viii. 24, "If ye believe not that I am he, ye shall die in your sins." Ver. 25, "They said unto him, Who art thou? Jesus said unto them, Even the same that I said unto you from the beginning." John the Baptist often said the same—that "he was not the Christ, but was sent before him." John iii. 28; and see ch. i. 19—37.

But, not to multiply texts, I shall quote Matt. xxi. 33—44, "Hear another parable. There was a certain householder, who planted a vineyard, and hedged it round about, and digged a wine-press in it, and built a tower, and let it out to husbandmen, and went into a far country. And when the time of the fruit drew near, he sent his servants to the husbandmen that they might receive the fruits of it. And the husbandmen took his servants, and beat one, and killed another, and stoned another. Again he sent other servants unto them, more than the first; and they did unto them likewise. Last of all he sent unto them his Son, [the Messiah] saying: They will reverence my son. But when the husbandmen saw the Son, they said among themselves: This is the heir; come, let us kill him, and let us seize on his inheritance. And they caught him and cast him out of the vineyard, and slew him. When therefore the Lord of the vineyard cometh, what will he do unto those husbandmen? They say unto him: He will miserably destroy those wicked men, and will let out his vineyard unto other husbandmen, which shall render him the fruits in their season. Jesus saith unto them: Did you never read in the scriptures, The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner? This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes:" Psalm cxviii. 22, 23. "Therefore I say unto you: The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and shall be given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof. And whosoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken: but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder. And when the chief-priests and Pharisees had heard his parables, they perceived that he spake of them." This should be compared with Luke xx. 9—18.

Here our Lord speaks of the ancient prophets, and then of himself, and shews the dreadful consequences of rejecting him, and his message. There is another thing that should be observed, which is what our Lord added concerning the treatment to be given to his apostles and evangelists, the prophets of the New Testament also sent to the Jewish people. Matt. xxiii. 29—39, "Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, because ye build the tombs of the prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous, and say, If we had been in the days of our fathers we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets. Wherefore ye are witnesses to yourselves that ye are the children of them who slew the prophets. Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers. Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the

[a] Si quis Paganus ab ipsis Judæis quærat, cur credant miracula a Mose facta, nihil dicant aliud, quam inter suos adeo perpetuam constantemque ejus rei fuisse famam, ut non potuerit, nisi ex testimonio eorum qui vidissent, proficisci. Sic ab Elisæo [2 Reg. cap. iv.] auctum apud viduam oleum; purgatum [cap. v.] subito a malâ scabie Syrum, hospitæ [ib. iv.] filium ad vivum revocatum, et similia alia credunt Judæi, non aliam sane ob causam, quam quod testes bonæ fidei id prodítum ad posteros transmiserunt. Grot. de V. R. C. l. v. sect. ii.

[b] De Eliæ vero in cœlum raptu, unius Elisæi, tamquam viri omni exceptione majoris, testimonio fidem habent. At nos de Christi adscensu in cœlum duodecim proferimus testes vitæ inculpatæ; de Christo post mortem in terris viso multo plures. Quæ si vera sunt, verum sit necesse est Christi dogma: planeque nihil a Judæis pro se adferri potest, quod non et nobis pari aut potiori jure possit aptari. Grot. ib.

damnation of hell? Wherefore, behold I send unto you prophets and wise men, and scribes. And some of them ye will kill and crucify, and some of them ye will scourge in your synagogues, and persecute them from city to city: that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel to the blood of Zacharias son of Barachias, [rather son of Jehoiada, 2 Chron. xxiv. 17—22,[a]] whom ye slew between the temple and the altar. Verily I say unto you, all these things shall come upon this generation. O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee! How often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, but ye would not. Behold your house is left unto you desolate. For I say unto you: Ye shall not see me henceforth till ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."

All this is properly said by our Lord in his prophetic denunciations. Not only the rejection of Jesus himself would be "required of them," but likewise their refusal to hearken to his apostles. For they likewise were prophets and spake by divine inspiration. They spake in the name of God, and delivered his mind and word, and proved their mission by miraculous works. If therefore, after having crucified the Lord Jesus, the Jewish people should proceed to treat in like manner his disciples, who were sent to them; if they should "scourge them in their synagogues," and put some of them to death, "and persecute them from city to city," (as he foresaw they would;) they would then bring upon themselves, in the end, a terrible condemnation: and such miseries would befall them, that it would seem as if all the righteous blood shed from the foundation of the world had been required of them.

And that they did so treat the apostles and other disciples of Jesus, appears from the books of the New Testament. These things may have been already taken notice of by us: nevertheless they must be here briefly recollected. How the apostles of Jesus were apprehended, imprisoned, beaten, and farther threatened, may be seen in the book of the Acts, ch. iv. and v. Somewhile afterwards, ch. vi. and vii. Stephen was stoned, "and there was a great persecution against the church, which was at Jerusalem, and they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the apostles." Some time after this, when Herod Agrippa had been advanced to the kingdom of Judea by the Romans, we are informed, ch. xii. 1—4, that "he stretched forth his hands to vex certain of the church. And he killed James the brother of John with the sword. And because he saw it pleased the Jews, he proceeded farther to take Peter also." But after he had been imprisoned he was miraculously delivered "out of the hands of Herod, and from the expectation of all the people of the Jews." St. Paul, writing to the Hebrews, ch. x. 33, 34, bids them "call to remembrance the former days, in which, after they had been illuminated, they had endured a great fight of afflictions: partly," says he, "whilst ye were made a gazing-stock, both by reproaches and afflictions, and partly whilst ye were companions of those who were so used. For ye had compassion upon those who were in bonds, and bore joyfully the spoiling of your goods: knowing that ye have in heaven a better and a more enduring substance." And we have good reason to believe that James, called the Lord's brother, the apostle, who generally resided at Jerusalem, was put to death by the Jews there in a tumultuous manner, about the year of Christ 62.

How Paul acted in the early days of the gospel, and whilst he was under the direction of the chief-priests and Pharisees, we know partly from the Acts of the apostles, and partly from his own epistles. It is said, Acts viii. 1, that he "was consenting to the death of Stephen." And ch. vii. 58, "When he was stoned, the witnesses laid down their clothes at a young man's feet whose name was Saul." And afterwards, chap. ix. 1, 2, "But Saul, yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, went unto the high-priest and desired of him letters to Damascus, to the synagogues, that if he found any of this way, whether they were men or women, he might bring them bound to Jerusalem." And in his speech before king Agrippa, and the governor Festus, Acts xxvi. 9—12, he says himself: "I verily thought with myself that I ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth. Which thing I also did in Jerusalem: and many of the saints did I shut up in prison, having received authority from the chief priests; and when they were put to death I gave my voice against them. And I punished them oft in every synagogue, and compelled them to blaspheme; and, being exceedingly mad against them, I persecuted them even unto strange cities. Where-

[a] See Vol. i. p. 217, &c.

upon he set out for Damascus, with authority and commission from the chief-priests." But in his way thither he met with a check, received new light, to which he submitted, and became a true penitent and sincere convert; and then preached the faith, which for some while he had endeavoured to destroy. Compare Gal. i. 13—24; 1 Cor. xv. 8, 9; Eph. iii. 8; 1 Tim. i. 12—14.

How he was treated by the Jews, after his conversion, we know from the history in the Acts, and from his own epistles. For when he began to preach the gospel at Damascus, "the Jews laid wait for him, and they watched the gates day and night to kill him. But the disciples took him by night, and let him down by the wall in a basket." Acts ix. 24, 25. Of which great danger, and his wonderful escape, he speaks himself in an affecting manner: 2 Cor. xi. 31—33. When he came to Jerusalem from Damascus, "and disputed with the Grecians," or Jewish proselytes, "they went about to slay him," Acts ix. 29. For which cause the disciples found it prudent to bring him down to Cæsarea, that he might go to Tarsus.

The Jews out of Judea acted in the like manner. At Antioch in Pisidia, Paul having preached there with some success, both among Jews and Gentiles, "the Jews, moved with envy, stirred up the devout and honourable women, and the chief men of the city, and raised persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coasts:" Acts xiii. 50, and see ver. 45. They therefore went to Iconium, where also they had some converts among Jews and Gentiles. "But the unbelieving Jews stirred up the Gentiles, and made their minds evil affected towards the brethren...But the multitude of the city was divided...And when there was an assault made both of the Gentiles and of the Jews, with their rulers, to use them despitefully, and to stone them, they were aware of it, and fled to Lystra and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia, and unto the region that lieth round about. And there they preached the gospel:" ch. xiv. 1—7. At Lystra a great miracle was wrought by Paul, upon a "lame man, who had been a cripple from his mother's womb, and never had walked." And the people of the place were disposed to give divine honours to Paul and Barnabas, which they refused to accept. "But there came thither certain Jews from Antioch and Iconium, who persuaded the people. And, having stoned Paul, they drew him out of the city, supposing he had been dead. Howbeit, as the disciples stood round about him, he rose up and came into the city. And the next day he departed with Barnabas to Derbe:" chap. xiv. 1—20. And having passed through several places they returned to Antioch in Syria, from which place they had been sent out with special recommendations to the grace of God: ver. 21—28. All which things therefore happened in what is sometimes called the first peregrination of Paul and Barnabas.

How the Jews acted at Thessalonica, may be seen Acts xvii. 1—9; at Berea, may be seen ver. 10—15. How they behaved at Corinth, may be seen ch. xviii. ver. 5—20. And when Paul came to Jerusalem, afterwards, in the year of Christ 58, as we compute, he was very hard pressed by the Jews there, where was their great council, and where the whole nation was gathered together at the feast of Pentecost, as is related Acts xxi. and xxii. Nor was there any visible means of his escaping out of their hands with his life, but by appealing to the emperor himself, notwithstanding the favourable dispositions of the Roman governors, Felix and Festus, to shew him equity: by which appeal he obtained leave to go to Rome, where he lived two whole years in a kind of free custody, "receiving all that came in unto him, and preaching the kingdom of God, and those things which concern the Lord Jesus, with all confidence, no man forbidding him:" chap. xxviii. 30, 31. And then he was set at liberty, and went abroad again.

Thus the Jews resisted the council of God, and went on accumulating guilt, and laying up a store of vengeance to fall upon them, when God saw fit, and when the measure of their iniquity was full. As St. Paul says to the Thessalonians, 1 ep. ii. 14, "For ye, brethren, became followers of the churches of God, which in Judea are in Christ Jesus. For ye also have suffered the like things of your countrymen, even as they have of the Jews; who have killed the Lord Jesus, and their own prophets, and have persecuted us, and are contrary to all men: forbidding us to speak to the Gentiles, that they may be saved, to fill up their sins always. For the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost."

For certain, such things cannot be overlooked by the Sovereign Lord and Governor of all nations, and of the Jewish nation especially. For he has said, and it is agreeable to reason, and to all the rules of right government, that "if he raiseth up a prophet, and putteth his

words in his mouth, and he speaks all that he has commanded him, it shall come to pass that whosoever will not hearken unto my words, which he shall speak in my name, *I will require it of him:*" Deut. xviii. 18, 19. This rule was laid down and promulgated by Moses himself, the great lawgiver of the Jews; and, as before observed, it was to be a standing rule. If faithful messengers, who deliver truly the message they have received from God, are rejected, and not only not hearkened to, but abused, the God of the prophets will resent it, and shew his displeasure. Accordingly, soon after the events before related, wrath did come upon the Jewish people to a very remarkable degree. And the numbers of those who perished at Jerusalem and in Judea, by the famine and by the sword, and by intestine feuds and divisions, or otherwise, was very extraordinary, and even unparalleled, as we know from Josephus, a contemporary writer of their own nation, and from Josippon, a Jew likewise, and from others.

Josephus, who was a witness of that awful scene, often acknowledgeth the hand of God in it. Cestius Gallus, president of Syria, made a successful attempt upon Jerusalem, and then withdrew: whereupon he says, 'If [a] Cestius had continued the siege a little longer, he would have 'taken the city; but God, as I think, for the wickedness of the people, abhorring his own 'solemnities, suffered not the war to come to an end at that time.' When John of Gischala escaped from out of the hands of Vespasian, and got to Jerusalem, he says, 'It [b] was the work 'of God who saved John for the destruction of Jerusalem.' In another place [c] he says that 'God had blinded their minds for the transgressions which they had been guilty of.' And 'Never [d] did any city endure so great calamities: nor was there ever from the beginning of the 'world any time more fruitful of wickedness.' Again, 'Indeed [e] it was God who had con-'demned the whole nation, and defeated every method taken for their preservation.' When the temple was burning, he says, 'Certainly [f] the divine sentence had long ago condemned it to 'the fire.' He also observes that 'they [g] did not attend to the prodigies which evidently fore-'told their desolation; but like men infatuated, who have neither eyes to see, nor minds to con-'sider, they disregarded the divine denunciations.' He also observes that 'the [h] whole nation 'was then shut up as in a prison; and the Romans encompassed the city when it was crowded 'with inhabitants. Accordingly, the multitude of them who perished therein exceeded all the 'destructions that ever men or God brought upon the world. And [i] the whole circumference 'of the city was so thoroughly laid even with the ground, by them who dug it up to the foun-'dation, that there was nothing left to make those who came thither believe it had ever been 'inhabited.' So writes Josephus, in the Greek language, in the face of the whole world, not many years after the Jewish war was ended. And says Eleazar, in his speech at Massada, recorded by the same historian, 'The [k] metropolis of the whole nation, the city, which we be-'lieved to have God inhabiting it, has been rooted up to the foundation, and the holy temple 'has been profanely dug up to the foundation.'

Such was the end of the siege of Jerusalem in the second year of Vespasian, and the year of Christ 70. And thus were accomplished the predictions of Jesus concerning the city of Jerusalem, and the temple, and the Jewish people, if they did not repent.

Here I might conclude: but if any should be desirous to see this argument in all its force, and in its full light, it will be requisite to look farther back, and ascend up to the origin of this people; and then trace their history through the several periods of it: for they are a people separated from all other nations, chosen of God, for very great ends and purposes, to uphold the belief of the Divine Unity, the doctrine of a Divine Providence concerning itself in the affairs of mankind, upon the belief of which all religious worship depends, and to preserve the expectation of the coming of a great person to redeem the human race from error and vice, and the bad consequences of their deviation from truth and virtue: Gen. iii. 15.

For these ends God chose Abraham, and brought him out of [l] "Ur of the Chaldees. When he called him out of his country, and from his kindred, and from his father's house, he said: I will make thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great, and thou shalt be a blessing——And in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed:" Gen. xii. 1—3. The fulfilment of which magnificent promise was limited to Isaac, or his seed by Sarah: Gen. xvii. and afterwards to Jacob: Gen. xxvii. xxviii. And when his posterity was greatly increased, after their sojourning a while in Egypt, where they had been treated in a servile manner, God brought

[a] See before in this volume, p. 506. [b] P. 510. [c] P. 514. [d] P. 515. [e] P. 516. [f] P. 518. [g] P. 519. [h] P. 525. [i] P. 525. [k] P. 526. [l] Gen. xv. 7. Neh. ix. 7.

them out of that country, with a "mighty hand and an out-stretched arm," working many great and conspicuous miracles for their safety. Whilst they were in the wilderness he gave to them a system of laws, the ten principal of which were delivered from mount Sinai with great solemnity, and then engraved on tables of stone by the finger of God. God then brought them into the land of Canaan, where they became a flourishing and powerful nation, according to the promise made to Abraham concerning Sarah, when she was yet barren, that "she should be a mother of nations, and kings of people should be of her:" Gen. xvii. 16.

David intended to build a house for the name of the Lord; but that honour was reserved for his son Solomon: the divine approbation of David's design is manifest; and God, by inspiration, gave him the form and dimensions of the house, and the order of the worship to be performed there; 1 Chr. xxviii. 11—13: "Then [a] David gave to Solomon his son the pattern of the porch, and of the houses thereof [or of the house, and the apartments thereof] and of the treasuries thereof, and of the upper chambers thereof, and of the place of the mercy-seat; and the pattern of all that he had by the Spirit, and of the courts of the house of the Lord, and of all the chambers round about, of the treasuries of the house of God, and of the treasuries of the delicate things. Also for the courses of the priests and the Levites, and for all the work of the service of the house of the Lord——ver. 19. All this," said David, "the Lord made me to understand in writing [as if it were inscribed on his mind] by his hand upon me, even all the words of this pattern."

When the house was finished, and dedicated by a prayer suitable to the great occasion, 2 Chr. v. vi. we are informed, ch. vii. 12, "that the Lord appeared to Solomon by night, and said unto him: I have heard thy prayer, and have chosen this place to myself for an house of sacrifice. 15, 16. Now mine eyes shall be open, and mine eyes attent unto the prayer that is made in this place. For now have I chosen and sanctified this house, that my name may be there for ever, and mine eyes and my heart shall be there perpetually——19—22. But if ye turn away, and forsake my statutes and my commandments, which I have set before you, and serve other gods, and worship them, then will I pluck them up by the roots out of my land which I have given them. And this house, which I have sanctified for my name, will I cast out of my sight, and make it to be a proverb, and a by-word among all nations. And this house, which is high, shall be an astonishment to every one that passeth by it, so that he shall say: Why hath the Lord done thus unto the land, and to this house? And it shall be answered, Because they forsook the God of their fathers, which brought them out of the land of Egypt, and laid hold on other gods, and worshipped them, and served them: therefore hath he brought all this evil upon them."

And though God is ever merciful, and full of compassion, "and forgave their iniquity, and many a time turned away his anger, and did not stir up all his wrath," [Ps. lxxviii. 38, and what follows, and Neh. ix.] yet at length the provocation of their repeated idolatries, and gross immoralities, after the renewed admonitions of his prophets, was such, that God gave them up into the hands of their enemies. So this is related 2 Chron. xxxvi. 15—20. "And the Lord God of their fathers sent unto them by his messengers, rising up early, and sending them, because he had compassion upon his people, and his dwelling place. But they mocked the messengers of God, and despised his words, and misused his prophets, until the wrath of the Lord rose against his people, till there was no remedy. Therefore he brought upon them the king of the Chaldees, who slew their young men with the sword, in the house of their sanctuary, and had no compassion upon young man or maiden, old man, or him that stooped for age: he gave them all into his hand: and all the vessels of the house of God, great and small, and the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king, and of his princes; all these things brought he to Babylon. And they burnt the house of God, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem, and burnt all the palaces thereof with fire, and destroyed all the goodly vessels thereof. And them that had escaped from the sword carried he to Babylon: where they were servants to him, and his sons, until the reign of the kingdom of Persia."

That was the overthrow of the temple and city of Jerusalem, and the kingdom of Judah at that time. All which is related at large, and rather more particularly, in the fifty-second and last chapter of the book of Jeremiah: and may be seen also in 2 Kings, ch. xxiv. xxv.

[a] Dedit autem David Salomoni filio suo descriptionem——id est, dedit ei formam conspicuam, qualem Deus animo inscripserat, ut dicitur infra, ver. 19. Grot.

And it may be worth the while to observe here, Jer. xxv. 1—11. "The word that came unto Jeremiah concerning all the people of Judah, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah, king of Judah, which was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon: Which Jeremiah the prophet spake unto all the people of Judah, and to all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, saying: From the thirteenth year of Josiah the son of Amon, king of Judah, even unto this day, (that is, the three-and-twentieth year) the word of the Lord hath come unto me, and I have spoken unto you, rising early, and speaking, but ye have not hearkened. And the Lord hath sent unto you[a] all his servants the prophets, rising early, and sending them, but ye have not hearkened, nor inclined your ear to hear. *They said,* Turn ye again now every one from his evil way, and from the evil of your doings, and dwell in the land that the Lord hath given to you, and to your fathers for ever. And go not after other gods to serve and to worship them, and provoke me not to anger with the works of your hands, and I will do you no hurt. Yet ye have not hearkened unto me, saith the Lord, that ye might provoke me to anger, with the works of your hands to your own hurt. Therefore thus saith the Lord of hosts, because ye have not heard my words, behold I will send and take all the families of the north, saith the Lord, and Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon my servant, and bring them against this land, and against the inhabitants thereof—— And this whole land shall be a desolation, and an astonishment. And these nations shall serve the king of Babylon[b] seventy years."

It ought to be here particularly observed by us, that this calamity is said to have been brought at length upon this people "because they had refused to hearken to the words of God, spoken to them by the prophets."

The vessels of the temple were carried to Babylon, and lodged in the temple there dedicated to Belus. 2 Chr. xxxvi. 7. "Nebuchadnezzar also carried off the vessels of the house of the Lord to Babylon, and put them in his temple at Babylon." They are more particularly enumerated, Jer. lii. 17—23. This, undoubtedly, was intended by way of scorn and insult to the conquered people of Israel, and as a triumph over the God whom they worshipped. Nevertheless they were thereby preserved, and many of them were afterwards returned. That they were near the end of the captivity we learn from the profane and unseasonable feast made by Belshazzar, as related Dan. v. 1—4. "Who then commanded to bring the golden and silver vessels, which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the temple, which is at Jerusalem, that the king and his princes, and his wives and concubines, might drink therein." At the end of the captivity, when Cyrus permitted the people to return to their own country, he also gave orders for the restoring of these vessels, as related at the beginning of the book of Ezra, ch. i. 1—11. "Now, in the first year of Cyrus king of Persia, (that the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled) the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus king of Persia, that he made proclamation, throughout all his kingdom, and put it also in writing, saying: Thus saith Cyrus king of Persia, The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he hath charged me to build him an house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Who is there among you of all his people? His God be with him, and let him go to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and build the house of the Lord God which is at Jerusalem——Also Cyrus the king brought forth the vessels of the house of the Lord, which Nebuchadnezzar had brought out of Jerusalem, and had put them in the house of his god. Even these did Cyrus king of Persia, bring forth by the hand of Mithredath, the treasurer, and numbered them unto Sheshbazzar, the prince of Judah. And this is the number of them: thirty chargers of gold, a thousand chargers of silver, nine-and twenty knives: thirty basons of gold: silver basons of a second sort, four hundred and ten, and other vessels a thousand. All the vessels of gold and silver were five thousand and four hundred. All these did Sheshbazzar bring up with them of the captivity, that were brought up from Babylon unto Jerusalem."

The first thing that was done by them, after their return to Jerusalem, was restoring the altar for burnt-offerings. Ezra iii. 2. "Then stood up Joshua, the son of Josedech, and his

[a] Jeremiah seems there to intend, as prophets of former times, so also some who were contemporary with him, two of which are mentioned in scripture, Zephaniah, whose prophecies we have, and Urijah, mentioned here ch. xxvi. 20. See Lowth upon the place. And says Grotius upon ver. 1. A tertio anno regni Josiæ.——Nam 31 annis regnavit Josias. Ab his deme 12, et adde annos 4 Joakimi; fiunt ipsi anni 23. Per quos nullo labore et se et socios suos abstinuisse ait Jeremias, ut ad meliorem frugem populum reduceret.

[b] Prædictio insignis, ob ita exactam temporis designationem. Grot.

brethren the priests, and Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel and his brethren, and builded the altar of the God of Israel to offer burnt-offerings thereon——From the first day of the seventh month began they to offer burnt-offerings unto the Lord. But the foundation of the temple of the Lord was not yet laid." The building of the temple met with opposition, and therefore it was several years before it was finished: which is mentioned Ezra vi. 14—16. "And the elders of the Jews builded, and they prospered through the prophesying of Haggai the prophet, and Zachariah the son of Iddo, and they builded, and finished it, according to the commandment of Cyrus and Darius, and Artaxerxes king of Persia. And this house was finished on the third day of the month Adar, which was in the sixth year of the reign of Darius the king. And the children of Israel, the priests and the Levites, and the rest of the children of the captivity, kept the dedication of this house with joy."

At first they were discouraged by the little prospect they had of raising the temple suitably to their wishes. Ezra iii. 12. "Many of the priests and Levites, and chief of the fathers, who were ancient men, who had seen the first house, when the foundation of this house was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice, and many shouted aloud for joy." But God himself encouraged them to proceed with the most gracious assurances. Haggai ii. 1—7. "In the seventh month, in the one-and-twentieth day of the month, came the word of the Lord by the prophet Haggai, saying: Speak now to Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, governor of Judah, and to Joshua, the son of Josedech the high-priest, and to the residue of the people. Who is left among you that saw this house in its first glory? And how do you see it now? Is it not in your eyes, in comparison of it, as nothing? Yet now be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord; and be strong, O Joshua, son of Josedech, the priest, and be strong all ye people of the land, saith the Lord of hosts, and work: for I am with you, saith the Lord of hosts. According to the word that I covenanted with you when ye came out of Egypt, so my Spirit remaineth among you: fear ye not. For thus saith the Lord of hosts: Yet once a little while——And I will shake all nations, and the desire of all nations shall come. And I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of hosts." See likewise ch. i. and Zech. i. ii. iii. and viii.

And now they restored the worship of God at the temple, according to the prescriptions of the law of Moses for offering sacrifices. They kept the feast of the Passover, and other great feasts, according to the law of Moses, and the priests and Levites were set to officiate in their courses. So, after the setting up the altar of burnt-offering, and their beginning to lay the foundation of the temple, it is said, Ezra iii. 10, "And when the builders laid," or were laying, "the foundation of the temple of the Lord, they set the priests in their apparel with trumpets, and the Levites, the sons of Asaph, with cymbals, to praise the Lord after the ordinance of David king of Israel." And afterwards, when the temple was raised, it is said, Ezra vi. 18, "And they set the priests in their divisions, and the Levites in their courses, for the service of God, which is at Jerusalem, as it is written in the book of Moses." Then it follows, ver. 19, "And the children of the captivity," that is, who were returned from their captivity, "kept the Passover, upon the fourteenth day of the first month."

Thus the worship of God was again restored, and set up at his temple in Jerusalem. And though, undoubtedly, in the intermediate space the Jews met with various difficulties from surrounding enemies, and were now in subjection to the Romans, yet in the time of our Saviour and his apostles the Jewish people had free access to the temple, performed their sacrifices there, kept the Passover and Pentecost, and other great solemnities according to the appointments of the law of Moses; and the genealogies of their tribes were in being: Jesus, our Lord, was of the tribe of Judah, and of the family of David, though then in low circumstances: Matt. i. and ii. Luke i. and ii. Zacharias, father of John the Baptist, was of the course of Abia, and his wife Elizabeth was of the daughters of Aaron: and he executed the priest's office before God at the temple, in the order of his course. Luke i. 5—12. "Anna, a prophetess," is said to have been "the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Aser, a widow of fourscore years of age, who departed not from the temple, and served God with fastings and prayers night and day."

But it is not needful to add any thing more, it being apparent from the books of the New Testament, and from Josephus, as well as from other writings, that the worship at the temple in Jerusalem subsisted till the second year of Vespasian, and the year of Christ 70, in which year they had come up in great numbers to keep the Passover, and were suddenly shut up in the city by the Roman army.

The times of the first and second temple are computed by Dr. Lightfoot in this manner: 'The [a] time of the standing of the first temple, from its finishing in the eleventh year of 'Solomon, to its firing by Nebuzaradan, was four hundred and twenty years.' 'From the [b] first 'year of Cyrus (in which he proclaimed redemption to the captives, and gave commandment to 'restore and build Jerusalem,) to the death of Christ, were four hundred and ninety years, as 'they are summed up by an angel, Dan. ix. and from the death of Christ to the fatal and final 'destruction of Jerusalem, were forty years more; five hundred and thirty years in all.' Which two sums make no more than nine hundred and fifty years. In another place [c] he computes the times of the two temples to be exactly one thousand years. Others may make different computations; but now we need not concern ourselves about a nice exactness: however, I refer to [d] Prideaux, who may be consulted.

III. I shall now shut up these reflections with some concluding observations.

Obs. 1. The temple at Jerusalem was designed by David, and erected by Solomon with divine approbation; and the worship there performed was of divine appointment: and as the building itself, and the worship there, had a divine sanction, it was fit that a suitable respect should be shewn to the place itself, and to the ordinances there enjoined, by all the worshippers of the true God.

Solomon, [e] and all understanding Israelites, were persuaded of the divine omnipresence. Nevertheless, as God had determined to make peculiar manifestations of himself at the temple, it was fit that respect should be shewn to it. 1 Kings, viii. 27—30. "But will God dwell on this earth? Behold the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee: how much less this house that I have built? Yet have thou respect unto the prayer of thy servant——That thine eyes may be open toward this house, night and day, even toward the place of which thou hast said, My name shall be there: [Deut. xii. 11.] And hearken thou to the supplication of thy servant, and of thy people Israel, when they shall pray toward this place. And hear thou in heaven thy dwelling place, and when thou hearest forgive." See likewise ver. 45—50.

"And when Solomon had made an end of praying, fire came down from heaven, and consumed the burnt offering, and the sacrifice; and the glory of the Lord filled the house," 2 Chr. vii. 1. "And the Lord appeared to Solomon by night, and said unto him: I have heard thy prayer, and have chosen this place to myself for an house of sacrifice. If I shut up heaven, that there be no rain—or if I send pestilence among my people, if my people, which are called by my name, shall humble themselves, and pray, and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways; then will I hear from heaven, and will forgive their sin, and will heal their land——For now have I chosen and sanctified this house, that my name may be there for ever: and mine eyes and my heart shall be there perpetually:" ver. 12—16.

Accordingly, Daniel, who was renowned for secular wisdom, as well as for divine illuminations, and eminent piety, when his fidelity to God met with a severe trial, as we are told, ch. vi. 10, "he went into his house, and, his window being open in his chamber toward Jerusalem, he kneeled down upon his knees three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks before his God, as he did afore time." Comp. 1 Kings, viii. 48. Ps. v. 3. Jonah, ii. 4. And the Lord Jesus was often at Jerusalem, especially at the great festivals. And twice in the course of his ministry he cleared the temple of some abuses and incumbrance, and severely rebuked those who practised those indecencies, or connived at them.

Obs. 2. The temple and the city of Jerusalem were twice destroyed; once by the Chaldeans, a second time by the Romans.

The city of Jerusalem was besieged, and taken several times besides; by Antiochus Epiphanes, Pompey, and Herod the great, and others. But now we confine ourselves to those seasons when the city was ruined, and the temple also was destroyed.

[a] The temple, as it stood in the time of our Saviour, ch. 40, p. 2063.

[b] Ib. p. 2064.

[c] 'If Jerusalem was destroyed exactly forty years after our 'Saviour's death, as it is apparent,—then that destruction of it 'befell just in the four thousandth year of the world. And 'so, as the temple of Solomon had been finished anno mundi 'exactly 3000, so in anno mundi exactly 4000, both the city 'and the temple that then was, were destroyed, never to be 'repaired, or rebuilt again. And from that time most pro- 'perly began the kingdom of heaven, and the new Jerusalem, 'when that earthly kingdom, and that old city, were 'utterly ruined.' Harmony of the four Evangelists, vol. i. p. 487.

[d] See his Connexion, &c. year before Christ, 458, vol. i. p. 262, &c.

[e] See his letter to Hiram, king of Tyre. 2 Chr. ii. 1—7.

Obs. 3. The taking of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans was a very grievous calamity.

The particulars are related Jer. lii. 2 Kings, xxiv. xxv. 2 Chron. xxxvi. Daniel, in his confessions, ch. ix. 12, says: "For under the whole heaven hath not been done as hath been done upon Jerusalem." It was a calamity not easy to be paralleled in all its circumstances. Which was agreeable to the maxim before observed, "that where much is given, there also much will be required," and to the words of God by the prophet Amos: "You only have I known of all the families of the earth, therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities."

Obs. 4. The final captivity of the Jewish people by the Romans has been a much greater calamity than that by the Chaldeans. It exceeds in many respects.

(1.) The distresses of the siege of Jerusalem, and the numbers that perished there by famine or sword, by the hands of the Romans, or by their own intestine divisions, and the numbers carried captive, exceeded all the desolations that ever were. It happened when the city was crowded with people, they being assembled together at one of their festivals; and the city itself, its buildings, its walls, and the temple were demolished, and thrown down to the foundation, so as they had never been before. So our Lord foretold Matt. xxiv. 21. "For then shall be great tribulation, such as was not from the beginning of the world, to this time: no, nor ever shall be." So Jesus said it would be; and Josephus says, it was so, and that 'it exceeded all 'the destructions ever brought upon the world by God or man.'

(2.) The captivity by the Romans has exceeded the former in duration.

This second captivity has now already lasted almost seventeen hundred years, without any the least prospect of a period to it. That was limited to seventy years only according to the word of God by Jeremiah, ch. xxv. 12—18, xxix. 10—14, and Dan. ix. 1, 2.

(3.) During the captivity by the Chaldeans, the Jewish people had prophets among them, but now they have none.

In this second captivity, as they are without altar, and sacrifice, and temple, and city of their own, so are they, all this while, without visions, and prophecies, and divine illuminations of every kind.

In the former captivity they had several prophets of great eminence. Jeremiah continued to prophesy to the remains of the people in Judea several years after the beginning of the captivity. Ezekiel and Daniel prophesied in Babylon. These, and other good men, may have been of great service for bringing men to repentance, and fitting them for the expected deliverance. And, during that period of seventy years, there were miraculous deliverances vouchsafed to some: the preservation, particularly, of the three young men in the fiery furnace: Dan. iii. Then Daniel's satisfactory interpretations of Nebuchadnezzar's dreams, ch. ii. and iv. and Daniel's great advancement, and some other extraordinary occurrences were much in their favour. They must have tended to influence the minds of the great princes to whom they were subject; and must have been means of facilitating their deliverance, and accomplishing their safe return into their own country, and to their happy settlement in it. But we hear not of any such like favourable appearances in the present captivity and dispersion.

Obs. 5. All these calamities, those of the former and of the latter captivity, have happened to the Jewish people, agreeably to the original plan of divine dispensations concerning them.

This observation was mentioned formerly: but it is repeated here as a thing of great importance: and we have an acknowledgment of it in Daniel's confessions, with regard to the Babylonish captivity, ch. ix. 11: "Yea, all Israel have transgressed thy law, even by departing, that they might not obey thy voice. Therefore the curse is poured upon us, and the oath that is written in the law of Moses, the servant of God, because we have sinned against him—13: As it is written in the law of Moses, all this evil is come upon us." See Lev. xxvi. 14—46. Deut. xxviii. 15, &c. What is here said of the captivity by the Chaldeans, is as true of the captivity by the Romans, and ought to be in like manner acknowledged.

Obs. 6. Our blessed Lord's predictions therefore of evil coming upon Jerusalem and the people of Judea, did not proceed from private resentment, enmity, malice, ill-will, or any other unsociable affection, from which the mind of the blessed Jesus was always free: but they were declarations of the counsel of God, prophetical denunciations of evil to come, if men did not repent; faithful warnings to men to take heed to themselves; and earnest and affectionate calls to repentance and reformation, that the impending and threatened calamities might be averted and avoided.

A prophet, who is intrusted with the mind of God, must faithfully deliver both promises to

obedience, and threatenings to disobedience, as is required. Says Moses to the people under his care, for whose welfare and prosperity he was greatly concerned, Deut. iv. 5: "Behold, I have taught you statutes and judgments, even as the Lord my God commanded me—ver. 25, 26.—"But if thou do evil in the sight of the Lord thy God, to provoke him to anger, I call heaven and earth to witness that ye shall soon utterly perish from off the land, whereunto you go over Jordan to possess it: ye shall not prolong your days upon it: but shall utterly be destroyed." Nor was Jeremiah to be charged with ill-will to the Jewish people when he foretold the desolations of the Chaldean captivity.

Obs. 7. The great aggravation of the transgressions of the Jewish people, lay in their not hearkening to the messages of the prophets, which God sent among them.

This was observed before from 2 Chron. xxxvi. 15, 16, and from Jerem. xxv. 1—11, to which I now add that it is particularly mentioned by Daniel in his devout and humble confession of the sins of that people, which brought upon them the Babylonish captivity, ch. ix. 5, 6. "We have sinned, and have committed iniquity, and have done wickedly, and have rebelled even by departing from thy precepts and thy judgments. Neither have we hearkened unto thy servants the prophets, who spoke in thy name to our kings, our princes, and our fathers, and to all the people of Israel." By which, certainly, these prophets manifested their fidelity. And the reason of this is, that refusing to hearken to messages of God, faithfully delivered by his prophets, demonstrates obstinacy and irreclaimableness. This is represented by our Lord in the parable of the fig-tree, Luke xiii. 6—10. and of the husbandman, Matt. xxi. 33, &c. and in other parables and discourses. The parable of the fig-tree, just mentioned, is thus: "A certain man had a fig-tree, planted in his vineyard. And he came, and sought fruit thereon, and found none. Then said he to the dresser of the vineyard: Behold these three years I come seeking fruit on this fig-tree, and find none; cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground? And he answering said: Lord, let it alone this year also, till I shall dig about it, and dung it; if it bear fruit, well; if not, thou shalt cut it down." So God said of old to the people of Israel by Isaiah, after having in a like manner represented his care and cultivation of his vineyard. Is. v. 3, 4, 5. "And now, O inhabitants of Jerusalem and men of Judah, judge, I pray you, betwixt me and my vineyard. What could have been done more to my vineyard, than I have done in it? Wherefore when I looked, that it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes? I will tell you what I will do to my vineyard; I will take away the hedge thereof, and it shall be eaten up: and break down the wall thereof, and it shall be trodden down."

This was the case in the time of our Saviour. After all other prophets, came Jesus, who taught the people in the name of God, and faithfully delivered his mind to them, and called them to repentance, and wrought many wonderful works. There was then a great profusion of spiritual gifts in himself, and his apostles. If their message was not hearkened to, but rejected, and they abused, it would be an aggravated provocation, and would be required of the people to whom they had spoken in the name of God.

Obs. 8. Finally, in the eighth and last place, let us now inquire and consider what was the sin, what the sins or offences, that occasioned the great calamity which befell the Jewish people about forty years after the times of the Lord Jesus, under the conduct of those two generals Vespasian and Titus.

We have seen accounts in Josephus, and other Jewish writers, of the distresses then suffered by the Jewish people at Jerusalem, and in other parts of Judea, and of the destruction and demolition of their city and temple, and their captivity and dispersion, which still continue. And we have seen evident proofs that the hand of God was therein, and that all came to pass by the overruling providence of God. It is an affecting subject. And if we make inquiries into the reasons and causes of these great calamities, we should do it seriously and impartially, and may be disposed also to compassion and candour.

When God appeared to Solomon, after he had finished and dedicated the temple, he graciously assured him that he accepted the prayer which he had made, and that he would hearken to the prayers which his people should make to him toward that place in their distresses. Nevertheless he declares, 2 Chron. vii. 19—22: "But if ye turn away and forsake my statutes, and my commandments, which I have set before you, and serve other gods, and worship them: then will I pluck them up by the roots out of my land which I have given them. And this house which I have sanctified for my name will I cast out of my sight, and will make it to be a

proverb, and a byword among all nations. And this house, which is high, shall be an astonishment to every one that passeth by it: so that he shall say: Why hath the Lord done thus unto this land, and unto this house? And it shall be answered, Because they forsook the Lord God of their fathers, who brought them out of the land of Egypt, and laid hold on other gods, and worshipped them, and served them. Therefore hath he brought all this evil upon them."

This was fulfilled in the Babylonish captivity, when Jerusalem was taken, and the temple built by Solomon was burnt down. That was an event which occasioned inquiries into the reasons and causes of it. And shall not we consider and make like inquiries concerning the captivity by the Romans, which has been attended with so many awful circumstances? Shall we not say: "Why has the Lord done thus unto this land, and to this house?" meaning the second house, built after the return from the Babylonish captivity. For that house also was high, and had been erected with divine approbation and encouragement: and the worship had been restored there according to the appointment of Moses; and was so continued there till it's final desolation.

If now we ask, "Why has the Lord done thus to this land and people, and to his house?" it cannot be said, "because they laid hold on other gods, and worshipped them, and served them." For after the return from the Babylonish captivity, they were for the most part free from the sin of idolatry, into which they had so often relapsed before. Nor are they now guilty of that sin, for which their dispersion should be continued. For some while before the last destruction of Jerusalem, they appear from all accounts to have been generally very zealous for the law of Moses, and the rites of it, and very diligent in their attendance on the temple at Jerusalem, to which they resorted in great numbers, from all parts of the world where they inhabited, at the solemn festivals; and where a large part of the nation was assembled to keep the passover, when the final overthrow befell them.

We are therefore led to think that these calamities befell the Jewish people because they rejected and crucified the Lord Jesus, who was a prophet mighty "in deed and word before God and all the people," Luke xxiv. 19. who spake as never man spake before, and performed many wonderful works which none had done before. And God has "required it of them," as he said by Moses he would do. Deut. xviii. 19. And I must again recite here those affecting and awful, but true, sayings of our Lord, recorded John xv. 22, 24. "If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin: but now they have no cloak [or excuse] for their sin. If I had not done among them the works which no other man did, they had not had sin: but now they have both seen and hated both me and my Father."

The expectation of the Messiah is no new thing. It had not its rise from Jesus, or his disciples. It was in being long before the nativity of Jesus. We are assured[a] by Suetonius, and Tacitus, and Celsus, heathen writers of great learning, as well as from Josephus, that 'There had 'been for a long time, all over the east, a notion firmly believed that, at that very time, some 'one coming from Judea should obtain the empire of the world.' Heathen writers say this was 'contained in the book of the fates:' Josephus, who at the time of his writing the History of the War, was disposed to think as the heathen writers above mentioned do, that Vespasian was thereby intended, says, that this expectation was founded upon an ambiguous oracle. Nevertheless he owns that the expectation was general among the Jewish people, and that it was embraced by 'many of the wise men among them,' as well as by others, and that it was the thing which 'principally encouraged them to undertake the war with the Romans.' But upon this head there is now no difference between the Jews and us; all allowing that the expectation of a Messiah is founded on the writings of Moses and the prophets.

That this was the time of his appearance they may have argued and collected from divers texts of scripture, as Dan. ii. 34—45. vii. 14. ix. 24. and from Hag. ii. 4—9. Mal. iii. 1. iv. 5, 6.

How general and prevailing the expectation of the appearance of the Messiah then was among all sorts of men, the rulers as well as the common people, we farther know from the books of the New Testament. Luke iii. 15, 16: "And as the people were in expectation, and all men mused in their hearts of John, whether he were the Christ or not, John answered, saying unto them all: I indeed baptize you with water; but one mightier than I cometh, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose: he will baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire." And from John i. 19—34, we know that the Jews sent priests and Levites, who were of the sect of the Pharisees, to John, where he was baptizing, to ask him who he was. He declared "he was not

[a] See the passages of those heathen authors, and of Josephus, all alleged Vol. i. p. 73—75.

the Christ, but was sent before him; and said: There standeth one among you, whom ye know not. He it is who, coming after me, is preferred before me; whose shoes latchet I am not worthy to unloose." I need not cite any other texts.

At that very time Jesus appeared and wrought many wonderful works, irrefragable attestations to his divine mission and authority, and the truth of his doctrine; of which we are as well assured from the concurring and unanimous testimony of all the writers of the New Testament, as we can be of any thing that ever was done in the world; or as the Jews are of the miracles wrought by Moses and the prophets.

Here therefore we may adopt the words of our Lord spoken to his disciples, Matt. xvii. 12. "But I say unto you, that Elias is come already. And they knew him not, but have done unto him whatsoever they listed. Likewise shall also the Son of man suffer of them." As he did soon afterwards. For which God has reckoned, and is still reckoning with them.

However, though the treatment given to Jesus and his apostles, was a very great offence, there may have been other provocations which occasioned the displeasure of God against his people, and concurred to bring down the vengeance of heaven upon them. One sin is never alone. There is generally a complication of guilt in all great and aggravated transgressions. Though the Jewish people often fell into the practice of heathen idolatry, and that was one great occasion of the Babylonish captivity, that was not the only sin with which they were chargeable. All sorts of immoralities abounded among them. And Daniel, in the confession which he makes of the sins of his people, says, ch. ix. 5. "We have sinned, and have committed iniquity, and have done wickedly, and have rebelled, even by departing from thy precepts and thy judgments." So now the greatness of their guilt lay in rejecting and crucifying Jesus the Messiah. But that would not have been done if wickedness had not greatly prevailed among them. Josephus owns, that 'never was there a time more fruitful of wickedness than that.' In the gospels the men of that time are spoken of as an "untoward generation, and a wicked and adulterous generation." They were chargeable with all kinds of evil, and were openly reproved for them by the faithful teacher and prophet whom God sent among them, and whom they so ungratefully used. They were covetous and worldly minded: Luke xvi. 14, 15. They were exceeding proud and ambitious of respect and honour. "They did all their works to be seen of men. They made broad their phylacteries, and enlarged the borders of their garments. They loved the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and to be called of men, Rabbi, Rabbi;" Matt. xxiii. 5, 6. and see Mark xii. 38, 39; and Luke xx. 46; and Luke xiv. 7. They were extremely uneasy and impatient under the Roman government, to which, by the disposal of Divine Providence, they were subject. They were very deceitful and hypocritical, who "devoured widows houses, and for a pretence made long prayers:" Mark xii. 40. and see Matt. xxiii. 23—28. At the same time they depended upon their descent from Abraham, and other external privileges; which rendered all exhortations to repentance fruitless and ineffectual. See Matt. iii. 9; John viii. 33, and 39. Accordingly they are represented to have "hardened their hearts, and shut their eyes:" for which reason they did not understand, nor attend to the signs of the times, and the evidences of truth set before them: Matt. xiii. 14, 15; John xii. 37—41. And moreover, they were at this time very fond of traditions, which made void the moral law of God.

All these charges, now collected from the gospels, might be verified by examples and observations in Josephus. These evil dispositions prevailing among them, especially in their great men who had the chief influence on the people, they did not, and could not believe, but rejected and ill treated the Lord Jesus Christ. Let me recite here John v. 39—44; "Search the scriptures," impartially. "For in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me. And ye will not come unto me that ye might have life. I receive not honour from men. But I know you, that ye have not the love of God in you—How can ye believe, which receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only?"

One thing more I must add here. That the time in which our Lord appeared was not a time of gross ignorance. The Jews now had synagogues every where in all parts of Judea, and in many places out of it, where the law of Moses and the prophets were read and explained. The common people in general were well acquainted with those scriptures, and with the explications given of them by their rabbins. Among the Scribes and Pharisees were many men of very good abilities. Their acuteness and subtilty are manifest in their cavils with our Saviour. Nor were

the Jewish people now altogether unacquainted with the Greek literature. Their three sects of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes, had occasioned disputes and controversies, and spread the knowledge of the things of religion among them.

It is amazing that a prophet who teaches men a reasonable doctrine, and works many miracles, all useful and beneficent, should be rejected. And it would be still more amazing, were it not that we are in some measure able to account for it, by the bad dispositions before taken notice of. Jesus gave no sign from heaven to induce them to expect from him (what suited their carnal and ambitious views) a deliverance from the Roman government. And all other works of mighty power and of great goodness, were slighted and despised. Thus prejudice and passion prevailed against evidence. And it is a great aggravation of the guilt of any men, who are knowing and discerning, if they reject the truth of which good evidences are set before them. Our Lord having made some remarks after the cure of the man born blind, and after his being excommunicated by the Pharisees, John ix. 39—41, some of them who heard him said unto him: "Are we blind also? Jesus said unto them: If ye were blind ye should have no sin: but now ye say, We see; therefore your sin remaineth."

Thus they were incurable. And these evil dispositions prevailing in them, brought on that great sin of rejecting and crucifying the Lord Jesus, which God has required of them.

The destruction therefore of the city of Jerusalem, and the temple, and the continued dispersion of the Jews, are a cogent argument for the truth of the Christian religion. They confirm the history of the New Testament and every part of it. If they had not sinned, as they are there said to have done, these calamities had not befallen them. Their sufferings bear witness to the spotless life, and excellent doctrine, and wonderful works, of the Lord Jesus. They testify that there had been one among them greater than Jonah, and wiser than Solomon; but they slighted all his wisdom and repented not, as the people of Nineveh did at the preaching of Jonah.

They confirm particularly the history recorded in Luke xxiii. 1—25: "And the whole multitude of them" [that is, many of the Jewish council] "arose, and led him unto Pilate, saying: We found this man perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, saying, that he himself is Christ, a king. Pilate then asked him, saying: Art thou the king of the Jews? And he answered him, and said, Thou sayest it." [It is as you say.] "Then said Pilate to the *chief priests, and to the people*, I find no fault in this man. And they were the more fierce, saying: He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Judea, beginning from Galilee to this place." He then sent Jesus to Herod, who sent him back again to Pilate. "After which, when Pilate had called together *the chief priests, and the rulers, and the people*, he said unto them: Ye have brought this man unto me as one that perverteth the people; and behold, I having examined him before you, have found no fault in this man touching these things whereof ye accuse him. No, nor yet Herod; for I sent you to him. And lo, nothing worthy of death is done unto him. I will therefore chastise him, and release him. For of necessity he must release one unto them at the feast. And they cried out, all at once, saying: Away with this man, and release unto us Barabbas: (who, for a certain sedition made in the city, and for murder, was cast into prison,) Pilate therefore, willing to release Jesus, spake again to them. But they cried, saying: Crucify him, crucify him. And he said unto them the third time: Why, what evil hath he done? I have found no cause of death in him. I will therefore chastise him and let him go. And they were instant with loud voices, requiring that he might be crucified: and the voices of them and the chief-priests prevailed. And Pilate gave sentence that it should be as they required. And he released unto them him that for sedition and murder was cast into prison, whom they desired: but he delivered Jesus to their will." Or as in Matt. xxvii. 24, 25, 26. "When Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing, but that rather a tumult was made, he took water, and washed his hands before the multitude, saying: I am innocent of the blood of this just person: see ye to it. Then answered all the people, and said: His blood be upon us, and our children. Then released he Barabbas unto them. And when he had scourged Jesus, he delivered him to be crucified."

To these things the destruction of Jerusalem, and the present circumstances of the Jews, bear witness; as also to the resurrection of Jesus, and his ascension to heaven, and to the plentiful effusion of spiritual gifts afterwards upon his apostles, and others; whereby they were enabled to preach the heavenly doctrine, in which their Lord and Master had instructed them. He commanded them to "preach repentance and remission of sins in his name, beginning at Jerusalem." Luke xxiv. 47. And that they did so, preaching repentance toward God, and

faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ:" or, that they did earnestly call upon the Jewish people in Judea, and elsewhere, to repent of their sins, and believe in the Lord Jesus; and that they did not receive their instructions and warnings, but 'killed some of them, scourged others, and per-'secuted them from city to city:' To all these things, the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, and other calamities brought upon the Jewish people, bear witness: and thus they filled up the measure of their iniquity.

The argument, upon which I have now insisted, is not new; it is old; and has been well managed by divers ancient Christian writers. I shall place below the observations made upon the long captivity of the Jews by Jerom[a] and by Prudentius[b] in their own language. I believe they will be perused with pleasure by some of my readers: and I refer to a[c] place of Chrysostom which was formerly quoted more at large. I likewise refer to[d] Origen.

Nor can it be said that God has been unrighteous in his dealings with them. All these judgments befell them, according to the original plan of providence concerning them, and according to the prophetic denunciations of their lawgiver Moses. Nor can it be said that their continued dispersion is unrighteous, since they persist in the sin which first occasioned it, and reject Him, whom God has sent unto them; and not only reject him, but reproach and revile him, so as no other people do. And, finally, whenever they repent, they may obtain forgiveness, and be received into the church of Christ, and partake in all the privileges of it, and in the end obtain everlasting life, which God through Jesus Chrst has promised to all those who love him. "For God has not cast away his people whom he foreknew; and if they abide not still in unbelief," they will be graciously received. Rom. xi. 2, and 23.

The circumstances of the Jewish people deserve the attentive regard and serious consideration of all mankind, Jews, and Christians, and the men of all nations and religions, where their history is known: as it now generally is, from the books of the Old and New Testament, and from Josephus, and other writings.

The writings of the apostles and evangelists, contained in the New Testament, are faithful records of the life of Jesus, and the promises of the gospel. And the continued subsistence of the Jewish people in a dispersed condition, all over the earth, bears testimony to the truth of every thing related by them. Thus God, the Sovereign Lord of all, in his great wisdom, has provided a perpetual and universal living monument to the memory of the transactions and sufferings of Jesus in Judea; and of his own veracity in "performing the mercy promised to their fathers, and the oath which he sware to Abraham." Luke i. 72, 73. Gen. xxii. 15—18. and, that "when the fulness of the time was come, he sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem mankind from idolatry, and all vice, and from all burdensome rites, whether of Jewish or Heathen original. Gal. iv. 4, 5.

The circumstances of the Jewish people confirm the faith of Christians, and are a loud call

[a] Multa, Judæe, scelera commisisti; cunctis, circa te servisti nationibus. Ob quod factum? Utique, propter idololatriam. Quumque servisses, crebro misertus tui est Deus: et misit judices et salvatores, qui te de famulatu Moabitarum et Ammoritarum, Philistiim quoque et diversarum gentium liberârunt. Novissime sub regibus offendisti Deum; et omnis tua provincia, gente Babylonicâ vastante, deleta est. Per septuaginta annos templi solitudo permansit. A Cyro rege Persarum est laxata captivitas. Esdras hoc et Nehemias plenissime referunt. Exstructum est templum sub Dario rege Persarum a Zorobabel filio Salathiel, et Jesu filio Josedec, sacerdote magno. Quæ passi sitis a Medis, Ægyptiis, Macedonibusque, non enumero. Nec tibi adducam in memoriam Antiochum Epiphanem, crudelissimum omnium tyrannorum; nec Cn. Pompeium, Gabinium, Scaurum, Varum, Cassium, Sosiumque replicabo, qui tuis urbibus, et præcipue Jerosolymæ, insultavere. Ad extremum sub Vespasiano et Tito urbs capta, templumque subversum est. Deinde civitatis usque ad Hadrianum principem per quinquaginta annos mansere reliquiæ. Post eversionem templi paullo minus per quadringentos annos et urbis et templi ruinæ permanent. Ob quod tantum facinus? Certe non colis idola; sed etiam serviens Persis atque Romanis, et captivitatis pressus jugo, ignoras alienos deos. Quomodo clementissimus quondam Deus, qui nunquam tui oblitus est, nunc per tanta spatia temporum miseriis tuis non adducitur ut solvat captivitatem, et, ut verius dicam, exspectatum tibi mittat Antichristum? Ob quod, inquam, facinus, et tam exsecrabile scelus, avertit a te oculos suos? Ignoras? Memento vocis parentum tuorum. Sanguis ejus super nos, et super filios nostros. Et: Venite, occidamus eum, et nostra erit hæreditas. Et: Non habemus regem, nisi Cæsarem. Habes quod elegisti; usque ad finem mundi serviturus es Cæsari, donec gentium introëat plenitudo, et sic omnis Israël salvus fiet; ut qui quondam erat in capite, vertatur in caudam. Hieron. ad Dardan. T. 2. p. 610, 611.

[b] Quid mereare, Titus docuit: docuere rapinis
Pompeianæ acies, quibus exstirpata per omnes
Terrarum pelagique plagas tua membra feruntur.
Exiliis vagus huc illuc fluitantibus errat
Judæus, postquam, patriâ de sede revulsus,
Supplicium pro cæde luit, Christique negati
Sanguine respersus commista piacula solvit.
Prud. Apoth. ver. 219, &c.

[c] Adversus Judæos Or. vi. T. i. p. 652, 653.

[d] Contr. Cels. l. 2. sect. 13. Bened. p. 69. Spenc. l. 4. sect. 22. Bened. p. 174. Sp. et sect. 73. Ben. p. 212. Sp. l. 8. sect. 42. Ben. p. 405. Spenc. seu Cantab.

to themselves to think, and consider, and repent, and believe. And it should in a like manner affect and awaken all other people. It is a voice which may be heard by those who have not yet seen the gospels, and perhaps are averse to them; and it should induce them to look into them, and carefully examine them.

That Jesus is the Christ, is manifest from his agreeing to all the prophetic descriptions concerning that great person, which are recorded in the Jewish scriptures, that he might be known when he came. He is the seed of Abraham, and the son of David: "the rod out of the stem of Jesse—And the spirit of the Lord rested on him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and of might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord. And to him the Gentiles have sought." Is. xi. 1, 2, 3, 10. He was born of a "virgin," Is. vii. 14. "at Bethlehem in Judea." Mic. v. 2. "In him all the families of the earth have been blessed," according to the promise made to Abraham, Gen. xii. 3, xviii. 18. xxii. 18. He is "the servant of God, whom he upheld, his elect, in whom his soul delighteth," [or God's well beloved Son,] "and hath brought forth judgment to the Gentiles." Is. xlii. 1. "He hath been a light to lighten the Gentiles, and salvation to the ends of the earth." Is. xlix. 6. "The isles waited for his law, and have received it." Is. xlii. 4. "And the earth is now full of the knowledge of God, as the waters cover the sea." Is. xi. 9. We have "a new heaven, and a new earth." Is. lxv. 17. "All the gods of the earth have been famished." Zeph. ii. 11. Heathen idolatry, once so general, and so much delighted in by princes and people, is now no more in this part of the world; their temples are demolished, or put to other uses; their oracles are silent; nor do they receive human or other sacrifices. And God himself, the Lord of heaven and earth, is no longer served with sacrifices of animals, or oblations of fruits of the earth, but with prayers and praises, and good works of righteousness and mercy; nor is his worship now confined to any one particular place. The time is come, "when men should neither at Mount Gerizim, nor at Jerusalem, worship the Father: and when the true worshippers of God shall worship him in spirit and in truth," John iv. 21—23. And "in every nation, he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him." Acts x. 35. Jesus had "the words of eternal life." John vi. 68. And "God has poured out of his spirit upon all flesh." Joel ii. 28. Is. xliv. 3. Acts ii. 17. And "all men now know God from the least to the greatest of them." Jerem. xxxi. 3, 4. All have just sentiments, and are able to discourse rationally concerning God, the Creator of all things, and his overruling Providence, and future rewards and punishments. We now worship God on earth, through Jesus Christ, in a reasonable, spiritual, liberal manner, in hopes of obtaining hereafter, perfection of holiness and happiness in the kingdom of our heavenly Father.

Jesus, then, is the promised Messiah who was to come. Nor is there any reason why we should look for another.

I have formerly repeated[a] this subject. But the large and copious testimony of Josephus to the fulfilment of our Saviour's predictions concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, and the miseries coming upon the Jewish people, and the repeated acknowledgments of the destruction of the temple in the Mishnical and Talmudical writers, have compelled me to enlarge here, as I have now done.

Finally, to put an end to this long argument; if we have obtained the invaluable treasure of the gospel, that "pearl of great price," let us be thankful to God who has so enriched us by Jesus Christ. And let us be careful to keep it entire, and in all its purity, unalloyed with base mixtures, and undisguised by false colourings. Our own glory and the credit of our religion depend upon this.

As for the Jewish people, I believe all good Christians will readily join with the apostle Paul, and say: "Our hearts' desire, and prayer to God for Israel, is, that they might be saved." Rom. x. 1. Nevertheless I acknowledge that I see no immediate prospect of their general conversion; and must assent to what the same apostle says in another place, who had great dealings with them, after his conversion to the Christian faith, as well as before, and had full experience of their untractable temper, which is still too much the same that it was in his time: "But their minds were blinded; for until this day remaineth the same vail, untaken away, in the reading of the Old Testament; which vail is done away in Christ. But even unto this day, when Moses is read, the vail is upon their heart. Nevertheless, when it shall turn to the Lord, the vail shall be taken away." 2 Cor. iii. 14—16.

God grant that we may all know and mind the things which are conducive to our true interests both here and hereafter!

[a] The circumstances of the Jewish people an argument for the truth of the Christian religion.

TESTIMONIES

OF

ANCIENT HEATHEN AUTHORS.

CHAP. I.

The Epistle of Abgarus king of Edessa to Jesus, and the Rescript of Jesus to Abgarus.

As the authority of these epistles depends entirely upon Eusebius, I shall here transcribe his account at length, which is in the thirteenth, or last chapter of the first book of his Ecclesiastical History.

'A[a] History concerning the Prince of the Edessens.'

'The divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,' says Eusebius, 'being every where 'talked of by reason of his wonderful power in working miracles, it drew after him many people 'from other countries, and some very remote from Judea, who were filled with hopes of relief 'under all sorts of pains and sicknesses. For which reason king Abgarus, who[b] with honour 'governed the nations beyond the Euphrates, labouring under a grievous distemper, incurable 'by human skill, when he heard of the fame of Jesus, which was much celebrated, and his 'wonderful works attested by the unanimous testimony of all men, sent a letter to him by a 'messenger, entreating him to cure his distemper. But he did not then comply with his request, 'yet he vouchsafed to write to him a letter, wherein he promised to send one of his disciples who 'should cure his distemper, and also bring salvation to him, and to all with him: which promise 'was not long after fulfilled: for after the resurrection of Christ, and his ascension to heaven, 'Thomas, one of the twelve apostles, moved by a divine impulse, sent Thaddeus, one of Christ's 'seventy disciples, to Edessa, to be a preacher and an evangelist of Christ's doctrine, by whom all 'things promised by our Saviour were fulfilled. The evidence of this we have from the records 'of the city of Edessa: for among the public records, wherein are entered the antiquities of the 'city, and the actions of Abgarus, these things are still found preserved to this day. It[c] will 'therefore be worth the while to attend to the letters, as taken by us [or for us] from the 'archives, and translated word for word from the Syriac language.

The Copy of the Letter which was written by Abgarus the Toparch to Jesus, and sent to him at Jerusalem by the Courier Ananias.

'Abgarus, toparch [or prince] of Edessa, to Jesus the good Saviour, who has appeared at 'Jerusalem, sendeth greeting. I have heard of thee, and of thy cures, performed without herbs, 'or other medicines. For it is reported that thou makest the blind to see, and the lame to walk; 'that thou cleansest lepers, and castest out unclean spirits and dæmons, and healest those who 'are tormented with diseases of a long standing, and raisest the dead. Having heard of all these 'things concerning thee, I concluded in my mind one of these two things—either that thou art 'God come down from heaven to do these things, or else thou art the Son of God, and so per-'formest them. Wherefore I now write unto thee, entreating thee to come to me, and to heal 'my distemper. Moreover, I hear that the Jews murmur against thee, and plot to do thee mis-'chief. I have a city, small indeed, but neat, which may suffice for us both.' 'Now let us 'attend,' says Eusebius, 'to the letter which Jesus returned by the same courier, short indeed, 'but very powerful. It is in these words.'

[a] 'Ιστορια περι τε των Εδεσσηνων δυναστε. H. E. l. i. cap. 13. p. 31.

[b] 'Who governed the nations beyond the Euphrates.' That is the lofty style of the eastern people. Abgarus was governor of only a small territory.

[c] ... απο των αρχειων ημιν αναληφθεισων, και τονδε αυτοις ρημασιν εκ της Συρων φωνης μεταβληθεισων τον τροπον. p. 32. B.

The Rescript of Jesus to the Toparch Abgarus, sent by the Courier Ananias.

'Abgarus, thou art happy, forasmuch as thou hast believed in me, though thou hast not seen 'me.' John xx. 29. 'For it is written concerning me, that they who have seen me should not 'believe in me, that they who have not seen me might believe and live. As for what thou hast 'written to me, desiring me to come to thee, it is necessary that all those things, for which I am 'sent, should be fulfilled by me here: and that after fulfilling them, I should be received up to 'him that sent me. When therefore I shall be received up, I will send to thee some one 'of my disciples, that he may heal thy distemper, and give life to thee, and to those who are 'with thee.'

'To these epistles,' as Eusebius goes on to say, 'are subjoined the following things, and in 'the Syriac language—That after Jesus had been taken up, [or after his ascension], Judas, called 'also Thomas, sent the Apostle Thaddeus, one of the seventy; who, when he came to Edessa, 'took up his abode with Tobias, son of Tobias. When his arrival was rumoured about, and he 'had begun to be known by the miracles which he wrought, it was told to Abgarus, that an 'apostle was sent to him by Jesus, according to his promise. Thaddeus therefore by the power 'of God healed all sorts of maladies, so that all wondered. But when Abgarus heard of the 'great and wonderful works which he did, and how he healed men in the name and by the power 'of Jesus Christ, he was induced to suspect [εν υπονοια γεγονεν, that he was the person about whom 'Jesus had written to him, saying, "When I am taken up, I will send to thee some one of my 'disciples, who shall heal thy distemper." Sending therefore for Tobias, at whose house he was, 'he said to him: "I hear that a man, endowed with great power, and come from Jerusalem, is 'at thy house, and that he works many cures in the name of Jesus." To which Tobias answered, '"Yes, Sir; there is a stranger with me, who performs many miracles." Abgarus then said: '"Bring him hither to me." Tobias coming to Thaddeus, said to him: "The [a] prince Abgarus, 'has bid me bring thee to him, that thou mayest heal his distemper." Whereupon Thaddeus 'said: "I go; for it is upon his account, chiefly, that I am sent hither." The next day, early 'in the morning, Tobias taking Thaddeus came to Abgarus. As he came in, the nobles being 'present, there appeared to Abgarus somewhat very extraordinary in the countenance of Thad-'deus; which [b] when Abgarus saw, he worshipped Thaddeus; which appeared strange to all 'present; for they did not see that brightness which was discerned by Abgarus only. He then 'asked Thaddeus, "If he were indeed the disciple of Jesus the Son of God, who had said to 'him: "I will send to thee some one of my disciples who shall heal thy distemper, and give 'life to all with thee." Thaddeus answered: "Forasmuch as thou hast great faith in the Lord 'Jesus, therefore am I sent unto thee: and if thou shalt increase in faith in him, all the desires 'of thy heart will be fulfilled according to thy faith." Then Abgarus said to him: "I have so 'believed in him, that I would go with an army to extirpate the Jews who crucified him, if I 'were not apprehensive of the Roman power." Then Thaddeus said: "Our Lord and God 'Jesus Christ has fulfilled the will of his Father: and, having fulfilled it, he has been taken up 'to his Father." Abgarus then said: "I have believed in him, and in his Father." And there-'upon said Thaddeus: "Therefore I put my hand upon thee in the name of the Lord Jesus." 'And, upon his so doing, Abgarus was healed of his distemper. And Abgarus wondered, that 'as it had been reported concerning Jesus so it had been done by his disciple and apostle 'Thaddeus; insomuch as he had healed him without herbs, or other medicines. Nor did he heal 'him alone, but also Abdus, son of Abdus, who had the gout. For he came to him, and fell down 'upon his knees before him, and by the laying on of his hands with prayer he was healed. The 'same apostle healed many other citizens of the same place, and wrought many and great miracles 'as he preached the word.' After which Abgarus spoke to this purpose: "Thou Thaddeus doest 'these things by the power of God, and we admire thee. But I beseech thee to inform me about 'the coming of Jesus, how it was, and of his power, and by what power he did all those things 'which we have heard of." To which Thaddeus answered: "Now I forbear, though I am sent 'to preach the word; but to-morrow gather together all the citizens, and then in their hearing I 'will preach the word, and sow in them the word of life, and will inform them of the coming of 'Christ, how it was, and concerning his mission, and for what cause he was sent by the Father, and 'concerning the power of his works, and the mysteries which he spoke in the world, and by what

[a] Ο τοπαρχης. [b] Ὁπερ ἰδων Αβγαρος προσεκυνησε τῳ Θαδδαιῳ. p. 33. D.

'power he did these things, and concerning his new doctrine, and about the meanness and despicableness of his outward appearance, and how he humbled himself, and died, and [a] lessened his deity; how many things he suffered from the Jews, and how he was crucified, and descended into hell, and rent asunder the inclosure never before separated, and arose, and raised up the dead who had been buried many ages; and how he descended alone, but ascended to his Father with a great multitude; and how he is set down on the right hand of the Father with glory in the heavens; and how he will come again with glory and power to judge the living and the dead." Abgarus therefore issued out orders that all the citizens should come together early the next morning to hear the preaching of Thaddeus. And after that he commanded that gold and silver should be given to him; but he did not receive it, saying: "When we have left our own things, how should we receive those things which belong to others?" This was done in the four hundred and thirtieth year. These things translated from the Syriac language, word for word, we have placed here, as we think, not improperly.'

Thus I have now translated this whole history from Eusebius at large, thinking that to be the shortest way to a good conclusion, and that all my readers may be the better able to judge of the remarks that shall be made.

Various are the opinions of learned men concerning this history, some receiving it as true, or at least [b] being favourable to it; others rejecting it [c] as false and fabulous. I shall put down here the following observations.

1. In the first place, then, I think, we are not to make any doubt of the truth of what Eusebius says, that all this was recorded in the archives of the city Edessa in the Syriac language, and was thence translated into Greek. Eusebius has been supposed by some to say that himself translated it from the Syriac: but that is not clear; nor is it certain that he understood Syriac; much less have we any reason to say that he was at Edessa, and took this account from the archives himself.

2. This history is not mentioned by any before [d] Eusebius: not by Justin Martyr, nor Tatian, nor Clement of Alexandria, nor Origen, nor by any other; nor does Eusebius give any hint of that kind; he had it from Edessa; it was unheard of among the Greeks till his time; but, having received it, he thought it might be not improperly transcribed into his Ecclesiastical History.

3. It is not much taken notice of by succeeding writers. It is not mentioned, I think, by Athanasius, nor Gregory Nyssen, or Nazianzen, nor Epiphanius, nor Chrysostom; Jerom has once mentioned it, and will be cited by and by: but he has not inserted, in his catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, either Jesus, or Abgarus; neither of whom would have been omitted if he had any respect for the epistles here produced by Eusebius. This affair is indeed mentioned, or referred to, by Ephrem the Syrian, in his Testament: but that is not a work of so much authority as has been supposed by some: and it is interpolated in several places, both in the Greek and Syriac copies of it; as was observed [e] formerly.

4. This whole affair was unknown to Christ's apostles, and to the believers, their contemporaries, both Jews and Gentiles, as is manifest from the early disputes about the method of receiving Gentile converts into the church. If Jesus Christ had himself written a letter to a heathen prince, and had promised to send to him one of his disciples, and if that disciple had accordingly gone to Edessa, and there received the king and his subjects into communion with the church without circumcision, there could have been no room for any doubt or dispute about the method of receiving Gentile converts to Christianity. Or if any dispute had arisen, would not this history of the visit of Thaddeus have been alleged? which would have been sufficient to put all to silence. Nor is there any room to say that this visit of Thaddeus at Edessa was after

[a] Και εσμικρυνεν αυτε την θεοτητα. p. 35. A.

[b] Cav. H. L. Grabe Spic. Assem. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 554. Abp. Wake's introduction to his Translation of the Apostolical Fathers. ch. ix. Tillem. Mem. Ecc. St. Thomas. T. i. p. 360. Addison of the Christian religion, section i. num. viii. p. 280.

[c] J. Basnage. Hist. de l'Eglise. l. 21. ch. ii. p. 1312. Hist. des Juifs. Vol. i. p. 200. S. Basnag. Ann. 29. n. xxxviii—xlii. Fr. Spanh. H. E. T. i. p. 578. et 794. Pagi ann. 244. n. vii. Cleric. H. E. p. 332. et Bib. ch. T. xvi. p. 99. Fabr. Cod. Apocr. N. T. T. i p. 319. &c. Philip. Jacob. Sklerandr. H. Antiq. Ec. Chr. cap. vii. not. 65. J. Jones upon the canon of the N. T. Vol. 2. p. 1. &c. Du Pin. Diss. Prelim. Tom. ii. Vid. et Vales. Annot. in Euseb. Colonia La Religion Chrèt. authorisée par les Payens. T. 2. p. 339, &c.

[d] Tous les écrivains ecclesiastiques, qui ont été depuis J. C. jusqu'au temps d'Eusèbe, ne nous parlent ni près ni loin de cette Histoire, ni de ces Epîtres. Et qui croira, qu'ils n'en eussent rien dit, si elle leur eut été connue? &c. Sueur. Histoire de l'Eglise, et de l'Empire. A. J. C. 31. T. i. p. 103. &c.

[e] See Vol. ii. p. 480, 481.

St. Peter's going to the house of Cornelius, or after the council of Jerusalem: for it is dated in the three hundred and fortieth year, that is, of the æra of the Seleucidæ, or of the Edessens: which is computed to be the fifteenth or sixteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, and the year of Christ 29; when, according to many ancient Christians, our Lord died, and rose again, and ascended to heaven. Indeed I think it is impossible to reconcile this account with the history in the Acts of the apostles.

5. If Jesus Christ had written a letter to king Abgarus, it would have been a part of sacred scripture, and would have been placed at the head of all the books of the New Testament: but it was never so respected by any ancient Christian writers. It does not appear in any catalogues of canonical books which we have in ancient authors, or in councils. In the decree of the council of Rome, in the time of pope Gelasius, in the year 496, the epistle of Christ to Abgarus is expressly called [a] apocryphal. Nor does Eusebius himself upon any occasion reckon it up among canonical scriptures, received by those before him. The titles of the chapters of his Ecclesiastical History are allowed to be his own. The title of the chapter which has been just transcribed from him is this: A History concerning the Prince of the Edessens. It was a story which he had received; and he afterwards tells us particularly where he had it. And in the first chapter of the second book of the same work, having mentioned the choice of Matthias in the room of Judas, and the choice of the seven deacons, and the death of St. Stephen from the Acts, he recites again briefly the history before told concerning Abgarus, and says: 'This [b] we 'have learned from the history of the ancients. Now we return to the sacred scripture;' where he proceeds to relate from the Acts what followed after the martyrdom of St. Stephen. In short, though Eusebius would not pass over this affair without notice, he seems not to have placed any great weight upon it: and succeeding writers have better understood his meaning than some of late times, who have shewn so much regard to this relation.

6. It was the opinion of many of the most learned and ancient Christians, that our Lord wrote nothing: therefore this epistle was unknown to them, or they did not suppose it to be genuine. To this purpose speak [c] Origen, [d] Jerom, and [e] Augustine.

7. There are several things in this epistle to Abgarus which are liable to exception.

(1.) At the beginning of the epistle our Lord is made to say: 'Abgarus, thou art happy, 'forasmuch as thou hast believed in me though thou hast not seen me. For it is written con- 'cerning me, that they who have seen me, should not believe in me, that they who have not seen 'me might believe in me and live.' Says Du Pin, and to the like purpose say others: 'Where [f] 'are those words written? Does not one see that he who made this letter alludes to the words 'of Jesus Christ to St. Thomas: "Blessed are they who have not seen, and yet have believed?" 'John xx. 29. Words which were not spoken by Jesus Christ until after his resurrection, and 'which were not written until long afterwards: which manifestly shews the forgery of this 'epistle.'

(2.) Our Lord here seems to speak more clearly of his resurrection, or being taken up to heaven, than he does to the disciples in the gospels.

(3.) Christ here defers to cure Abgarus of his distemper. He tells him that 'some time 'hereafter he would send one of his disciples to him, who should heal him.' Which is altogether unworthy of the Lord Jesus, and different from his usual and well-known conduct, who never refused to grant the requests of those who sought to him, and expressed faith in his power. Instead of what is here said to Abgarus, after commending his faith, our Lord would have added and said: 'Henceforth thou art healed of thy distemper:' or, 'be it unto thee according to thy 'faith:' or, 'as thou hast believed, so be it done unto thee.'

This we can conclude from similar cases, recorded by authentic witnesses: Matt. viii. 13; xv. 28; Mark vii. 29.

8. There are several other things in this history which are very liable to exception.

(1.) It is said that, after our Lord's resurrection and ascension, Thomas sent to Edessa Thaddeus, one of Christ's seventy disciples. But Thaddeus was an apostle, as we learn from Matt. x. 3, and Mark iii. 18. It is likewise here said that 'Judas, called also Thomas, sent

[a] Epistola Jesu ad Abgarum Regem apocrypha.

[b] Και ταυτα μεν ὡς εξ αρχαιων ἱστοριας εἰρηται. Μετιωμεν δ' αυθις επι την θειαν γραφην. L. 2, c. 1, p. 39. B.

[c] Contr. Cels. l. i. sect. 45, p. 34.

[d] Hieron. in Ezech. c. xliv. T. iii. p. 1034.

[e] De Consens. Evang. l. i. c. 7, et Retract. l. 2, c. 16.

[f] Diss. Prelim. liv. 2, ch. vi. sect. 1.

'Thaddeus.' Upon which Valesius [a] observes: 'Thomas, who was one of the twelve, was also 'called Didymus, as we learn from St. John: but that he was also called Judas, is no where 'said but in this place: for which cause this story is justly suspected.' Jerom, speaking of this matter, [b] says, 'Ecclesiastical history informs us that the apostle Thaddeus was sent to Edessa 'to Abgarus king of Osrohene, who by the evangelist Luke is called Judas brother of James, 'Luke vi. 16; and Acts i. 13; and elsewhere is called Lebbeus; Matt. x. 3. So that he had 'three names.'

(2.) When Thaddeus comes to Edessa, he does not go immediately to the king, to whom he was sent, as might be reasonably expected: but he goes to the house of Tobias, where he stays some while, and works many miracles; which being noised abroad, the king hears of him, and sends for him. All this is very absurd. If Thaddeus, a disciple of Jesus, had been sent to the king of Edessa, he ought and would have gone to him directly, or would have made application to one of the courtiers to introduce him to the prince. This therefore cannot be true history, but must be the invention of some ignorant though conceited person.

(3.) 'It looks not a little fabulous,' says Mr. Jones, 'that upon Thaddeus's appearing before 'the king he should see somewhat extraordinary in his countenance, which none of the company 'else could perceive. Eusebius calls it ὁραμα μεγα, a great vision: Valesius renders it *divinum* '*nescio quid*, some divine appearance.'

(4.) 'The account in the history, says the same laborious author, 'that Abgarus designed 'to make war upon the Jews for crucifying Christ, seems very unlikely: because it is plain he 'was prince only of a small city, and that at a vast distance from Judea: and therefore could 'never be so extravagant as to imagine himself able to destroy so powerful a nation as the Jews 'then were.'

(5.) Abgarus is said to have had a grievous and incurable distemper, for which he desired relief of Jesus. This is said over and over. But what the distemper was is not said. Learned moderns, [c] who are not wanting in invention for supplying the defects of ancient history, say, some of them, that it was the gout, others the leprosy. However, presently after the cure of the prince, we are told of one Abdus, son of Abdus, whom Thaddeus cured of the gout.

(6.) We read not of any other city or country, in the first three centuries, where the people were all at once converted to the Christian faith. If the people of Edessa had been all Christians from the days of the apostles, it would have been known before the time of Eusebius. And I may add, that if this story, told by our ecclesiastical historian, had been esteemed credible, it would have been much more taken notice of by succeeding writers than it [d] is.

(7). I forbear to remark, as I might upon that expression of Thaddeus in his discourse with Abgarus: 'Jesus Christ, our Lord and God, fulfilled the will of the Father:' or upon what is here said of Christ's descent into hell.

9. The observations which have been already made are sufficient to shew that the letter of Abgarus to Jesus Christ, and our Lord's rescript, cannot be reckoned genuine. The whole history is the fiction of some Christian at Edessa in the time of Eusebius, or not long before. The people of Edessa were then, generally, Christians, and they valued themselves upon it. And they were willing to do themselves the honour of a very early conversion to the Christian faith. By some one or more of them, united together, this history was formed, and was so far received by Eusebius as to be thought by him not improper to be inserted in his Ecclesiastical History. Nor could I omit to take some notice of it, as great regard has been shewn to it by some. But all my readers may perceive that I bring not in this thing as a testimony of the first antiquity: though it may afford good proof of the Christianity of the people of Edessa, at the beginning of the fourth century, when Eusebius flourished, or before.

[a] Thomas quidem, qui fuit unus ex duodecim, dicebatur Didymus, teste Joanne Evangelistâ. Sed eumdem Judam esse cognominatum, alibi, quod sciam, non reperitur. Itaque et hoc nomine narratio ista merito in suspicionem venit. Vales. in loc. p. 21.

[b] Thaddæum Apostolum, Ecclesiastica tradit historia missum Edessam ad Abgarum regem Osroënæ, qui ab Evangelistâ Lucâ Judas Jacobi dicitur, et alibi appellatur Lebbæus, quod interpretatur corculus. Credendumque est eum fuisse trinominem. Hieron. in Matt. x. 3. Tom. 4. P. i. p. 35.

[c] Cet Abgare est qualifié tantôt Toparque, ou Prince, et tantôt Roy. Procope en dit bien des choses, qui sont agréables, mais qui sentent fort la fable.

Ce prince étoit travaillé d'une maladie fâcheuse et incurable, (ce que Procope entend de la goutte, et les nouveaux Grecs de la lèpre), &c. Tillem. as before. M. E. T. i. p. 361.

[d] The conversion of the whole city is implied in what is above transcribed; and so Eusebius understood it; for he says, in the first chapter of the second book, p. 39. A. Εισεπι τε νυν εξ εκεινε ἡ πασα των Εδεσσηνων πολις τῃ τε Χριστε προσαγακειται προσηγορια.

CHAP. II.

OF THE KNOWLEDGE WHICH THE EMPEROR TIBERIUS HAD OF OUR SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST.

I. *The Acts of Pontius Pilate, and his letter to Tiberius.* II. *The story of Thamus, in Plutarch, concerning the death of Pan, considered.*

I. JUSTIN MARTYR, in his first Apology, which was presented to the emperor Antoninus the Pious, and the senate of Rome, about the year 140, having mentioned our Saviour's crucifixion, and some of the circumstances of it, adds: 'And [a] that these things were so done you may 'know from the Acts made in the time of Pontius Pilate.'

Afterwards, in the same Apology, having mentioned some of our Lord's miracles, such as healing diseases and raising the dead, he adds: 'And [b] that these things were done by him you 'may know from the Acts made in the time of Pontius Pilate.'

Tertullian, in his apology about the year 200, having spoken of our Saviour's crucifixion and resurrection, and his appearances to the disciples, and his ascension to heaven in the sight of the same disciples, who were ordained by him to preach the gospel over the world, goes on: 'Of [c] all these things, relating to Christ, Pilate, in his conscience a Christian, sent an account 'to Tiberius, then emperor.'

In another chapter or section of the same Apology, nearer the beginning, he speaks to this purpose: 'There [d] was an ancient decree, that no one should be received for a deity unless he 'was first approved of by the senate. Tiberius, in whose time the Christian religion had it's 'rise, having received from Palestine in Syria an account of such things as manifested our 'Saviour's divinity, proposed to the senate, and giving his own vote as first in his favour, that 'he should be placed among the gods. The senate refused, because he had himself declined 'that honour. Nevertheless the emperor persisted in his own opinion, and ordered that if any 'accused the Christians they should be punished.' And then adds: 'Search,' says he, 'your 'own writings, and you will there find that Nero was the first emperor who exercised any acts 'of severity toward the Christians, because they were then very numerous at Rome.'

It is fit we should now observe what notice Eusebius takes of these things in his Ecclesiastical History. It is to this effect:

'When [e] the wonderful resurrection of our Saviour, and his ascension to heaven, were in 'the mouths of all men, it being an ancient custom for the governors of provinces to write to 'the emperor, and give him an account of new and remarkable occurrences, that he might not 'be ignorant of any thing; our Saviour's resurrection being much talked of throughout all 'Palestine, Pilate informed the emperor of it, as likewise of his miracles, which he had heard 'of; and that, being raised up after he had been put to death, he was already believed by 'many to be a god. And it is said that Tiberius referred the matter to the senate; but that 'they refused their consent, under a pretence that it had not been first approved of by them; 'there being an ancient law that no one should be deified among the Romans without an order

[a] Και ταυτα ὁτι γεγονε, δυνασθε μαθειν εκ των επι Ποντιυ Πιλατυ γενομενων ακτων. J. M. Ap. i. p. 70. C. Paris. 1636. num. 36. p. 65. Bened.

[b] Ὁτι δε και ταυτα εποιησεν, εκ των επι Ποντιυ Πιλατυ γενομενων ακτων μαθειν δυνασθε. Ib. p. 84. C. Paris. num. 48. p. 72. Bened.

[c] Delhinc, ordinatis eis ad officium prædicandi per orbem, circumfusâ nube in cœlum est creptus, multo melius quam apud vos asseverare de Romulis Proculi solent. Ea omnia super Christo Pilatus, et ipse jam pro suâ conscientiâ Christianus, Cæsari tunc Tiberio nuntiavit. Tertull. Ap. c. 21. p. 22. C.

[d] Ut de origine aliquid retractemus ejusmodi legum. Vetus erat decretum, ne qui deus ab Imperatore consecraretur, nisi a Senatu probatus. Scit M. Æmilius de deo suo Alburno. Facit et hoc ad causam nostram, quod apud vos de humano arbitratu divinitas pensitatur. Nisi homini deus placuerit, deus non erit. Homo jam deo propitius esse debebit. Tiberius ergo, cujus tempore nomen Christianum in seculum intravit, annuntiata sibi ex Syriâ Palæstinâ, quæ illic veritatem istius divinitatis revelârant, detulit ad Senatum cum prærogativâ suffragii sui. Senatus, quia non ipse probaverat, respuit. Cæsar in sententiâ mansit, comminatus periculum accusatoribus Christianorum. Consulite commentarios vestros. Illic reperietis, primum Neronem in hanc sectam, tum maxime Romæ orientem, Cæsariano gladio ferocisse. Ib. cap. 5. p. 6.

[e] Euseb. H. E. l. 2. cap. 2.

'of the senate; but indeed because the saving and divine doctrine of the gospel needed not to 'be confirmed by human judgment and authority. However, Tiberius persisted in his former 'sentiment, and allowed not any thing to be done that was prejudicial to the doctrine of Christ. 'These things are related by Tertullian, a man famous on other accounts, and particularly for 'his skill in the Roman laws. I say he speaks thus in his Apology for the Christians, written 'by him in the Roman tongue, but since translated into Greek. His words are these: "There 'was an ancient decree, that no one should be consecrated as a deity by the emperor, unless he 'was first approved of by the senate. Marcus Æmilius knows this by his god Alburnus. This 'is to our purpose, forasmuch as among you divinity is bestowed by human judgment. And if 'God does not please man, he shall not be God. And, according to this way of thinking, man 'must be propitious to God. Tiberius therefore, in whose time the Christian name was first 'known in the world, having received an account of this doctrine out of Palestine, where it 'began, communicated that account to the senate: giving [a] in at the same time his own suffrage 'in favour of it. But the senate rejected it, because it had not been approved by themselves. 'Nevertheless the emperor persisted in his judgment, and threatened death to all who should 'accuse the Christians." Which,' adds Eusebius, 'could be no other than by the disposal of Divine 'Providence that the doctrine of the gospel, which was then in its beginning, might be preached 'all over the world without molestation.' So Eusebius. I forbear as yet to take particular notice of what is said of this matter by later writers.

Divers exceptions have been made by learned moderns to the original testimonies of Justin Martyr and Tertullian. 'Is there any likelihood,' say they, 'that Pilate should write such 'things to Tiberius concerning a man whom he had condemned to death? And, if he had 'written them, is it probable that Tiberius should propose to the senate to have a man put among 'the number of the gods upon the bare relation of a governor of a province? And if he had 'proposed it, who can make a doubt that the senate would not have immediately complied? So 'that, though we dare not say that this narration is absolutely false, yet it must be reckoned 'at the least doubtful.' So says [b] Du Pin.

These and other difficulties shall be considered.

Now therefore I shall mention some observations.

In the first place, I observe that Justin Martyr and Tertullian are early writers of good repute. That is an observation of bishop [c] Pearson. These testimonies are taken from the most public writings, Apologies for the Christian religion, presented, or at least proposed and recommended, to the emperor and senate of Rome, or to magistrates of high authority and great distinction in the Roman empire.

Secondly, It certainly was the custom of the governors of provinces to compose Acts, or memoirs, or commentaries, of the remarkable occurrences in the places where they presided.

In the time of the first Roman emperors there were Acts of the Senate, Acts of the City or People of Rome, Acts of other cities, and Acts of governors of provinces. Of all these we can discern clear proofs and frequent mention in ancient writers of the best credit.

Julius Cæsar ordered that [d] Acts of the Senate, as well as daily Acts of the People, should be published.

Augustus [e] forbade publishing the Acts of the Senate.

There [f] was an officer, himself a senator, whose province it was to compose those Acts.

The Acts of the Senate must have been large and voluminous, containing [g] not only the

[a] Δηλος ων εκεινοις, ὡς τῳ δογματι αρεσκεται. Ἡ δε συγκλητος, επει ουκ αὐτη δεδοκιμακει, απωσατο. p. 41. C.

[b] Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. i. p. 24 a.

[c] Nihil igitur est, quod in hac historiâ refelli possit. Et, cum Tertullianus adeo gravis, adeo antiquus auctor, adeo rerum Romanarum peritus fuerit, tutius multo est istam Tiberii ad Senatum de Divinitate Christi relationem amplecti. Pearson. Lection. in Acta Apost. iv. sect. xv. p. 65.

[d] Inito honore, primus omnium instituit, ut tam Senatûs quam populi diurna acta conficerentur. Sueton. Jul. Cæs. c. 20.

[e] Auctor et aliarum rerum fuit; in queis ne acta Senatûs publicarentur. Sueton. Aug. c. 36.

[f] Fuit in Senatu Junius Rusticus, componendis patrum actis delectus a Cæsare; eoque meditationes ejus introspicere creditur. Tacit. Ann. l. 5. cap. 4.

[g] Nescio an venerint in manus vestras hæc vetera, quæ et antiquorum bibliothecis adhuc manent, et nunc maxime a Minuciano contrahuntur; ac jam undecim, ut opinor, Actorum libris, et tribus Epistolarum, composita et edita sunt. Ex his intelligi potest, Cn. Pompeium et Marcum Crassum, non viribus modo et armis, sed ingenio quoque et oratione valuisse, &c. Tacit. seu quis alius, in Dialog. de Orator. c. 37.

Acta Senatûs vocabant commentarios, Græce ὑπομνηματα, quibus breviter inscriptum quidquid apud Patres diceretur, agereturque... Venio ad populi, &c. Lipsii Excurs. ad Taciti libr. v. annal. cap. 4.

question proposed, or referred to the senate by the consul, or the emperor, but also the debates and speeches of the senators.

The [a] Acts of the People, or City, were journals or registers of remarkable births, marriages, divorces, deaths, proceeding in courts of judicature, and other interesting affairs, and some other things below the dignity of history.

To [b] these Acts of each kind Roman authors frequently had recourse for information.

There were such acts or registers at other places beside Rome, particularly at Antium. From them [c] Suetonius learned the day and place of the birth of Caligula, about which there were other uncertain reports. And he speaks of those Acts [d] as public authorities, and therefore more decisive and satisfactory than some other accounts.

There were also Acts of the governors of provinces, registering all remarkable transactions and occurrences. Justin Martyr and Tertullian could not be mistaken about this: and the learned bishop of Cæsarea admits the truth of what they say. And in the time of the persecuting emperor Maximin, in the year of Christ 307, or thereabout, the heathen people forged Acts of Pilate, derogatory to the honour of our Saviour, which were very diligently spread abroad, to unsettle Christians, or discourage them in the profession of their faith. Of this we are informed by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History.[e]

Thirdly, It was customary for governors of provinces to send to the emperor an account of remarkable transactions in the places where they [f] presided.

So thought the learned Eusebius, as we have seen. And Pliny's letters to Trajan, still extant, are a proof of it. Philo [g] speaks of the Acts or Memoirs of Alexandria, sent to Caligula, which that emperor read with more eagerness and satisfaction than any thing else.

The [h] Acts of Pontius Pilate, and his Letter to Tiberius, which we now have, are not genuine, but manifestly spurious. Nevertheless, it must be allowed by all that [i] Pontius Pilate composed some memoirs concerning our Saviour, and sent them to the emperor, whether Justin Martyr and Tertullian have given a just account of them or not.

Fourthly, It [k] is said to be very unlikely that Pilate should write such things to Tiberius, concerning a man whom he had condemned to death.

To which it is easy to reply that, if he wrote to Tiberius at all, it is very likely that he should speak favourably and honourably of our Saviour. That [l] Pilate past sentence of condemnation upon our Lord very unwillingly, and not without a sort of compulsion, appears from the history of the evangelists: Matt. xxvii. 11—26, 62—65; Mark xv. 1—15; Luke xxiii. 1—25; John xviii. 28—40, xix. 1—13. Pilate was hard pressed. The rulers of the Jews vehemently accused our Lord to him. They said they had found him perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, saying that himself is Christ, a king, and the like: and all without effect for a great while. Pilate still sought for expedients to set Jesus at liberty. As his reluctance had been very manifest and public in a court of judicature, in the chief city of the nation, at the time of one of their great festivals, it is highly probable that when he sent to Rome he should make some apology for this conduct. Nor could any thing be more proper than to allege some of our Saviour's miracles which he had heard of, and to give an account of the zeal of those who professed faith in him after his ignominious crucifixion, and openly asserted that he was risen from the dead and ascended up to heaven.

[a] Nerone secundum et Lucio Pisone Consulibus, pauca memoriâ digna evenere; nisi cui libeat, laudandis fundamentis et trabibus quis molem amphitheatri apud Campum Martis Cæsar extruxerat, volumina implere; cum ex dignitate populi Romani repertum sit, res illustres annalibus, talia diurnis urbis actis mandare. Tacit. Ann. l. 13. cap. 31.

[b] Matrem Antoniam non apud auctores rerum, non diurnâ Actorum scripturâ, reperio ullo insigni officio functum. Tacit. Ann. l. 3. c. 3.

[c] Ubi natus sit, incertum diversitas tradentium facit... Ego in Actis Antii invenio editum. Sueton. Cal. cap. 8. Vid. et Tiber. cap. 5.

[d] Sequenda igitur est, quæ sola restat, publici instrumenti auctoritas. Id. Calig. cap. 8.

[e] Vid. H. E. l. 1. c. ix. et l. 9. c. v.

[f] Omnino igitur credendum est aliqua fuisse Pilati acta, ipsius auctoritate confecta, et ad Tiberium transmissa. Pearson. Lect. iii. in Act. Ap. sect. iv.

[g] ....τη μεν ταις ὑπομνηματικαις εφημερισιν, ἁς απο της Αλεξανδρειας διεπεμποντο τινες, προσεχων· ἡδιστον γαρ ην αναγνωσμα τοτο αυτῳ, ὡς τα αλλων συγγραφεων και ποιητων αηδεστατα συγκρισει της εν τοτοις χαριτος νομιζεσθαι. κ. λ. Philo de Legat. ad Caium. p. 1016. A.

[h] Vid. Fabric. Cod. Apocr. N. T. p. 298. et p. 972, &c.

[i] Imo non potuit Pilatus officii sui rationem tantopere negligere, ut tantæ rei in suâ provinciâ gestæ notitiam Imperatori non impertiretur. Pearson. ubi supr. Lect. iv. n. xiv. Vid. et Tob. Echard. c. iv. n. xi. p. 126.

[k] Negare interim minime velim, Pilatum aliquid super tali ac tanto negotio scripsisse; at incertum esse quid ac quale id fuerit, atque ideo prudentiores, Eusebium, Hieronymum, similesque, talia cautius prodidisse. Ant. Vandale Diss. de Actis Pilati. p. 615. Amst. 1700.

[l] ....cujus et Pilatus, qui nolens compulsus est contra Dominum ferre sententiam. Hieron. adv. Jovin. l. 2. p. 218. Tom. 4.

If Pilate sent any letter to Tiberius, (as very probably he did,) he would not dare to write falsehood, nor to conceal the most material circumstances of the case about which he was writing. At the trial of Jesus he publicly declared his innocence: and told the Jews several times that "he found in him no fault at all." And when he was going to pronounce the sentence of condemnation, "he took water and washed his hands before the multitude, saying: I am innocent of the blood of this just person: see ye to it." Matt. xxvii. 24. When he wrote to Tiberius, he would be very naturally led to say something of our Lord's wonderful resurrection and ascension, which were much talked of and believed by many, with which he could not possibly be unacquainted. The mention of these things would be the best vindication of his inward persuasion, and repeated declarations of our Lord's innocence upon the trial, notwithstanding the loud clamours and united accusations of the Jewish people and their rulers.

Pilate, as has been said several times, passed condemnation upon Jesus very unwillingly, and not till after a long trial. When he passed sentence upon him, he gave orders that no title or inscription should be put upon the cross; "Jesus of Nazareth, the king of the Jews." When he had expired, application was made to Pilate, by Joseph of Arimathea, an honourable counsellor, that the body might be taken down and buried. To which he consented, but not till after assurance received from the centurion that he had been some time dead. The next day some of the priests and Pharisees came to him, saying: "Sir, we remember that that deceiver said, while he was yet alive, After three days I will rise again. Command therefore that the sepulchre be made sure, until the third day, lest his disciples come by night and steal him away, and say unto the people, He is risen from the dead. So the last error shall be worse than the first. Pilate said unto them: Ye have a watch; go your way, make it as sure as you can. So they went, and made the sepulchre sure, sealing the stone, and setting a watch." Whilst they were at the sepulchre there was a "great earthquake," the stone was rolled away by an angel, "whose countenance was like lightning, and for fear of whom the guards did shake, and became dead men. Some of the guards went down into the city, and shewed unto the chief-priests all the things that were done." Nor can there be any doubt that those things came also to [a] the governor's ears. Pilate therefore was furnished with many materials of great importance relating to this case, very proper to be sent to the emperor. And very probably he did send them; for he could do no otherwise.

Fifthly, It is said that [b] if Pilate had sent such things to Tiberius, it is nevertheless very unlikely that Tiberius should propose to the senate that our Saviour might be put among the number of the gods. For that emperor had little or no regard to things of religion.

But it is easy to answer that such observations are of little or no importance. Few princes are able to preserve uniformity in the whole of their conduct. And it is certain that Tiberius varied from himself upon many occasions, and in different parts of his life.

Sixthly, It is farther argued that, [c] if Tiberius had proposed the thing to the senate, there can be no doubt that the senate would have immediately complied.

But neither is this difficulty insuperable: for we are assured by Suetonius that [d] Tiberius let several things be decided by the senate, contrary to his own opinion, without shewing much uneasiness.

And when he had determined to remove and destroy Sejanus, who had long been his favourite, he was far from being certain of the senate's compliance. He [e] employed the utmost art and skill, and yet was for some while anxious and doubtful of the issue.

Seventhly, The right interpretation of the words of Tertullian will be of use to remove difficulties, and to confirm the truth of the account.

I have translated them in this manner: 'When Tiberius referred the matter to the senate,

[a] Illud certe dubitare non possumus, Pilatum vocâsse ad se hos milites, ex iisque rem vere gestam cognovisse. Heumann. Testimonium militum de Resurrectione Christi. p. 100. ap. Primitias Gotting.

[b] Mihi certe, ... haud facile persuaserim, Tiberium Cæsarem, cujus mores ab omni religionum omnium cultu perquam fuisse alienissimos, comperior, de Christo Dom. et Christianâ religione, tantopere curâsse, ut de illâ retulerit ad Senatum.... Tota hominis vita nil aliud prædicat, quam quod dico. Et Suetonio dictum est expresse et signanter. 'Circa deos ac 'religiones negligentior, quippe addictus mathematicæ, per-'suasionisque plenus cuncta fato agi.' Tan. Fab. l. 2. Ep. 12. p. 35.

[c] Hem! Respuit Senatus, quod Tiberio placuit. T. Faber. ibid.

[d] Quædam adversus sententiam suam decerni ne questus quidem est... Cum senatûsconsultum per discessionem forte fieret, transeuntem eum in alteram partem, in quâ pauciores erant, secutus est nemo.... &c. Sueton. Tiber. cap. 31.

[e] Sejanum res novas molientem.... vix tandem, et astu magis ac dolo, quam principali auctoritate, subvertit. Sueton. ib. cap. 65.

'that our Lord should be placed in the number of the gods, the senate refused, because he had 'himself' declined that honour.' The words are understood to the like purpose by [a] Pearson.

There is another sense, which is that of the Greek translation of Tertullian's Apology, made use of by Eusebius. 'The senate refused because it had not itself approved of it.' But that sense, if it be any sense at all, is absurd, and therefore unlikely. If none beside the senate had a right to consecrate any for a deity, yet certainly the consul or the emperor might refer such a thing to that venerable body. According to Tertullian's account the whole is in a fair way of legal proceeding. By virtue of an ancient law, no one might be reckoned a god, (at least by the Romans,) without the approbation of the senate. Tiberius having been informed of some extraordinary things concerning Jesus, referred it to the senate, that he also might be placed in the number of the deities. Was it possible after this that the senate should refuse it, under a pretence that Tiberius had bestowed divinity upon Jesus without their consent, when he had done no such thing, and at that very time was referring it to their judgment in the old legal way?

Le Clerc objects that [b] the true reading in Tertullian is not *quia in se non probaverat*, but *quia non ipse probaverat*. Be it so. The meaning is the same. *Ipse* must intend the emperor, not the senate. The other sense is absurd, and next to a contradiction, and therefore not likely to be right, and at the same time it is a rude and needless affront. The other interpretation represents a handsome compliment, and a compliment not without foundation. For it is very true that [c] Tiberius had himself declined receiving divine honours.

Eighthly, It has been objected that Tiberius was unfriendly to the Jewish people, and therefore it must be reckoned very improbable that he should be willing to put a man, who was a Jew, among the number of the gods.

But there is little or no ground for this objection. It was obviated long ago in the first part of this work, where, beside other things, it is said: 'In the [d] reign of Tiberius the Jewish people 'were generally well used. They were indeed banished out of Italy by an edict; but it was for 'a misdemeanor committed by some villains of that nation. The great hardship was, that many 'innocent persons suffered beside the guilty. Upon other occasions Tiberius shewed the Jews 'all the favour they could desire, especially after the death of Sejanus; and is much applauded 'for it by [e] Philo.' And what there follows.

Ninthly, Still it is urged, 'Nothing [f] can be more absurd than to suppose that Tiberius 'would receive for a deity a man who taught the worship of one God only, and whose religion 'decried all other deities as mere fiction.'

Upon which I must say, nothing can be more absurd than this objection. Tertullian does not suppose Tiberius to be well acquainted with the Christian religion, or our Saviour's doctrine. All he says is, that, having heard of some extraordinary things concerning him, he had a desire to put him among the Roman deities.

Tenthly, Tertullian proceeds: 'Nevertheless the emperor persisted in his opinion, and ordered that if any accused the Christians they should be punished.'

This was very natural. Though the senate would not put Jesus in the number of the deities, the emperor was still of opinion that it might have been done. And he determined to provide by an edict for the safety of those who professed a high regard for Jesus Christ. Which edict, as Eusebius reasonably supposes, was of use for securing the free preaching of the gospel in many places. But the authority of that edict would cease at the emperor's demise, if not sooner. Undoubtedly it could not be in force, or have any great effect, for a long season.

Nor need we to consider the ordering such an edict as this in favour of the Christians as an

[a] 'Senatus,' inquit Tertullianus, 'quia in se non probaverat.' Ubi optima facti ratio redditur. Senatus antea Tiberio divinitatem obtulerat, quam ille sibi oblatam respuit. Templa, flamines, sacerdotes decerni sibi prohibuit.... ut refert Suetonius. Quia igitur divinitatem in se non probaverat Tiberius, sed oblatam rejecerat, tutissimum putabat Senatus alium neminem in deos suos referre, ne eum Tiberio majorem efficere viderentur. Pearson. Lect. 4. num. xiv.

[b] Cleric. H. E. an. 29. n. 97.

[c] Templa, flamines, sacerdotes, decerni sibi prohibuit; etiam statuas, atque imagines, nisi permittente se, poni: permisitque eâ solâ conditione, ne inter simulacra deorum, sed inter ornamenta ædium, ponerentur. Sueton. Tiber. cap. 26.

[d] See Vol. i. p. 98.

[e] De Legat. ad Caium. p. 1015. C. D.

[f] Noverat Jesum fuisse hominem Judæum, uniusque Dei cultorem, et qui omnes alios deos, quasi hominum commenta, rejiceret: ac proinde religionem, quâ cum iis conjungeretur, summopere improbaturum, si in cœlo viveret; et tamen eum unâ cum Romanis diis coli voluisset. Quo nihil absurdius fingi poterat. Cleric. H. E. an. 29, n. 96.

incredible thing, if we observe what Philo says, who assures us that 'Tiberius[a] gave orders to all 'the governors of provinces, to protect the Jews in the cities where they lived in the observation 'of their own rights and customs; and that they should bear hard upon none of them, but such 'as were unpeaceable and transgressed the laws of the state.'

Nor is it improbable that the Christians should partake of the like civilities, they being considered as a sect of the Jews. And it is allowed that the Roman emperors did not openly persecute the Christians, till they became so numerous that the heathen people were apprehensive of the total overthrow of their religion.

In the eleventh place. Says a learned and judicious[b] writer, 'It is probable that Pilate, 'who had no enmity toward Christ, and accounted him a man justly executed, and an ex- 'traordinary person, might be moved by the wonderful circumstances attending and following 'his death, to hold him in veneration, and perhaps to think him a hero, and the son of some 'deity. It is possible that he might send a narrative, such as he thought most convenient, of 'these transactions to Tiberius: but it is not at all likely that Tiberius proposed to the senate that 'Christ should be deified, and that the senate rejected it, and that Tiberius continued favourably 'disposed toward Christ, and that he threatened to punish those who should molest and accuse 'the Christians.' 'Observe also,' says the same learned writer, 'that the Jews persecuted the 'apostles, and slew Stephen, and that Saul made havock of the church, entering into every 'house, and haling men and women, committing them to prison, and that Pilate connived at all 'this violence, and was not afraid of the resentment of Tiberius on that account.'

Admitting the truth of all these particulars just mentioned, it does not follow that no orders were given by Tiberius for the protection of the followers of Jesus. For no commands of princes are obeyed by all men every where. They are oftentimes transgressed. Nor was any place more likely than Judea, where the enmity of many against the disciples of Jesus was so great. Nor need it to be supposed that Tiberius was very intent to have this order strictly regarded. For he was upon many occasions very indolent and dilatory; and he was well known to be so. Moreover the death of Stephen was tumultuous, and not an act of the Jewish council. And farther, the influence of Pilate in that country was not now at its full height. We perceive from the history of our Lord's trial before him, as recorded in the gospels, that he stood in fear of the[c] Jews. 'He[d] was apprehensive that, if he did not gratify them in that point, they might 'draw up a long list of mal-administrations for the emperor's view. His condemnation of Jesus 'at the importunity of the Jews, contrary to his own judgment and inclination, declared to 'them more than once, was a point gained: and his government must have been ever after much 'weakened by so mean a condescension. And that Pilate's influence in the province continued 'to decline is manifest, in that the people of it prevailed at last to have him removed in a very 'ignominious manner, by Vitellius president of Syria.'

Pilate was removed from his government before the Passover in the year of Christ 36. After which[e] there was no procurator, or other person with power of life and death, in Judea, before the accession of Herod Agrippa, in the year 41. In that space of time the Jews would take an unusual licence, and gratify their own malicious dispositions, beyond what they could have otherwise done, without control.

Twelfthly, Some have objected that Tertullian is so absurd as to speak of Christians in the time of Tiberius; though it be certain that the followers of Jesus were not known by that denomination till some time afterwards.

But that is a trifling objection. Tertullian intends no more by Christians than followers of Jesus, by whatever name they were known and distinguished: whether that of Nazarenes, or Galileans, or disciples. And it is undoubted that the Christian religion had its rise in the reign of Tiberius; though they, who professed to believe in Jesus, as risen from the dead and ascended to heaven, were not called Christians till some while afterwards. So at the beginning of the paragraph he says, 'There was an ancient law that no god should be consecrated by the emperor, 'unless it was first approved by the senate.' Nevertheless Tertullian was not so ignorant as not to know that there were not any emperors when that ancient decree was passed. His meaning is,

[a] ——αλλ' επι μονες τες αιτιες. De Legat. ad Caium, p. 1015. C.

[b] Dr. Jortin's Remarks upon Ecclesiastical History, Vol. i. p. 2—4.

[c] See particularly John xix. 12.

[d] Vol. i. p. 52. Comp. p. 202.

[e] See Vol. i. as before, p. 52.

that no one should be deified by any man, no not by a consul or emperor, without the approbation of the senate.

Finally, We do not suppose that Tiberius understood the doctrine of our Saviour, or that he was at all inclined to be a Christian. Nor did Tertullian intend to say any such thing, for immediately after the passage first cited from him, he adds: 'But [a] the Cæsars themselves would 'have believed in Jesus Christ, if they had not been necessary for the world, or if Christians 'could have been Cæsars.'

Grotius appears to have rightly understood the importance of these passages of Tertullian: whose note therefore upon Matthew xxiv. 11, I have transcribed below.

Admit then the right interpretation of Tertullian, and it may be allowed that what he says is not incredible nor improbable. The Romans had almost innumerable deities, and yet they frequently added to that number, and adopted new. As deifications were very frequent, Tiberius might indulge a thought of placing Jesus among the established deities, without [c] intending to derogate from the worship or honour of those who were already received. But the senate was not in the humour to gratify him. And the reason assigned is, because the emperor himself had declined that honour: which is so plausible a pretence, and so fine a compliment, that we cannot easily suppose it to be Tertullian's own invention: which therefore gives credibility to the account.

Eusebius, though he acknowledgeth the overruling providence of God in the favourable disposition of Tiberius toward the first followers of Jesus, by which means the Christian religion in its infancy was propagated over the world with less molestation, does also say, at the beginning of the chapter before quoted, 'the senate refused their consent to the emperor's proposal, under a 'pretence that they had not been first asked, there being an ancient law that no one should be 'deified without the approbation of the senate. But indeed,' adds he, 'because the saving and 'divine doctrine of the gospel needed not to be ratified by human judgment and authority.'

Chrysostom's observation is to the like purpose, but with some inaccuracies. It is likely that he was not at all acquainted with Tertullian; and he was no admirer of Eusebius. Perhaps he builds upon general tradition only. 'The [d] Roman senate,' says he, 'had the power of 'nominating and decreeing who should be gods. When therefore all things concerning Christ 'had been published, he, who was the governor of the Jewish nation, sent to them to know if 'they would be pleased to appoint him also to be a god. But they refused, being offended and 'provoked that, before their decree and judgment had been obtained, the power of the crucified 'man had shined out, and had attracted all the world to the worship of him. But, 'by the 'overruling providence of God, this was brought to pass against their will that the divinity of 'Christ might not be established by human appointment, and that he might not be reckoned 'one of the many who were deified by them.' Some of which, as he proceeds to shew, had been of infamous characters.

I shall now transcribe below [f] in his own words what Orosius, in the fifth century, says of this matter, that all my readers may have it at once before them without looking farther for it.

And I refer to Zonaras [g] and [h] Nicephorus. The former only quotes Eusebius, and

[a] Sed et Cæsares credidissent super Christo, si aut Cæsares non essent seculo necessarii, aut si et Christiani potuissent esse Cæsares. Apol. c. 21, p. 22, C.

[b] Cum Paganismo Christianam religionem miscere aggressus est omnium primus Simon Magus, Claudio imperante. Nam et ipse pro deo haberi voluit. Credibile est, pervenisse ad eum famam consilii ejus, quod a Tiberio datum Senatui Romano legimus, ut Christus adderetur deorum numero. Qualem rerum plane insociabilium mixturam postea quoque Adrianus, Severus, Heliogabalus, sed frustra, efficere conati sunt. Grot. ad Matt. xxiv. 11.

[c] Tiberius autem non ita Christum voluit deum recipi, ut suetus Romanorum cultus abrogaretur, sed ut juxta coleretur, uti Julium Cæsarem Augustus, et Augustum ipse Tiberius consecraverat, et coli secundum cæteros deos volebat. &c. Tob. Echard. cap. 4, n. 8, p. 122.

[d] Chrys. hom. 26 in 2 Cor. T. x. p. 624. A.

[e] Τουτο δε ωκονομειτο και ακοντων αυτων, ωστε μη εξ ανθρωπινω ψηφω την θεοτητα ανακηρυχθηναι τε Χριστε, κ. λ.

[f] At postquam passus est Dominus Christus, atque a mortuis resurrexit, et discipulos suos ad prædicandum dimisit, Pilatus, Præses Palestinæ provinciæ, ad Tiberium Imperatorem atque Senatum retulit de passione et resurrectione Christi, consequentibusque virtutibus, quæ per ipsum palam factæ fuerant, vel per discipulos ipsius in nomine ejus fiebant, et de eo quod crescente plurimorum fide Deus crederetur. Tiberius cum suffragio magni favoris retulit ad Senatum, ut Christus Deus haberetur. Senatus indignatione motus, quod non sibi prius secundum morem delatum esset, ut de suscipiendo cultu prius ipse decerneret, consecrationem Christi recusavit, edictoque constituit, exterminandos esse Urbe Christianos; præcipue cum et Sejanus, Præfectus Tiberii, suscipiendæ religioni obstinatissime contradiceret. Tiberius tamen edicto accusatoribus Christianorum mortem comminatus est. Itaque paullatim immutata est illa Tiberii Cæsaris laudatissima modestia, in pœnam contradictoris Senatûs. P. Oros. l. 7, c. 4.

[g] Zonar. Ann. T. 2, p. 176.

[h] Niceph. l. 2, c. 8. Conf. l. i, cap. 16.

transcribes into his Annals the chapter of his Ecclesiastical History above quoted by me. Nor has Nicephorus done much more.

Upon the whole, I think the accounts of those ancient authors, Justin Martyr and Tertullian, deserve some regard. It is upon them that I have made my comments; and my defence is confined to them. And we can perceive from Eusebius, and other later writers, that their accounts were received as true. But some make additions or alterations in Tertullian's original narration, which diminish the credibility of the whole. Orosius not only says that the senate 'refused to comply with the proposal of Tiberius, but also that 'they were so provoked as to 'order, by an edict, that the Christians should be expelled the city:' which is loading the history with two great absurdities. For it is very improbable that the Christians should be so numerous at Rome, in the time of Tiberius, as to occasion any uneasiness to the senate. And it is equally improbable that the senate should behave so rudely to the emperor. Tertullian's account is free from such things, and ought not to be rejected because of additions made by later writers.

The truth of Tertullian's account has been contested by divers learned moderns. I have already taken notice of what is said by Du Pin, and have also considered the objections of some others. I now willingly refer to divers others [a] on the same side. Other learned men [b] have embraced it as true, and have taken a good deal of pains to vindicate it against objections. Pearson, [c] in particular, is very favourable to this history; and in the course of my argument I have quoted him several times. The late Mr. Mosheim [d] also was of opinion that it ought not to be entirely rejected, and has spoken in favour of it in several of his works.

II. There is another thing which may not be omitted here, though it appears to me to be of little or no importance.

It is a story told by Cleombrotus, one of the speakers in Plutarch's dialogue concerning the cessation of oracles: 'He [e] had it from Epitherses, his master in grammar. He said he was 'sailing for Italy in a ship well freighted with merchandise, in which also were many passengers. 'When they were one evening among the islands, called Echinedes, in the Ægean sea, the ship 'was becalmed. Most of the passengers were awake, and some were carousing after supper: at 'the same time there came a voice from the island Paxæ, which called aloud for Thamus. He 'was an Egyptian, and the pilot, and not so much as known by name to many of the passengers. 'He suffered himself to be called twice without making any answer; but at the third call he 'spoke. The voice then with great vehemence said to him: "When you come to the Palodes, 'declare that the great Pan is dead." They were all astonished when they heard this, and 'debated the matter, whether it were fit to perform the order or not. Thamus determined that 'if, when they were arrived at the appointed place, there was wind enough to sail forward, he 'would pass by in silence; but if the vessel was becalmed, he would publish what he had heard. 'When they came over against Palodes, the winds and waves were all calm. Thamus therefore 'placing himself at the stern of the vessel, with his face toward the land, declared as he had 'been told, "that the great Pan was dead." Scarcely had he done speaking, when they heard 'from the shores groans and lamentations, not of one, but as of a great multitude. As there 'were many in the ship who were witnesses of this affair, the fame of it spread in a short time so 'far as Rome, and Thamus was sent for by the emperor Tiberius; and Tiberius gave such credit

[a] Tan. Fabr. l. 2. Ep. xii. Vandale de Orac. p. 455. et Diss. de Actis Pilati. p. 608. &c. Amst. 1700. Cleric. H. E. ann. 29. n. 96. &c. Basnag. ann. 33. n. 192—196. et Exercitat. p. 136. &c. Sig. Havercamp. Annot. ad Tertullian. Apol. cap. v. Jortin's Remarks upon Ecclesiastical History. Vol. i. p. 2—4.

[b] Sueur, Histoire de l'Eglise et de l'Empire. Tom. i. p. 130, 131. Tillem. Mem. Ecc. T. i. S. Pierre art. 19. et notes xvi—xix. Fr. Balduin. Comment. ad Edicta veterum Principum Roman. de Christianis. p. 20—24. 1727. Tob. Eckhard. non Christianorum de Christo Testimonia. cap. iv. J. A. Fabr. Lux Evangelii. cap. xii. p. 220—222. La Religion Chret. autorisée par le témoignage des anciens auteurs Payens. Par D. Colonia. Tom. 2. ch. xi.——Lettre de M. Iselin Docteur et Professeur en Théologie à Basle, sur le projet conçu par Tibère, de mettre N. S. J. C. au nombre des Dieux de Rome. Bib. Germanique T. 32. p. 147, et T. 33. p. 12. &c.

[c] Pearson. Lection. in Act. Ap. iii. et iv.

[d] Negant hodie viri sagaces et eruditi, fidem huic narrationi habendam esse. Ego vero superstitiosi nomen minime formido, si dixero, non prorsus eam mihi rejiciendam videri. Moshem. Institution. H. Christianæ Maj. Sec. i. P. i. c. 4. sect. ix. p. 109. A. D. 1739.

Sunt quidem viri eruditi, quibus hoc alienissimum a vero videtur: sed his alii, doctrinâ non inferiores, rationes opponunt haud facile destruendas. Id. de Reb. Christian. ante Const. M. p. 92.

Erudite, post Theod. Hasæum peculiari libello de Decreto Tiberii, quo Christum referre voluit in numerum Deorum, Ersurti 1715, 4, edito, pro veritate hujus facti militavit ven. Jac. Christoph. Isellus, epistolâ Gallicâ, quæ legitur Bibliothéque Germanique. T. 32. p. 147. T. 33. p. 12. Moshem. Insti. Hist. Ec. p. 30. ed. 1755. Conf. supr. not. [b]

[e] Plut. de Oracul. Defectu. Et vid. Euseb. Pr. Ev. p. 206.

'to the account that he called together several learned men, to inquire of them who this Pan 'was. They delivered it as their opinion that he was the son of Mercury and Penelope.'

As this story is placed in the time of Tiberius, some learned men have been of opinion that [a] by the great Pan was meant Jesus Christ, the Lord of the universe, who suffered in the time of that emperor. Huet [b] gives credit to this story, and supposeth that thereby the death of Christ, who is the true Pan, the parent of all things, and the author of all nature, was notified to heathen people.

I shall now make two or three remarks, which are referred to the consideration of my readers.

1. The whole story is improbable, and has more the appearance of fiction than of truth and credibility.

2. The story is all over heathenish. If there be any truth in the account, when it was brought to Rome, and the affair was examined by the learned philologists at the court of Tiberius, their determination was, that the Pan, who was reported to be dead, was the son of Mercury and Penelope. Neither Thamus, nor Epitherses, nor Tiberius, nor the learned men whom he consulted, nor yet Plutarch and his company, who lived some good while after the death of our Lord, and the publication of his gospel, had any notion that this related to Jesus Christ.

That this story is throughout heathenish may be argued from what is said presently afterwards by Demetrius, another of the speakers in that dialogue of Plutarch: 'that most of the 'islands near Britain are desert, and consecrated to dæmons and heroes; and that, being sent by 'the emperor to take a survey of those islands, he landed on one of them which had a few in-'habitants; and that, soon after his arrival, there happened a tempest, with terrible claps of 'thunder and lightning. When the tempest was over, the people of the island gave out that 'some one of the principal dæmons was dead. A candle, said they, when it burns is pleasant; 'but when it goes out it leaves a stink behind: even so the deaths of great souls produce storms, 'and sometimes a pestiferous air.' To which Demetrius added, 'that in one of those islands 'Satan was bound, and guarded by Briarius, and that there were many dæmons attending upon 'him, as his slaves and ministers.' All fiction surely; but representing, as may be supposed, the doctrine of credulous heathens concerning dæmons.

All which, however, is quoted by Eusebius [c] from Plutarch, to prove the cessation or the declension of oracles soon after the coming of Christ.

His remark is to this purpose: 'So far Plutarch. But it will be worth the while to observe 'the time when he says the death of that dæmon happened: it was in the time of Tiberius. At 'that time our Saviour dwelt among men; and it is written of him that he expelled all sorts of 'dæmons; and some of them fell down before him, entreating him that he would not send them 'into the abyss. Here then you have the true time of the expulsion of dæmons out of this 'world. A thing never heard of before. Nor was there an end put to human sacrifices, so 'common among the Gentiles, till the evangelical doctrine had been preached to all men.' So Eusebius.

And though [d] Colonia flourisheth mightily upon this story, he in the end finds it prudent to content himself with considering it as an argument, 'that [e] the Gentiles themselves acknow-'ledged the general downfall or declension of their oracles, after the time of Tiberius, and the 'coming of Christ, and that two centuries before Eusebius.' A point about which I do not now particularly concern myself.

[a] Ex hisce audiamus, quæso, primo loco, Boissardum in hunc modum loquentem——Quidam existimant vocem illam locutam fuisse de Christi servatoris morte, cum audita sit anno decimo nono imperii Cæsaris, quo Christus crucifixus est. Et hunc credimus universæ naturæ et totius mundi Dominum et formatorem. Vandale de Orac. p. 435.

Huic narrationi fidem creat circumstantia temporis. Incidit enim hæc res in tempus, quo Christus mortuus est. Estque verisimile, ejulationes dæmonum inde ortas, quod scirent, morte Christi Satanæ regnum concidisse. Est enim Pan vox aptissima ad significandum Dominum universi, qui est omnia in omnibus, ut ait Paulus. 1 Cor. xv. 28. Petrus Mornæus, citat. a Vandale. ib. p. 437.

[b] Ethnicis vero stupendo miraculo Christi Jesu significata mors est, quod in libello de desitis oraculis Plutarchus refert. Id, quamquam a vulgo scriptorum tritum est, minime tamen ob admirabilitatem rei pigebit hic adscribere——Narrat id apud Plutarchum Æmilianus Rhetor, ut sibi a patre Epitherse, rei teste, traditum. Atqui id convenit in tempus mortis Christi Jesu, qui verus Pan est, rerum omnium parens, ac naturæ totius auctor, quam Panos symbolo Mythologi signatam voluerunt. Huet. Dem. Ev. Prop. ix. cap. 136. p. 630. See likewise Tillemont. Mem. Ec. J. C. art. 21. et note 31.

[c] Præp. Evang. l. v. cap. 17. p. 206—208.

[d] La Réligion Chrétienne, &c. Tom. i. p. 124, &c.

[e] P. 129.

Before I conclude this article, I would observe that [a] Baronius did not fully rely upon the truth of the story told in Plutarch, concerning the pilot Thamus: and that [b] the centuriators of Magdeburg consider it as an absurd and ridiculous fiction. So likewise does [c] Basnage, who has offered more reasons in behalf of his opinion than need to be repeated by me here.

CHAP. III.

A MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTION CONCERNING THE CHRISTIANS IN THE TIME OF NERO.

WHAT offers next is an inscription of the emperor Nero, on a monument found in Portugal [d]

TO NERO CLAUDIUS CÆSAR,
AUGUSTUS, HIGH-PRIEST,
FOR CLEARING THE PROVINCE
OF ROBBERS, AND THOSE
WHO TAUGHT MANKIND
A NEW SUPERSTITION.

None can doubt that by the new superstition is here intended Christianity. Some have questioned the genuineness of this inscription, because, say they, Nero's persecution extended no farther than Rome. The pretence for punishing them there was a charge of having set fire to the city. But it could not be so much as pretended that they who dwelt in remote countries were concerned in that fact.

If this be the only objection, the inscription may be reckoned very good. For if the Christians living at Rome were charged with so great a crime, all of that sect in any place would share in the scandal, and might be judged a vile sort of people, fit to be destroyed. And indeed the christians at Rome were as innocent as they at the greatest distance. Besides, it will presently appear, from Tacitus, that the Christians were then much hated, and that they suffered at Rome, not barely as guilty of setting fire to the city, but also for their supposed enmity to mankind. And Suetonius, in his account of the sufferings of the Christians in this reign, says nothing of any concern in the fire; but only that they were a people of a new and pernicious, or magical superstition.

Which leads me to observe farther, that the style of the inscription is agreeable to that of Tacitus and Suetonius, some of the earliest heathen writers who have mentioned the Christians.

If the persecution in Nero's time never became universal, it might take place in some of the provinces, particularly in that part of Spain which is now called Portugal. The Christian writers, who speak of Nero's persecution, do [e] in effect, or expressly, say it was general; [f] that from Rome it spread into the provinces, and was authorised by public edicts.

[a] Hactenus de Pane Eusebius ex Plutarcho —— Sane quidem si rei gestæ fidem adhibendam esse putamus, &c. Baron. Ann. 34. num. 130.

[b] Ubi et de Pane mortuo ridicula narrat. Centur. Magdeb. Sec. i. lib. 2. cap. xv.

[c] Nobis vero propius est, hanc Epithersis narrationem esse fabulis apponendam: neque Christi passionem Panis morte significatam —— Basn. Ann. 33. num. 124.

[d] In ruinis pagi Marquosiæ in Lusitaniâ. Ap. Gruter. p. 238. 9.

NERONI. CL. CAES.
AUG. PONT. MAX.
OB PROVINC. LATRONIB.
ET. HIS. QUI. NOVAM
GENERI. HUM. SUPER
STITION. INCULCAB.
PURGATAM.

[e] Consulite commentarios vestros. Illic reperietis, primum Neronem in hanc sectam, tum maxime Romæ orientem, Cæsareano gladio ferocisse. Sed tali dedicatore damnationis nostræ etiam gloriamur. Tertullian. Ap. cap. 5.

Cum animadverteret Nero, non modo Romæ, sed ubique quotidie magnam multitudinem deficere a cultu idolorum —— prosiluit ad excidendum cœleste templum, delendamque justitiam, et primus omnium persecutus Dei servos, &c. Lactant. vel Cæcilius de M. P. cap. 2.

[f] Hoc initio in Christianos sæviri cœptum. Post etiam datis legibus religio vetabatur: palamque edictis propositis Christianum esse non licebat. Sulp. Sev. Hist. l. 2. cap. 41.

Primus Romæ Christianos suppliciis et mortibus affecit, ac per omnes provincias pari persecutione excruciari imperavit. Cros. l. 7. c. 7.

Though there remain this monument only, there may have been others of the like kind, which have been destroyed out of aversion to the memory of Nero, or by some of those many accidents to which all things are liable in a long course of years.

If this inscription be genuine, it is as early an heathen monument as we could expect to find remaining concerning Christianity; especially so far off from Judea as Lusitania, now called Portugal. It must have been set up in the lifetime of Nero, who died in June A. D. 68, or, at the utmost, before his death was publicly known; for after that no people paid him any honours.

I have shewn that the style of this inscription is agreeable to early antiquity; and I have answered the objection taken from the supposed narrow limits of Nero's persecution. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that the genuineness of it is not assented to by all. Joseph Scaliger [a] doubted. Pagi [b] and others have endeavoured to vindicate it. Some others still [c] hesitate. This monument, they say, has been seen by few or none: and the credit of the first publisher of the inscription is not established above all suspicion of falsehood and imposture.

I therefore must not insist upon it as certainly genuine and ancient; though I could not forbear to propose it to be considered: nor do I think that any can dislike my placing it here before my readers.

CHAP. IV.

PLINY THE ELDER.

CAIUS PLINUS SECUNDUS, or [d] Pliny the elder, was born at Verona, in the reign of Tiberius. He had divers public posts under the emperors Vespasian and Titus; notwithstanding which he redeemed a great deal of time for reading, and writing, in which he was indefatigable. He was suffocated in the smoke and ashes of Vesuvius, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the first year of the reign of Titus, in the year 79. His natural history was published, and inscribed to Vespasian; or, as others think, to Titus, in the year of our Lord 77, before he was emperor.

In his History is a chapter concerning the origin of magic; where are these words: 'There 'is another sect of magicians, depending on (or deriving from) Moses, and Jamnes, and Jo-'tapes, who were Jews, but many thousand years since Zoroaster. Still so much later is the 'Cyprian.'

Some have thought that in this last Pliny refers to the blindness inflicted by St. Paul on Elymas the sorcerer, in the presence of Sergius Paulus, proconsul of Cyprus, and related in Acts xiii. but I do not affirm it.

[a] Neque solum Romæ sævitum in Christianos, sed etiam in provinciis. Exstat vetus inscriptio in Hispaniâ, loco Pisuerga vocato, in quo sine dubio hæc crudelitas tangitur, siquidem vera est illa inscriptio. Nam dubito. De Emend. Temp. p. 471.

[b] Pagi ann. 64. n. iv. J. E. J. Walchius De Persecutione Christian. Neronianâ in Hispaniâ.

[c] Exstat celebris hæc inscriptio apud Jan. Gruter. p. 238. n. 9. Ipsi vero præstantissimi Hispanorum viri auctoritatem hujus inscriptionis tueri non audent, quippe quam nemo unquam vidit, et Cyriacus Anconitanus primus protulit, homo, quod omnes sciunt, fallax, et, si quis alius, malæ fidei, &c. J. L. Moshem. Instit. Hist. Ec. p. 37.

Verum magni homines post Scaligerum dubitant, quid de fide et auctoritate monumenti hujus statuendum sit: et, ut arbitror, justissimas habent dubitandi causas. Nemo enim vel Hispanorum, vel Lusitanorum, lapidem hunc unquam vidit, quod ipsi doctissimi Hispaniæ viri non diffitentur. Is vero, si aliquando extitisset, magnâ certe curâ ob insigne pretium asservatus fuisset. Id. De. Reb. Christian. p. 109.

[d] Vid. Plin. Ep. l. vi. 16. et 20. Voss. de H. l. i. cap. 29. Fabr. Bib. Lat. l. 2. c. 13. Basnag. Ann. 77. ii. et 79. v. Tillem. H. E. Tite. art. vi. Crevier's History of the Roman Emperors. B. xvii. vol. 6. p. 291.

[e] Est et alia Magicis factio, a Mose et Jamne, et Jotape Judæis pendens, sed multis millibus annorum post Zoroastrem. Tanto recentior est Cypria. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 30. cap. i. De Origine Magicæ artis, quando, et a quibus cœperat, &c.

CHAP. V.

TACITUS.

I. *His history, time, and works.* II. *Pomponia Græcina, a Roman lady, accused of a foreign superstition in the year of Christ 57, the fourth year of Nero's reign.* III. *His account of Nero's persecution of the Christians.* IV. *His testimony to the Jewish war, and the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus.*

I. Caius Cornelius Tacitus, [a] whose ancestors are unknown, was [b] older than the younger Pliny, who was born in the year of our Lord 61 or 62. In the year 77 or 78 he married the daughter of Cnæus Julius Agricola, [c] famous for his consulship, and government of Britain. He [d] enjoyed divers posts of honour and trust under Vespasian, and the following emperors. He was prætor of Rome, under Domitian, in 88, and consul in the short reign of Nerva, in 97. The year was opened by Nerva and T. Virginius Rufus, who were then both of them the third time consuls. Virginius Rufus, who was a man of great eminence, and then of a great age, died in his consulship; whereupon [e] Tacitus was substituted in his room, and pronounced his panegyric.

But, as has been often observed, his writings have gained him more honour than all his dignities. His works seem to have been published by him in this order: first, his Description of Germany, next The Life of Agricola, his father-in-law; after that his History, beginning with Galba, and ending at the death of Domitian; and lastly, his Annals, beginning with Tiberius, and ending at the death of Nero. Both these works are now imperfect.

Tacitus and Pliny the younger lived together in intimate friendship. They [f] revised each other's writings before publication. Divers of Pliny's letters are written to him; in particular those [g] two wherein Pliny gives an account of the eruption of Vesuvius, and the death of his uncle. They were sent as memoirs, to be inserted by Tacitus in his histories.

It is allowed that [h] Tacitus flourished in the first century; I therefore place him here in the year 100, the third of the emperor Trajan: and though the two last, and principal of his works, were not published till some time after, undoubtedly he was now employed in collecting materials for them, and in composing them. Nor did either of them come down any lower than the death of Domitian.

II. In his Annals, at the year of our Lord 57, he writes thus: 'And [i] Pomponia Græcina, 'a lady of eminent quality, married to Plautius, who, upon his return from Britain, had the 'honour of an ovation, being accused of practising a foreign superstition, was referred to the 'cognizance of her husband. And he, according to ancient institution, in the presence of the 'family, sat in judgment upon the life and reputation of his wife, and pronounced her innocent. 'Pomponia lived to a great age, and in perpetual sorrow, after the death of Julia, daughter of 'Drusus, procured by the intrigues of Messalina. For the space of forty years she wore no 'habit but that of mourning, nor admitted any sentiments but those of grief. And this behaviour, 'which in the reign of Claudius escaped with impunity, afterwards redounded to her glory.'

[a] Vid. G. J. Voss. de Hist. Lat. Lipsii Vit. Tacit. Fabric. Bib. Lat. Tom. i. Bayle Diction. Tillemont H. E. Trajan. art 27.

[b] Equidem adolescentulus, quum jam tu famâ gloriâque floreres, te sequi, tibi longo sed proximus intervallo et esse et haberi concupiscebam. Plin. l. 7. Ep. 20.

[c] Consul egregiæ tum spei filiam juveni mihi despondit, ac post consulatum collocavit, et statim Britanniæ præpositus est, adjecto pontificatûs sacerdotio. Tacit. Vit. Agr. cap. 9.

[d] Vid. Tacit. Hist. l. i. cap. i.

[e] Laudatus est a consule Cornelio Tacito. Nam hic supremus felicitati ejus cumulus accessit, laudator eloquentissimus. &c. Plin. l. i. ep. 2.

[f] Librum tuum legi, et, quam diligentissime potui, annotavi quæ commutanda, quæ eximenda arbitrarer. Nunc a te librum meum cum annotationibus tuis exspecto. O jucundas, O pulchras vices! Plin. l. 7. ep. 20. Vid. et l. 8. ep. 7.

[g] Petis, ut tibi avunculi mei exitum scribam, quo verius tradere posteris possis. Gratias ago. Nam video, morti ejus, si celebretur a te, immortalem gloriam esse propositam. L. 6. ep. 16. Vid. et ep. 20.

[h] Tacite——Historien Romain, a fleuri dans le premier siècle. Bayle Diction.

[i] Et Pomponia Græcina, insignis femina, Plautio, qui ovans se de Britanniis retulit, nupta, ac superstitionis externæ rea, mariti judicio permissa. Isque prisco instituto, propinquis coram, de capite famâque conjugis cognovit, et insontem nuntiavit. Longa huic Pomponiæ ætas, et continua tristitia fuit. Nam, post Juliam Drusi filiam dolo Messalinæ interfectam, per quadraginta annos, non cultu nisi lugubri, non animo nisi mæsto egit. Idque illi imperitante Claudio impune, mox ad gloriam vertit. Tacit. Ann. l. 13. c. 32.

As it was about fourteen years from the death of Julia to this trial of Pomponia, Lipsius[a] suspects the reading of 'forty years;' and his emendation is approved by some, rejected by others. I rather think it to be right, as it is in all copies. Nor does Tacitus compute from the death of Julia to the time of this trial, but to the time of Pomponia's death. 'She lived,' he says, 'to a great age: and all the time from the death of Julia to her own death, which was the 'space of forty years, she was a perpetual mourner.'

This foreign, or extraneous superstition, of which Pomponia was accused, is supposed by Lipsius, in his [b] notes, and by [c] others, to be the Christian religion: and we may be inclined to that opinion; but we cannot be certain of it. I have transcribed the whole account of this lady, that every one may the better judge for himself.

III. After a description of the terrible fire at Rome, in the tenth of Nero, and the sixty-fourth of our Lord, in which a large part of the city was consumed, and an account of the orders given for rebuilding and beautifying it, and the methods used to appease the anger of the gods, Tacitus adds: 'But[d] neither all human help, nor the liberality of the emperor, nor all the atone-'ments presented to the gods, availed to abate the infamy he lay under of having ordered the 'city to be set on fire. To suppress therefore this common rumour, Nero procured others to 'be accused, and inflicted exquisite punishments upon those people, who were in abhorrence 'for their crimes, and were commonly known by the name of Christians. They had their de-'nomination from Christus, who in the reign of Tiberius was put to death as a criminal by the 'procurator Pontius Pilate. This pernicious superstition, though checked for a while, broke 'out again, and spread, not only over Judea, the source of this evil, but reached the city also; 'whither flow from all quarters all things vile and shameful, and where they find shelter and 'encouragement. At first they only were apprehended who confessed themselves of that sect; 'afterwards a vast multitude, discovered by them: all which were condemned, not so much for 'the crime of burning the city, as for their enmity to mankind. Their executions were so con-'trived as to expose them to derision and contempt. Some were covered over with the skins 'of wild beasts, and torn to pieces by dogs; some were crucified; others, having been daubed 'over with combustible materials, were set up as lights in the night time, and thus burned to 'death. Nero made use of his own gardens as a theatre upon this occasion, and also exhibited 'the diversions of the Circus, sometimes standing in the crowd as a spectator, in the habit of a 'charioteer, at other times driving a chariot himself: till at length these men, though really cri-'minal, and deserving exemplary punishment, began to be commiserated, as people who were 'destroyed, not out of a regard to the public welfare, but only to gratify the cruelty of one man.'

Divers facts of the evangelical history are here attested: that our Saviour was put to death as a malefactor by Pontius Pilate, procurator under Tiberius: that from Christ the people called Christians had their name and sentiments: that this superstition, or religion, had its rise in Judea, where also it spread, notwithstanding the ignominious death of the founder of it, and the opposition which his followers met with from the people of that country afterwards: that thence it was propagated into other parts of the world, and as far as Rome, where in the tenth or eleventh year of Nero, and before, Christians were very numerous: and that the professors of this religion were reproached, and hated, and underwent many and grievous sufferings. Certainly the great number of Christians at Rome at this time, and their sufferings, are two things very observable.

And though they were so hated, and Tacitus himself is so much offended with them, he

[a] Vid. Not. ad loc.

[b] *Superstitionis externæ rea.*] Christianismi credo accusatam, sive, ut tunc confundebant, Judaïsmi. Lipsius in loc.

Forte Christianam pietatem intelligit. Nam apparet, sanctam mulierem fuisse Pomponiam Græcinam. Tacitus loquitur ut Ethnicus. Rhenanus in loc.

[c] Christi doctrinam a Pomponiâ fuisse degustatam, non immerito conjicimus. Basnag. Ann. 57. p. ii. Pomponia Græcina fut accusée de suivre une superstition étrangère, dit Tacite; ce qui se peut entendre du Christianisme. Tillem. Neron. art. v.

[d] Sed non ope humanâ, non largitionibus Principis, aut deum placamentis decedebat infamia, quin jussum incendium crederetur. Ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos, et quæsitissimis pœnis affecit, quos, per flagitia invisos, vulgus Christianos appellabat. Auctor nominis ejus Christus, qui, Tiberio imperante, per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat. Repressa in præsens exitiabilis superstitio rursus erumpebat, non modo per Judæam, originem ejus mali, sed per Urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt, celebranturque. Igitur primo correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens, haud perinde in crimine incendii, quam odio humani generis, convicti sunt. Et pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis contecti, laniatu canum interirent, aut crucibus affixi, aut flammandi, atque, ubi defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis urerentur. Hortos suos ei spectaculo Nero obtulerat, et Circense ludicrum edebat, habitu aurigæ permixtus plebi vel circulo [curriculo legit Lipsius] insistens. Unde, quamquam adversus sontes, et novissima exempla meritos, miseratio oriebatur, tamquam non utilitate publicâ, sed in sævitiam unius absumerentur. Ann. l. xv. c. 44.

owns the cruelty with which they were treated was so excessive as to excite compassion. Nay, it seems their destruction was looked upon by many, not as a public benefit, but an act of savage cruelty. Which shews, after all, that they were not such monsters of wickedness as they are here represented.

And all this guilt, this enmity to mankind, which Tacitus imputes to them, could be nothing else, as has been well observed[a] by learned men, but their neglect of the ordinary worship of the gods.

It will not be disagreeable to compare this article of Tacitus with the account of the fire at Rome, and the ensuing persecution of the Christians, which is given by Sulpicius Severus, an elegant Christian writer of history, and in the Latin tongue, who flourished about the year 400.

'In[b] the mean time,' says Sulpicius, 'when the number of the Christians was greatly increased, 'there happened a fire at Rome while Nero was at Antium. Nevertheless, the general opinion 'of all men cast the blame of the fire upon the emperor. And it was supposed that his aim 'therein was that he might have the glory of raising the city again in greater splendour. Nor 'could he by any means suppress the common rumour that the fire was owing to his orders. He 'therefore endeavoured to cast the reproach of it upon the Christians. And exquisite tortures 'were inflicted upon innocent men: and moreover new kinds of death were invented. Some were 'tied up in the skins of wild beasts, that they might be worried to death by dogs. Many were 'crucified. Others were burnt to death: and they were set up as lights in the night-time. This 'was the beginning of the persecution of the Christians. Afterwards the profession of the 'Christian religion was prohibited by laws; and edicts were published that no man might be a 'Christian. At that time Paul and Peter were condemned to death. The former was beheaded, 'Peter was crucified.'

So writes Sulpicius. It is not unlikely that he had read Tacitus. However, I think it ought also to be supposed that he had other memoirs besides.

Sulpicius says that Nero was at Antium when the fire began. The[c] same thing is observed by Tacitus, who also says that Nero did not come to Rome till the fire had approached his own palace, which at length, with every thing near it, was consumed.

IV. It is not needful for me to translate or transcribe all that Tacitus says of the Jewish people, of[d] whose original he was ignorant, and writes very absurdly, and therefore is called by Tertullian[e] a great liar. Nor need I translate exactly his history of the Jewish war. I observe however these following particulars.

He says that[f] Judea was first brought into subjection to the Romans by Pompey. After which he gives a summary account of their affairs under Herod and his sons, the emperors Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero. 'He mentions[g] Felix, whom he represents as a

[a] Tacitus libro xv——de Christianorum suppliciis——Ubi 'flagitia,' et 'odium humani generis,' nihil aliud sunt, quam falsorum deorum neglectus; quam eamdem caussam etiam Judæis maledicendi Tacitus habuit, et Plinius major, cui Judæi dicuntur 'gens contumeliâ numinum insignis.' Cleric. Annot. ad Grot. de Ver. Rel. Christian. l. 2, sect. ii.

[b] Interea, abundante jam Christianorum multitudine, accidit, ut Roma incendio conflagraret, Nerone apud Antium constituto. Sed opinio omnium invidiam incendii in Principem retorquebat, credebaturque Imperator gloriam innovandæ urbis quæsîsse. Neque ullâ re Nero efficiebat, quin ab eo jussum incendium putaretur. Igitur vertit invidiam in Christianos; actæque in innoxios crudelissimæ quæstiones. Quin et novæ mortes excogitatæ, ut ferarum tergis contecti, laniatu canum interirent. Multi crucibus affixi, aut flammâ usti. Plerique in id reservati, ut, cum defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis urerentur. Hoc initio in Christianos sæviri cœptum. Post etiam, datis legibus religio vetabatur; palamque edictis propositis, Christianum esse non licebat. Tum Paulus ac Petrus capitis damnati, quorum uni cervix gladio desecta, Petrus in crucem sublatus est. Sulp. Sever. Sacr. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 41, al. cap. 29.

[c] Eo in tempore Nero Antii agens, non ante in Urbem regressus est, quam domui ejus, quâ Palatium et Mæcenatis hortos continuaverat, ignis propinquaret. Neque tamen sisti potuit, quin et Palatium et domus et cuncta circum haurirentur. Tacit. Ann. l. 15, cap. 39.

[d] Tacit. Hist. l. v. cap. 2.

[e] Cornelius Tacitus, sane ille mendaciorum loquacissimus. Apol. c. 16, p. 17. A.

[f] Romanorum primus Cn. Pompeius Judæos domuit, templumque jure victoriæ ingressus est. H. l. v. cap. 9.

[g] Claudius, defunctis regibus, aut ad modicum reductis, Judæam provinciam equitibus Romanis aut libertis permisit, e quibus Antonius Felix, per omnem sævitiam ac libidinem, jus regium servili ingenio exercuit——Duravit tamen patientia Judæis, usque ad Gessium Florum procuratorem. Sub eo bellum ortum, et comprimere cœptantem Cestium Gallum Syriæ legatum, varia prœlia ac sæpius adversa excepere. Qui ubi fato aut tædio occidit, missu Neronis, Vespasianus fortunâ famâque et egregiis ministris intra duas æstates, cuncta camporum, omnesque præter Hierosolyma urbes, victoe exercitu tenebat. Proximus annus, civili bello intentus, quantum ad Judæos per otium transiit. Pace per Italiam partâ, et externæ curæ rediere. Augebat iras, quod soli Judæi non cessissent. Simul manere apud exercitus Titum ad omnes principatûs novi eventus casusve utilius videbatur. [Ejusdem anni principio Cæsar Titus perdomandæ Judææ delectus a patre. Lib. v. cap. i. in.] Igitur castris, uti diximus, ante mœnia Hierosolymorum positis, instructas legiones

'bad man, and tyrannical in his government. However, the Jews,' he says, 'bore the exactions 'of their governors, till the time of their procurator Gessius Florus, under whom the war began. 'Cestius Gallus, president of Syria, came to his assistance: but he being defeated, Nero sent 'Vespasian into Judea, who was a general of great merit and reputation, and having also under 'him good officers, in the space of two years,' meaning the years 67 and 68, 'he reduced the 'open country, and all the cities of Judea, excepting Jerusalem. The next year,' 69, 'was 'taken up in civil wars;' meaning the time of the short reigns of Galba, Otho, Vitellius, till the 'accession of Vespasian. 'The following year, [and the beginning of it,] Titus was appointed 'to attend the affairs of Judea; who now drew near to Jerusalem and besieged it. Tacitus 'supposeth that Titus was in haste to go to Rome to enjoy the pleasures and splendour of the 'city. He therefore carried on the siege with the greatest vigour. The army likewise was 'intent upon plunder, and eager to gratify their revenge. The city however was strong by situa-'tion, and with good walls and ramparts: the high tower Antonia, conspicuous from far. The 'temple itself was like a citadel well fortified. They had a fountain of water that ran continu-'ally, and the mountains were hollowed under ground. Moreover they had pools and cisterns 'for preserving rain water. And there was a great confluence of people. For the men of the 'other cities that had been reduced, and in general all the turbulent and seditious people of the 'nation came hither. There were three captains,' or heads of factions, 'and as many armies, 'Simon, John, called also Bargioras, and Eleazar, who occupied several parts of the city. Among 'themselves they had fierce contentions, and therein great quantities of provisions were con-'sumed. Eleazar being killed, they were reduced to two factions. These fought with each 'other till the near approach of the Romans obliged them to agreement. There were many 'prodigies foresignifying their ruin, which were not to be averted by all the sacrifices and vows of 'that people, superstitious in their own way of worship, though different from all others. Armies 'were seen fighting in the air with brandished weapons. A fire fell upon the temple from the 'clouds. The doors of the temple were suddenly opened. At the same time there was a loud 'voice declaring that the gods were removing: which was accompanied with the sound as of a 'multitude going out. All which things were supposed by some to portend great calamities. 'But the most had a strong persuasion that it was said in the ancient writings of the priests,' that is, ancient writings in the custody of the priests, 'that at that very time the East should 'prevail, and that some who came from Judea should obtain the empire of the world. Which 'ambiguities foretold Vespasian and Titus. But the common people, according to the usual 'influence of human passions, having once appropriated to themselves this vast grandeur of the 'fates, could not be brought to understand the true meaning by all their adversities. We have 'been assured that the number of the besieged amounted to six hundred thousand. And more

ostentavit. Judæi sub ipsos muros struxere aciem——Mox cessere hostes, et sequentibus diebus crebra pro portis prœlia ferebant, donec assiduis damnis intra mœnia pellerentur. Romani ad oppugnandum versi. Neque enim dignum videbatur, famem hostium opperiri: poscebantque pericula, pars virtute, multi ferociâ, et cupidine præmiorum. Ipsi Tito Roma, et opes, voluptatesque ante oculos: ac, ni statim Hierosolyma conciderent, morari videbantur. Sed urbem, arduam situ, opera molesque firmaverant, quîs vel plana satis munirentur. Nam duos colles immensum editos claudebant muri per artem obliqui, aut introrsus sinuati. [Conf. l. 2, cap. 4.] ——Alia intus mœnia, regiæ circumjecta. Conspicuoque fastigio turris Antonia, in honorem M. Antonii ab Herode appellata. Templum in modum arcis, propriique muri, labore et opere ante alios. Ipsæ porticus, quîs templum ambiebatur, egregium propugnaculum. Fons perennis aquæ, cavati sub terrâ montes, et piscinæ cisternæque servandis imbribus—— magnâ colluvie, et cæterarum urbium clade aucti. Nam pervicacissimus quisque illuc perfugerat, eoque seditiosius agebant. Tres duces, totidem exercitus. Extrema et latissima mœnium Simon; mediam urbem Joannes, quem et Bargioram vocabant; templum Eleazarus firmaverat. Multitudine et armis Joannes ac Simon, Elezarus loco pollebat. Sed prœlia, dolus, incendia, inter ipsos, et magna vis frumenti ambusta. Mox Joannes, missis per speciem sacrificandi, qui Eleazarum ma-numque ejus obtruncarent, templo potitur. Ita in duas factiones civitas discessit, donec, propinquantibus Romanis, bellum externum concordiam pareret. Evenerant prodigia, quæ neque hostiis, neque votis piare fas habet gens superstitioni obnoxia, religionibus adversa. Visæ per cœlum concurrere acies, rutilantia arma, et subito nubium igne collucere templum. Expassæ repente delubri fores, et audita major humanâ vox, 'Excedere deos:' simul ingens motus excedentium. Quæ pauci in metum trahebant: pluribus persuasio inerat, antiquis sacerdotum literis contineri, eo ipso tempore fore, ut valesceret Oriens, profectique Judæâ rerum potirentur. Quæ ambages Vespasianum ac Titum prædixerant. Sed vulgus, more humanæ cupidinis sibi tantam fatorum magnitudinem interpretati, ne adversis quidem ad vera mutabantur. Multitudinem obsessorum, omnis ætatis, virilis ac muliebris sexûs, sexcenta millia fuisse accepimus. Arma cunctis, qui ferre possent; et plures quam pro numero audebant. Obstinatio viris feminisque par. Ac si transferre sedes cogerentur, major vitæ metus quam mortis. Hanc adversus urbem gentemque Cæsar Titus, quando impetum et subita belli locus abnueret, aggeribus vineisque certare statuit. Dividuntur legionibus munia, et quies prœliorum fuit: donec cuncta expugnandis urbibus reperta apud veteres, aut novis ingeniis, struerentur. Tacit. Hist. l. v. cap. 9—13.

'bore arms than could have been expected from that number. For great was the resolution of 'all, both men and women. Against this city and people was Titus sent. As the city could not 'be taken by assault, different posts were assigned to the several legions. Battering engines of 'all kinds were prepared: and all the methods hitherto practised in sieges by the ancients, as 'well as new inventions, were employed on this occasion.'

So writes Tacitus, who could and might have been more particular in his history of the Jewish war in the several parts of that country, and likewise of the siege of Jerusalem. But his dislike of the subject, as it seems, and his love of brevity, have made him very concise.

However, it is not unlikely that in the next book, which, with all the following books of that work, is lost, there was an account of the triumph of Vespasian and Titus at Rome in the following year. Nor is it unreasonable to suppose that there were also some more particulars concerning the event of the siege of Jerusalem: but what they were we cannot now say.

It is also worth our while to observe, that in this fifth book of his history, from which the preceding article has been taken, at his entrance upon his account of the war, he says, 'he[a] was 'going to relate the final end of the renowned city of Jerusalem.'

He likewise takes notice that 'Jerusalem[b] was the capital city of Judea, and that the temple 'there had in it immense riches.'

Nor should we omit to observe that in the first chapter of this book he has reckoned up the forces with which Vespasian was furnished for carrying on this war, and not very disagreeably to 'Josephus: 'For[c] he mentions the three legions quartered in Judea, the twelfth brought in 'from Syria, and other legions from Alexandria, beside the armies of the Roman allies, the 'kings Agrippa, Sohemus, and Antiochus, and a large body of Arabians, always averse to the 'Jews, and some volunteers of distinction even from Rome and Italy, who were willing to serve 'under Titus, a general of such renown and expectation, desirous to signalize their valour before 'him, and thereby to recommend themselves to his favour.'

And though we do not find in Tacitus every thing that we might wish for, certainly what we have in his remaining works is a very valuable testimony to the accomplishment of our Lord's predictions concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, and the overthrow of the Jewish people.

He must have read Josephus; many things are evidently taken from him: however he differs from him sometimes. It is somewhat strange that he should not compute a greater number within Jerusalem at the time of the siege than six hundred thousand. How shall we account for this? I answer, that perhaps Tacitus had met with some other accounts of the Jewish war beside that of Josephus. And I am apt to think it not unreasonable to believe, that Tacitus never read Josephus with so much care and diligence as we Christians have since read him. Moreover, six hundred thousand may be a certain number, used for an uncertain, denoting, that the city was then very full of people, and not intending to say there were no more.

[a] Sed quia famosæ urbis supremum diem tradituri sumus. &c. Histor. l. 5, c. 2, in.

[b] Magna pars Judææ vicis dispergitur. Habent et oppida. Hierosolyma genti caput: Illic immensæ opulentiæ templum. &c. Ibid, c. 8.

[c] Ejusdem anni principio, Cæsar Titus perdomandæ Judææ delectus a patre——Tres enim in Judæâ legiones, quinta et decima, et quintadecima, vetus Vespasiani miles, excepere. Tradidit et Syria duodecimam, et adductos Alexandriâ duo et vicesimanos tertianosque. Comitabantur viginti sociæ cohortes, octo equitum alæ. Simul Agrippa, Sohemusque reges, et auxilia regis Antiochi, validaque et solito inter accolas odio infensa Judæis Arabum manus. Multi, quos Urbe atque Italiâ suâ quemque spes acciverat occupandi Principem adhuc vacuum. His cum copiis fines hostium ingressus, composito agmine, cuncta explorans, paratusque decernere, haud procul Hierosolymis castra facit. Tacit. Hist. l. 5. cap. i.

CHAP. VI.

MARTIAL.

I. *His time and writings.* II. *His testimony to the fortitude of Christians.*

I. MARTIAL,[a] or M. Valerius Martialis, author of fourteen books of epigrams, was born at Bilbilis in Spain, in the reign of Claudius. He is supposed to have come to Rome in the reign of Nero, when he was about twenty years of age, and to have lived there thirty years, beloved by the emperors, especially Domitian, after whose death he retired into his own country. As he lived long enough to[b] write some epigrams in commendation of Nerva and Trajan, I have placed him so low as the last year of the first century, and[c] the third of Trajan. He was intimate with Juvenal, and well acquainted with Pliny the younger. Martial was poor. When[d] he left Rome, Pliny made him a handsome present; and when he heard of his death, he lamented it very affectionately.

II. This writer has been supposed to refer to the patient fortitude of Christians, in voluntarily enduring the greatest pains, rather than sacrifice to the gods, or do any thing contrary to the principles of their religion.

'You[e] have, perhaps, lately seen acted in the theatre, Mucius, who thrust his hand into the 'fire. If you think such an one patient, valiant, stout, you are a mere senseless dotard. For it 'is a much greater thing when threatened with the troublesome coat, to say I do not sacrifice, 'than to obey the command—burn the hand.'

However, the two lost verses of the epigram may be otherwise rendered, after this manner: 'For it is a much greater thing, when threatened with the troublesome coat, you are com-'manded to burn your hand, to say: I will not.'

But I can see no reason for bringing in the troublesome coat to oblige a man to act the part of Mucius in the theatre. And I much rather incline to the sense given in the first translation.

I shall therefore place below the remarks[f] of Stephen Le Moyne upon this epigram, who makes no doubt that Martial refers to the Christians, and declares that what Mucius did, is not comparable to the resolution of Christians under the sufferings which they endured.

The troublesome coat, or shirt, here mentioned, a cruelty which, as we have before learned from Tacitus, the innocent Christians unjustly suffered, was made like a sack, of paper or coarse linen cloth; and having been first besmeared within and without with pitch, wax, rosin, sulphur, and such like combustible materials, or dipt all over in them, was put upon the person for whom it was appointed: and that he might be kept upright, the more to resemble a flaming torch, his chin was fastened to a stake fixed in the ground.

That this was esteemed a cruel death is manifest from Seneca; who, describing the greatest

[a] Vid. Voss. de Poet. Lat. Tillemont H. E. Domitien. art. 23.

[b] Vid. L. 12. Epigr. v.—ix. L. xi. 4, 5, x. 34.

[c] ——Domitiani, Nervæ, et Trajani, tempora ingenio suo illustravit. Senex autem, Urbe relictâ, patriam suam repetens, in illâ obiit sub eodem Trajano. Fabric. Bib. Lat. l. 2. c. 20. De M. V. Martiali.

[d] Audio, Valerium Martialem decessisse. Et moleste fero. Erat homo ingeniosus, acutus, acer, et qui plurimum in scribendo et salis haberet et fellis, nec candoris minus. Prosequutus eram cum viatico discedentem. Dederam hoc amicitiæ: dederam etiam versiculis, quos de me composuit. Plin. Lib. 3. E. p. 21.

[e] In matutinâ nuper spectatus arenâ
Mucius, imposuit qui sua membra focis,
Si patiens fortisque tibi durusque videtur,
Abderitanæ pectora plebis habes.
Nam, cum dicatur, tunicâ præsente molestâ,
Ure manum, plus est dicere: Non facio.
Martial. l. x. Epigr. 25.

[f] Facinus Mucii non videtur, inquit Martialis, cum fortitudine Christianorum comparandum. Ille ustulandam manum suam flammis exhibuit, ut istâ constantiâ reliquum corpus suum servaret. Sed Christiani totum corpus igni vorandum tradunt, imo igni lento; et patiuntur se supervestiri cereo indumento, ut instar cereorum ardeant; quod tamen possent declinare, si vellent, et si religioni popularium suorum, et sacris Imperatoris, faciles se alligarent. Sed malunt in cineres et favillas redigi, et se vivos ardere, quam sacrificare, vel thura adolere: et cum ad id compelluntur, dicunt: non facio, non sacrifico——et tunicæ molestæ præsens et tremendum supplicium illos a sacris suis non potest avellere, vel minimum terrere. St. Le Moyne Varia sacra. p. 1041, 1042. Vid. et Kortholt. De Persecutionib. primit. Ec. p. 25.

causes of fear, writes to this purpose: 'Imagine[a] here,' says he, 'a prison, crosses, and racks, 'and the hook, and a stake thrust through the body and coming out at the mouth, and the limbs 'torn by chariots pulling adverse ways, and that coat besmeared and interwoven with combus- 'tible materials, nutriment for fire, and whatever else beside these cruelty has invented. It is 'no wonder if, in such a case, fear riseth high, where the variety of evils is so great, and the pre- 'paration is so terrible.'

It is hence apparent, that this was one of the worst punishments which cruelty had invented.

I do not know but some may think I ought to have quoted this passage of Seneca, not only as a description of this coat and the cruelty of it, but also as an allusion to the sufferings of the Christians, who felt it in so great numbers; for Seneca's death happened not[b] before April in the year 65; whereas the fire at Rome began in July the preceding year, and the persecution of the Christians[c] commenced in November following; but, in my opinion, it is better not to insist upon any reference here to the sufferings of the Christians.

CHAP. VII.

JUVENAL.

I. *His time and writings.* II. *His testimony to Nero's persecution of the Christians.* III. *His testimony to Domitian's persecution.* IV. *An observation concerning Seneca the philosopher.*

I. Decimus Junius Juvenalis,[d] or Juvenal, author of sixteen satires, which we still have, is computed to have flourished in the reigns of Domitian, Nerva, Trajan and Adrian. And, as Lipsius well says, he[e] was contemporary with Pliny the younger, Tacitus, and others of that age. Nevertheless we do not find Juvenal at all mentioned in any of the letters of Pliny now extant. I place him next to his friend Martial, and in the same year, the last of the first century of the Christian epoch.

II. He seems to refer to Nero's persecution of the Christians in some lines[f] of his first satire, which are thus translated by Mr. Dryden.

> But if that honest licence now you take,
> If into rogues omnipotent you rake,
> Death is your doom, impal'd upon a stake,
> Smear'd o'er with wax, and set on fire to light
> The streets, and make a dreadful blaze by night.

Or, more literally: 'Describe a great villain, such as was Tigellinus, (a corrupt minister 'under Nero,) and you shall suffer the same punishment with those who stand burning in their 'own flame and smoke, their head being held up by a stake fixed to their chin, till they make a 'long stream (of blood and running sulphur) on the ground.'

It[g] is the opinion of Joseph Scaliger, and many other learned men, that Nero's cruelties to

[a] Cogita hoc loco carcerem, et cruces, et equuleos, et uncum, et adactum per medium hominem, qui per os emergat, stipitem, et distracta in diversum actis curribus membra, illam tunicam, alimentis ignium et illitam et intextam; quidquid aliud, præter hæc, commenta sævitia est. Non est itaque mirum, si maximus hujus rei timor est, cujus et varietas magna, et apparatus terribilis est. Senec. Ep. 14.

[b] See Tillemont. Neron. art. xxii.

[c] See Vol. iii. ch. xi. near the end of the chapter.

[d] Vid. Lips. Epist. Qu. l. 4. Ep. 20. Fabr. Bib. Lat. l. 2. cap. 18. Tillem. H. E. Domitien. art. 24.

[e] Ergo, meo arbitrio, compar Juvenalis Plinio juniori, Tacito, et illi classi fuit. Lips. l. c.

[f] Pone Tigellinum, tædâ lucebis in illâ,
Quâ stantes ardent, qui fixo gutture fumant,
Et latum mediâ sulcum deducit arenâ.
Juven. Sat. i. ver. 155, &c.

[g] Scholia Juvenalis: 'Nero maleficos homines tæda et pa- 'pyro et cerâ supervestiebat, et sic ad ignem admoveri jubebat, 'ut arderent.' Hæc Scholiastes ille in illos versus Juvenalis, qui sine dubio de Christianis dicti sunt. Jos. Scaliger. Animadv. in Euseb. Chron. p. 197. Videatur Id. De Emendat. Temp. l. v. p. 471.

the Christians are here intended: and that some punishments of men accused of magic in the reign of Nero, are here referred to, is affirmed by an [a] ancient scholiast upon this place of Juvenal; who [b] likewise speaks of them as exhibited for a spectacle; as is particularly described by Tacitus. And Suetonius (as we shall presently see) calls the Christians, 'men of a new and 'magical superstition.'

In another satire [c] Juvenal speaks of the pitched shirt, or troublesome coat, which they were covered with who were condemned to that punishment. And I shall place below [d] a part of Prateus's note upon that place.

III. In another satire Juvenal speaks of the death of Domitian in this manner: 'Many 'illustrious men he destroyed who found no avenger; at last he perished, when he became for-'midable to the rabble. This ruined him, who long before was stained with the noble blood 'of the Lamiæ.'

The verses are thus translated by Mr. Stepny:

> What folly this! But Oh! that all the rest
> Of his dire reign had thus been spent in jest!
> And all that time such trifles had employed,
> In which so many nobles he destroyed.
> He safe, they unrevenged, to the disgrace
> Of the surviving, tame, Patrician race.
> But when he dreadful to the rabble grew,
> Him, who so many lords had slain, they slew.

Ælius Lamia, whose death is likewise particularly mentioned by [f] Suetonius, undoubtedly was a man of a very ancient and noble family. And Domitian had killed many other senators. The Christians were generally of the meaner rank of people, and more despised still for their religion than their condition. But they were not all of the rabble, or coblers and tailors, as Juvenal would insinuate. And Flavius Clement, one of those whom Domitian put to death near the end of his reign, and whose death, as Suetonius expressly says, hastened Domitian's ruin, was of the imperial family; and, as we think, a Christian. However, it is observable that Juvenal says Domitian's death soon followed after some acts of cruelty toward mean people. Herein he agrees with, and confirms the accounts of some Christian writers, particularly that of Cæcilius, or Lactantius, in his book of the deaths of persecutors; who observes that 'Domitian [g] 'had been long permitted to exercise great cruelties upon his subjects: but when he began to 'persecute the servants of God, he was soon delivered up into the hands of his enemies.'

IV. It may be observed that I do not allege, among witnesses to Christianity, or the affairs of Christians, the philosopher, L. A. Seneca. There is extant a correspondence between him and St. Paul, in fourteen letters; which may be seen in Latin, in [h] Fabricius, and in Latin and English in [i] Mr. Jones, with remarks. They were in being in St. Jerom's time, and Seneca therefore is mentioned by him [k] in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers. But they are mani-

[a] Vid. not. [g] p. 616.

[b] Idem Scholiastes: 'Vivus ardebis, quemadmodum in 'munere Neronis vivi arserunt, de quibus ille jussit cereos 'fieri, ut lucerent spectatoribus, quum fixa essent guttura, ne 'se curvarent.' Id. Scalig. l. c. p. 197. Et vide annot. ad Juvenalis locum.

[c] Ausi quod liceat tunicâ punire molestâ.
Sat. 8. lin. 235.

[d] Vestis erat e chartâ, cannabe, stuppâ. Illinebatur bitumine, resinâ, pice. Tum circumdabatur iis, qui grave quidpiam, et maxime incendia, moliti fuerant. Quâ demum incensâ vivi comburebantur. Annot. in loc. ed. in usum Delphini.

[e] Atque utinam his potius nugis tota illa dedisset
Tempora sævitiæ, claras quibus abstulit Urbi
Illustresque animas impune, et vindice nullo.
Sed periit, postquam cerdonibus esse timendus
Cœperat. Hoc nocuit Lamiarum cæde madenti.
Sat. iv. ad fin.

[f] Sueton. Domit. cap. x.

[g] Post hunc, [Neronem] interjectis aliquot annis, alter [Domitianus] non minor tyrannus orsus est; qui cum exerceret invisam dominationem, subjectorum tamen cervicibus incubavit quam diutissime, tutusque regnavit, donec impias manus adversus Dominum tenderet. Postquam vero ad persequendum justum populum instinctu dæmonum incitatus est, tunc traditus in manus inimicorum luit pœnas. Cæc. al. Lact. De M. P. c. 3.

[h] Cod. Apocr. N. T. Tom. 2. p. 880, &c. Conf. ejusd. Bibl. Lat. T. i. p. 367.

[i] See Jones of the Canon of the N. T. Vol. 2, ch. x. p. 80, &c.

[k] Lucius Annæus Seneca Cordubensis, Sotionis Stoïci discipulus, et patruus Lucani poëtæ, continentissimæ vitæ fuit. Quem non ponerem in Catalogo Sanctorum, nisi me illæ Epistolæ provocarent, quæ leguntur a plurimis, Pauli ad Senecam, et Senecæ ad Paulum. In quibus, cum esset Neronis magister, et illius temporis potentissimus, optare se dicit,

festly spurious and of no value; and therefore are not entitled to a place here: nor do they deserve any regard.

I have put this advertisement here, at the end of the chapter of Juvenal, because he is the last author of the first century who is alleged by me.

CHAP. VIII.

SUETONIUS.

I. *His history, time and works.* II. *The Jews expelled from Rome in the reign of Claudius.* III. *His account of Nero's persecution.* IV. *His testimony to the Jewish war, and the overthrow of the Jewish people.* V. *Of Domitian's persecution of the Christians.* VI. *The sum of his testimony.*

I. Caius Suetonius Tranquillus,[a] son of Suetonius Lenis,[b] flourished in the reigns of Trajan and Adrian, to the latter of whom he was secretary: which[c] place he lost about the year 121. Pliny the younger had a particular friendship for him. Several of Pliny's letters still extant are written to him; and he performed for him divers good offices. Suetonius, having no children by his wife, Pliny procured for him from Trajan *jus trium liberorum*, or the privilege of those who have three children. His recommendation of him to the emperor is very affectionate, and exhibits a very amiable[d] character.

That he was born about the beginning of the reign of Vespasian, is argued hence—that[e] about twenty years after the death of Nero, or in 88, he speaks of himself as a young man. It may be supposed therefore, that in the thirteenth of Trajan, or the year of our Lord 110, he was not less than forty years of age.

He was the author of a good number of books, of which there are now none remaining, but his 'Lives of the first twelve Cæsars,' and a part of a work 'concerning Illustrious Grammarians and Rhetoricians.'

II. Suetonius, in the life of the emperor Claudius, who reigned from the year 41 to 54, says of him: 'He[f] banished the Jews from Rome, who were continually making disturbances, Chrestus being their leader.'

This passage undoubtedly confirms what is said Acts xviii. 2, that "Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome."[g] Some learned men are not satisfied that this relates to the Christians: but it is well known that our Saviour was sometimes called[h] Chrestus by heathen people. And it is not impossible that the Jewish enmity against those of their own country, or others who had embraced Christianity, might produce some disputes and disturbances which came to the emperor's knowledge. This seems to be the meaning of Suetonius, that 'there 'were disturbances among the Jews and others at Rome, upon occasion of Christ and his 'followers.'

If this passage were clear, we should have a testimony from an heathen author of good note,

ejus esse loci apud suos, cujus sit Paulus apud Christianos. Hic ante biennium, quam Petrus et Paulus coronarentur martyrio, a Nerone interfectus est. Hieron. De V. I. cap. xii.

[a] Vid. Voss. de Hist. Lat. l. i. cap. 26. Bayle Diction. Hist et Crit. Suetone. Tillemont. H. Emp. Adrien. art. 24.

[b] Interfuit huic bello pater meus Suetonius Lenis, tertiæ decimæ legionis tribunus angusticlavius. Sueton. Othon. c. x.

[c] Sceptricio Claro, Præfecto Prætorii, et Suetonio Tranquillo, epistolarum magistro, multisque aliis, qui apud Sabinam uxorem, injussu ejus, familiarius se tunc egerant, quam reverentia domus aulicæ postulabat, successores dedit——Spartian in Adrian. cap. xi.

[d] Suetonium Tranquillum, probissimum, honestissimum, eruditissimum virum, et mores ejus secutus et studia, jampridem, Domine, in contubernium assumpsi. &c. Plin. l. x. ep. 95.

[e] Denique cum post viginti annos, adolescente me, exstitisset conditionis incertæ, qui se Neronem esse jactaret, &c. Sueton. in Neron. cap. ult.

[f] Judæos, impulsore Chresto, assidue tumultuantes Româ expulit. Claud. cap. 25.

[g] See Vol. i. p. 135.

[h]——Perperam Chrestianus pronuntiatur a vobis, &c. Tertull. Ap. c. 3. Sed exponenda hujus nominis ratio est, propter ignorantium errorem, qui cum immutatâ literâ Chrestum solent dicere. Lact. Divin. Inst. l. 4, c. 7.

that there were Christians at Rome before the end of the reign of Claudius: as indeed we know there were from an authentic writer of our own. Acts xviii. 2, and 26. And compare Rom. xvi. And though it should not be reckoned clear and decisive, it has such an appearance of probability as has satisfied many learned men of good [a] judgment.

This passage of Suetonius is expressly cited by [b] Orosius, a Christian historian, of the fifth century. But he was not clear about the meaning of it.

III. In the life of Nero, whose reign began in 54, and ended in 68, Suetonius says: 'the [c] 'Christians were punished; a sort of men of a new and magical superstition.'

Suetonius here assures us that the Christian religion was lately arisen, and that it had already gained footing in the empire. From his calling it a 'magical superstition,' it may be argued that [d] there were some things of an extraordinary nature performed by the Christians: or that they endeavoured to justify their embracing the religion of Christ, as of divine original, upon the ground of some wonderful works, which bore testimony to its truth and authority.

I have translated the word 'malefica,' used by Suetonius, 'magical,' agreeably to the judgment of divers learned men. But Mr. Mosheim [e] thinks the word to be equivalent to 'exitia-'bilis,' in Tacitus, meaning 'pernicious.' The Christians were singular in their religious sentiment, and opposed the religions of all nations. The Romans therefore considered them, he thinks, 'as enemies to all mankind,' and disposed to disturb the public peace.

In the word 'new,' undoubtedly there is a sting. For, as Tacitus says of the Jews, 'What-'ever [f] might be the origin of their religion, it has the advantage of antiquity.'

That the Christians were roughly handled in the reign of Nero, we have seen from Tacitus, a contemporary writer. Nevertheless, it has been observed by some learned men, that [g] Suetonius does not say particularly that they were 'punished at Rome,' or for setting fire to the city. His expressions are general, and may include more extensive sufferings in the provinces, as well as the city. Of which we have good assurance from divers ancient Christian writers.

Once more. It may be observed that Suetonius speaks with approbation of the sufferings which the Christians endured in this reign. For [i] they are mentioned together with divers other acts, ordinances, or institutions of Nero, which were entitled to some commendation: as [k] any one will allow who observes the several articles in the same chapter.

[a] Cum dixi supra, sub Judæorum nomine comprehensos Christianos, id dixi quod complures ante me, multo me eruditiores. Neque tamen id impedit quo minus durior fuerit conditio Christianorum, ut etiam in Judaicâ religione multa novantium, pluresque homines a paganismo abducentium. Quo spectat illud Suetonii de Claudio, 'Judæos impulsore Chresto,' (id est, per Christianum dogma.) 'assidue tumultuantes, Româ expulit &c.' Grot. App ad Comm. de Antichristo p 499. Vid. et Cellarii Diss. de primo principe Christiano, § viii. et Basnag. Ann. 51. num 68. Cleric. H E. ann. 29. n xc. Heumanni Diss. de Chresto Suetonii ap. Dissertation. Syll. T. i. p 536 &c. Kortholt. De Persecut. Ecc. p. 4. Tob Eckhard. non Christianorum Testimonia. c. 1. S. Havercamp. annot. ad Tertullian. Apol. cap 3, p. 42.

[b] Sed me magis Suetonius movet, qui ait hoc modo. 'Claudius Judæos, impulsore Christo, assidue tumultuantes, Româ expulit.' Quod utrum contra Christum tumultuantes Judæos coërceri et comprimi jusserit, an etiam Christianos simul, velut cognatæ religionis homines, voluerit expelli, nequâquam discernitur. Oros. Hist. l. 7. c. 6.

[c] Afflicti suppliciis Christiani, genus hominum, superstitionis novæ et maleficæ. Sueton. Nero. cap. 16.

[d] 'Maleficos' incantatores, magicis rebus studentes, venenarios, interpretatur Barth. Adv. viii. 17. x. 5, 45, 57——Protalibus Christianos habuerunt deterrimis Gentiles, forte quia dæmonia illis parebant, et ad illorum contestationem ejiciebantur——Exinde capiendum putat Barthius, Luc. vi. 22. Και εκβαλωσι το ονομα υμων, ως πονηρον. Nec mirum. Hoc enim genere 'maleficii' D. Jesum calumniabantur Gentilium accusationes. Arnob. p. 25. 'Occursurus forsitan rursus est 'cum aliis multis calumniosis illis, et puerilibus vocibus: Ma-'gus fuit, clandestinis artibus omnia illa perfecit.' Sed D. Jesu causam satis accurate ibid. agit Arnobius. Pitiscus ad Suetonii locum.

[e] Neque Romanam solum, sed omnium etiam aliarum gentium religiones Christiani hostiliter invadebant: ex quo Romani concludebant, sectam Christianam non modo præter omnem modum arrogantem, verum paci ac tranquillitati publicæ inimicam, et ad bella civilia cienda aptam esse. Hoc illud est, si recte conjicio, quod Tacitus Christianis exprobrat, 'odium generis humani.' Nec aliunde rationem putem duci debere, cur idem Christianorum religionem, 'superstitionem exitiabilem,' Suetonius autem 'maleficam,' nominet. Mosheim. Instit. H E. p. 33. 34.

[f] Hi ritus, quoquo modo inducti, antiquitate defenduntur. Tacit Hist. l. 5, cap. 5, p. 518.

[g] Nec refert, quod Tacitus de iis, quæ in provinciis adversus Christianos gesta, sermonem non habeat, cum Suetonius de Nerone, cap. 16, persecutionem ad urbem Romam non restringat. Pagi ann. 64, n. iv.

Et quidem Suetonius, a Nerone 'afflictos suppliciis Christianos' commemorans, nullam Romani incendii facit mentionem, sed eos 'genus hominum superstitionis novæ ac maleficæ' appellat. Quæ cum referat Suetonius inter ea, quæ a Nerone instituta fuerant, haud dubium est, quin edictum adversus Christianos ab eo tyranno scriptum fuerit. Ruinart. Fr. in Acta Mart. n. 26, p. 32.

[h] —— ac per omnes provincias pari persecutione excruciari imperavit. Oros. l. 7. cap. 7.

[i] Id sane ita Suetonio persuasum erat, ut inter ea, quæ aliquâ laude digna a Nerone sancita commemorat, ait, ab ipso fuisse afflictos suppliciis Christianos.' Ruinart. Ib. n. 25, p. 29.

[k] Adhibitus sumtibus modus, &c. eod. cap. 16.

IV. In his Life of Vespasian, Suetonius writes to this purpose: 'When [a] Nero went into Achaia, 'Vespasian was one of the court. But shewing a dislike of that emperor's extravagances, he 'lay under his displeasure, and was apprehensive of the consequences of his resentment. Ves- 'pasian therefore retired into a private place at some distance, where an honourable province, 'with a powerful army, was assigned him. There had been for a long time, all over the east, 'a prevailing opinion that it was in the fates, [in the decrees or books of the fates] that at that 'time some one from Judea should obtain the empire of the world. By the event it appeared 'that a Roman emperor was meant by that prediction. The Jews, applying it to themselves, 'went into a rebellion. At first they had such success that they not only overcame their own 'governor, but also defeated the proconsular governor of Syria who came to his assistance. 'There being now manifest occasion for a general of great reputation, and a numerous army, 'Vespasian was appointed for that service; who, among other commanders under him, had his 'eldest son Titus. Having put his army into good order, he entered upon the war with great 'vigour, and not without hazard to his own person, having been slightly wounded in an attack 'made at one of their towns, and received several darts upon his shield.' Suetonius proceeds to relate the accession of Vespasian to the empire, whilst he was in Judea, and takes notice of what Josephus, one of the Jewish prisoners, had beforehand said to him relating to that matter. And he expressly mentions Vespasian's triumph over the Jews at Rome.

In his life of Titus, he says, 'that [b] whilst he yet served under Vespasian, he took Tarichea 'and Gamala, two strong cities of Judea: and that, having in an engagement lost his own horse, 'he mounted another, whose rider had been killed in fighting against him.' And he says, 'that [c] Titus having been left in Judea to complete the reduction of that country, he, in the 'last siege of Jerusalem, killed seven of the enemy with as many darts: and that he took that 'city on his daughter's birth-day, and was then saluted by the soldiers with the title of emperor.' He also says, 'That [d] Titus triumphed at Rome with his father.'

Suetonius is a biographer; and therefore does not write of the Jewish war so particularly, as an historian of another character might do: nevertheless, he may be justly reckoned a witness to the fulfilment of our Saviour's predictions concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, and the overthrow of the Jewish people. He bears testimony to the Jewish war, and the occasion of it; he mentions the generals employed in it, and the issue of it in the taking of Jerusalem, and the reduction of Judea, and the triumph thereupon at Rome.

In the life of Domitian, whose reign began in the year 81, and ended in 96, Suetonius says: 'And [e] beside others, the Jewish tax was exacted with the greatest severity, and was demanded 'of those who lived in the city according to the Jewish customs, without entering themselves as 'Jews, or who, dissembling their original, had omitted to pay the tax laid upon that nation.'

It is well known that, after [f] the destruction of Jerusalem, the Jewish people, wherever they dwelt, were required by Vespasian and Titus to pay that tribute to the capitol at Rome, which they had been wont to pay for the use of the temple at Jerusalem. Among those, of whom this

[a] Peregrinatione Achaïcâ inter comites Neronis, cum, cantante eo, aut discederet sæpius, aut præsens obdormisceret, gravissimam contraxit offensam; prohibitusque non contubernio modo, sed etiam publicâ salutatione, recessit in parvam et deviam civitatem, quoad latenti, etiamque extrema metuenti, provincia cum exercitu oblata est. Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus et constans opinio, esse in fatis, ut eo tempore Judææ profecti rerum potirentur. Id, de Imperatore R. (quantum eventu postea potuit) prædictum, Judæi ad se trahentes rebellârunt. Cæsoque præposito, legatum insuper Syriæ proconsularem suppetias ferentem raptâ aquilâ fugaverunt. Ad hunc motum comprimendum cum exercitu ampliore, et non instremuo duce——opus esset, ipse potissimum electus est——Additis igitur ad copias duabus legionibus, octo alis, cohortibus decem, atque inter legatos majore filio assumto, ut primum provinciam attigit, proximas quoque convertit in se; correctâ statim castrorum disciplinâ; uno quoque et altero prælio tam constanter inito, ut in oppugnatione castelli lapidis ictum genu, scuto sagittas aliquot exceperit——Et unus ex nobilibus captivis Josephus, cum conjiceretur in vincula, constantissime asseveravit fore, ut ab eodem brevi solveretur, verum jam Imperatore——Talis, tantâque cum famâ in Urbem reversus, acto de Judæis triumpho, consulatus octo veteri addidit. Sueton. Vespasian. cap. 4——8.

[b] Ex Quæsturæ deinde honore legioni præpositus, Tarichæam et Gamalam, urbes validissimas Judææ, in potestatem redegit; equo quâdam acie sub feminibus amisso, alteroque inscenso, cujus rector contra se dimicans occubuerat. Tit. cap. 4.

[c] ——et ad perdomandam Judæam relictus, novissimâ Hierosolymorum oppugnatione vii. propugnatores totidem sagittarum confecit ictibus: cepitque eam natali filiæ suæ, tanto militum gaudio ac favore, ut in gratulatione Imperatorem eum consalutaverint. Ib. cap. 5.

[d] Triumphavit cum patre, Censuramque gessit unâ. Ib. cap. 6.

[e] Præter cæteros, Judaïcus fiscus acerbissime actus est; ad quem deferebantur, qui vel improfessi Judaïcam inter Urbem viverent vitam, vel dissimulatâ origine, imposita genti tributa non pependissent. Interfuisse me adolescentulum memini, cum a procuratore, frequentissimoque concilio, inspiceretur nonagenarius senex, an circumsectus esset. Domitian. cap. 12.

[f] Vid. Joseph. De B. J. l. 7. cap. vi. § 6. p. 119. Haverc.

tax was now exacted, it is likely there were divers sorts of men. Some Gentiles who had embraced Christianity, might be looked upon as Jews: these were under no obligation to pay this tax. Beside them, some Jews, who were become Christians, might think themselves excused from paying this tribute; whether reasonably or not, I do not determine: for, according to the letter of the law, they were obliged to pay it, as being circumcised, though they might think that in equity they had a right to plead an exemption. And, beside all these, there might be some Jews, both by nation and religion, who declined this tax. These, I suppose, will not be vindicated by any, unless they scrupled to contribute to a heathen temple.

To these several sorts of men, probably, Suetonius here refers. Nor can it be doubted that some Christians met with sufferings upon this account, under the name and character of Jews, from whom they had received their religion. And, perhaps, this story of Suetonius has a reference to Domitian's persecution of the Christians, commonly called the second persecution.

This [a] tax was not exacted with the same rigour under that good emperor Nerva: but it was not abolished, as some have thought.

This passage ought to be understood as another testimony from the same writer, to the final overthrow of the Jewish people by the Romans, as Jesus had foretold.

V. Among the cruelties of the latter part of Domitian's reign, Suetonius mentions this: 'And lastly, [b] he put to death his cousin Flavius Clement, a man of an indolent temper, even 'to contempt, whose sons, when they were as yet infants, he had publicly declared his successors; 'and, changing their former names, he called the one Vespasian, and the other Domitian. Him 'he put to death on a sudden, upon a slight suspicion, when he was but just out of his consul-'ship: by which action, more than by any other, he hastened his own ruin.'

This happened in the year of our Lord [c] 95. Suetonius does not expressly say that Flavius Clement was a Christian: that may be farther cleared up [d] hereafter. However, it may be argued from the character here given of Clement, that he was 'a man of an indolent temper, 'even to contempt:' that having been a reproach frequently cast upon the Christians by heathen people, that they were useless, and unprofitable to the public; as we learn from [e] Tertullian, and [f] other ancient writers.

In this character of Clement there seems to be a censure of him for excessive indolence. But I think the chief and direct intention of Suetonius is to aggravate the cruelty of Domitian, who put to death so near a relation, in whom there was not one spark of ambition, and therefore there could be no reason to fear any thing from him.

Before I shut up this article, I must observe some things for explaining the last cited passage of Suetonius.

Flavius Clement was cousin-german to Domitian. There [g] were two brothers, Flavius Sabinus, and Flavius Clement, sons of Flavius Sabinus, Vespasian's elder brother. Sabinus, the elder of those two brothers, had been put to death by Domitian some while before, as is related by [h] Suetonius. The second was put to death now, as just related. The death of Flavius Clement is also mentioned by [i] Dion Cassius, as will be more particularly observed by us hereafter: it is also mentioned by [k] Philostratus, in his Life of Apollonius Tyanæus, and as a thing that hastened the death of Domitian himself. And we ought to recollect here what we before saw in [l] Juvenal.

[a] ——Item fiscus Judaïcus, ut Suetonio, Domit. 12, qui cum acerbissime ageretur sub Domitiano, JUDAICI FISCI CALUMNIA SUBLATA est sub Nervâ, ut testatur nummus apud Oiselium——Unde tamen plane cessasse hoc tributum non evincitur, sicut Bergerus et Spanhemius jam demonstrârunt. Reimar. annot. ad Dion C. p. 1082. § 43.

[b] Denique Flavium Clementem, patruelem suum, contemtissimæ inertiæ, cujus filios, etiam tum parvulos, successores palam destinaverat; et abolito priore nomine, alterum Vespasianum appellari jusserat, alterum Domitianum; repente, ex tenuissimâ suspicione, tantum non in ipso ejus Consulatu interemit. Quo maxime facto maturavit sibi exitium. Domit. cap. 15.

[c] Vide Pagi. ann. 96. num. ii. et Basnag. ann. 95. n. iv.

[d] See the chapter of Dion Cassius, in the next volume.

[e] Sed alio quoque injuriarum titulo expostulamur, et infructuosi in negotiis dicimur. Tert. Ap. cap. 42.

[f] Cum autem hunc Flavium Clementem contemtissimæ inertiæ hominem vocat Suetonius, eo ipso Christianum fuisse demonstrat. De quo injuriæ in Christianos titulo, quod inertes, et inutiles, et infructuosi dicerentur, Tertull. Ap. cap. 42. Torrent. in Sueton. loc.

[g] Vid. Sueton. Vespas. cap. 12. et Vitell. cap. 15. Tacit. Hist. l. 3. cap. 65. Eutrop. l. 7. cap. 18. Victor. de Cæs. cap. viii. Joseph. de B. J. l. 4. cap. x. sect. 3. Conf. ib. cap. xi. sect. 4.

[h] Flavium Sabinum alterum e patruelibus, [occidit] quod, &c. Sueton. Domit. cap. x.

[i] ——αλλως τε πολλως, και τον Φλαβιον Κλημεντα υπατευοντα, καιπερ ανεψιον οντα, κατεσφαξεν ὁ Δομιτιανος. Dio. l. 67. c. 14. p. 1112. al. p. 766.

[k] Εωθεν δε θεοι Δομιτιανον ηδη της ανθρωπων προεδριας. Ετυχε μεν γαρ Κλημεντα απεκτονως, ανδρα ὑπατον, ὡ την αδελφην την εαυτε εξεδεδωκει. Philost. de V. A. T. l. 8. cap. 25.

[l] P. 617.

Suetonius assures us that 'Domitian had publicly declared the sons of this Clement to be 'his successors, and he changed their names, calling the one Vespasian, and the other Domitian.' Undoubtedly, they are the two young persons whom Domitian had committed to the care and institution of [a] Quintilian; who calls them 'the grand-children of Domitian's sister.' Domitian's only sister, Domitilla, died before Vespasian came to the empire, as we learn from [b] Suetonius: but she must have left a daughter of the same name, whose sons therefore were her grand-sons. What became of them afterwards we are not informed.

Finally, Dion Cassius, in the place above cited, calls Clement consul. Suetonius says, 'he 'was put to death on a sudden, when he was just out of his consulship.' But there is no disagreement between them in this; for [c] the ordinary consuls did not then serve out the whole year, but others were substituted in their room, after a few months, or a less space. However, the year was still reckoned with the names of the ordinary consuls, and they preserved the title throughout the whole year; Clement therefore was still consul, though another, or several, one after another, had been substituted. As before said, Clement was put to death in 95, the year of his consulship.

VI. We have seen so many things in Suetonius, that it may not be improper to recapitulate; for he bears witness to the expulsion of the Jews and Christians out of Rome in the reign of Claudius; to the persecution of the Christians in the time of Nero; to the Jewish war, and the reduction of Judea by Vespasian and Titus, and therein is a witness to the accomplishment of our Saviour's predictions concerning the calamities coming upon that people. He likewise mentions the death of Flavius Clement, which we suppose to have happened in the time of Domitian's persecution of the Christians.

To all these things does Suetonius bear testimony, who is an historian of the best credit, and lived at the end of the first, and the beginning of the second, century.

Our next author will be the younger Pliny, at the beginning of the second century.

I have placed Suetonius before him, and in this volume, because his testimony has a near affinity with the particulars mentioned by Tacitus, and the two other last mentioned writers.

[a] Cum vero mihi Domitianus Augustus sororis suæ nepotum delegaverit curam. Quintil. Imp. l. 4. Pr.

[b] Ex hac liberos tulit Titum, et Domitianum, et Domitillam. Uxori et filiæ superstes fuit: atque utramque privatus amisit. Sueton. Vespas. cap. 3.

[c] Vid. Pagi et Basnag. ut supra not. [c] p. 666. et Reimar. in Dion. Cas. 1112.

END OF VOL. III.

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